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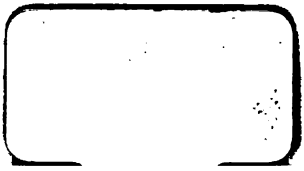

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN committing this Work to the judgement of the Public, the Editors have but little to observe.

It will be easily perceived, that it forms no part of their object, to take notice of every production that issues from the Press; and that they wish their Journal to be distinguished, rather for the selection, than for the number, of its articles.

Of the books that are daily presented to the world, a very large proportion is evidently destined to obscurity, by the insignificance of their subjects, or the defects of their execution; and it seems unreasonable to expect that the Public should be interested by any account of performances, which have never attracted any share of its attention. A review of such productions, like the biography of private individuals, could afford gratification only to the partiality of friends, or the malignity of enemies.—The very lowest order of publications are rejected, accordingly, by most of the literary journals of which the Public is already in possession. But the Conductors of the EDINBURGH REVIEW propose to carry this principle of selection a good deal farther; to decline any attempt at exhibiting a complete view of modern literature; and to confine their notice, in a great degree, to works that either have attained, or deserve, a certain portion of celebrity.

As the value of a publication, conducted upon this principle, will not depend very materially upon the earliness of its intelligence, they have been induced to prefer a quarterly, to a monthly period of publication, that they may always have before them a greater variety for selection, and be occasionally guided in their choice by the tendencies of public opinion.

In a Review which is published at so long intervals, it would be improper to continue any article from one number to another; and, for this reason, as well as for the full discussion of important subjects, it may, sometimes, be found necessary to extend these articles to a greater length, than is usual in works of this nature. Even with these allowances, perhaps the reader may think that some apology is necessary for the length of a few articles in the present Number.—If he cannot find an excuse for them, in the extraordinary interest of the subjects, his candour will probably lead him to impute this defect to that inexperience, which subjects the beginning of all such undertakings to so many other disadvantages.

October 1802.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1802.

ART. I. *De L'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, aux Francs-Maçons, et aux Illuminés, sur la Revolution de France.* Par J. J. Mounier. Tubingen. pp. 245.

M. MOUNIER, "a man of talents and of virtue," according to the great anti-revolutionary writer of this country, the antagonist of Mirabeau, and the popular president of the first National Assembly, is well entitled to be heard upon the causes of the French revolution. He was not only a witness, but an actor, in those scenes, of the origin of which he is treating; and must therefore have felt in himself, or observed in others, the influence of every principle that really contributed to their production. His testimony, it may also be observed, is now given, after ten years of exile may be presumed to have detached him from the factions of his country, and made him independent of the gratitude or resentment of its rulers.

With all these claims to our attention, M. Mounier cannot, however, expect that his authority should be taken for decisive upon so vast and complicated a question. In an affair of this nature, it is not enough to have had a good opportunity for observation. Where so many interests are concerned, and so many motives put in action, a man cannot always give an account of every thing he sees, or even of every thing he has contributed to do. His associates may have acted upon principles very different from his; and he may have been the dupe of his opponents, even while he was most zealous in his resistance. It will be remembered, too, that M. Mounier, after cooperating in a revolution that was to consummate the felicity of his country, was obliged to leave it to the mercy of an unprincipled faction; and it may perhaps be conjectured, that he who was disappointed in the issue of these transactions, has also been mistaken as to their cause. M. Mounier, finally, is a man of letters, and is entitled to feel for philosophers some of the partialities of a brother. In denying that they had any share in the French revolution, he vindicates them from a charge that sounds heavy in the ears of mankind; and

judges wisely, that it is safer to plead not guilty to the fact, than to the intention.

M. Mounier, however, is not one of those, whom the horrors of the revolution have terrified into an abjuration of the principles of liberty. He classes the bigots of despotism with the apostles of insurrection, and adheres steadily to those notions of regulated freedom which could not satisfy the revolutionary ardour of his countrymen. His book is written, upon the whole, in a style of great candour and moderation; and though it will not probably convert those who have faith in an antisocial conspiracy, must be allowed, upon all hands, to contain much acute reasoning, and many judicious remarks.

The work, as is indicated in the title-page, is divided into three parts, in which the charge of revolutionary agency is separately considered, as it applies to the Philosophers, to the Free-Masons, and to the Illuminati of Germany. The first of these is by much the largest, and contains nearly the whole of the author's reasonings and opinions upon the real causes of the revolution. We shall endeavour to lay before our readers a concise view of his doctrines upon this subject.

It is the clear and decided opinion of M. Mounier, that the revolution in France was brought about, neither directly, by the combination and conspiracy of its philosophers, nor indirectly, by the influence of their writings. It was brought about, he is persuaded, by the ordinary causes of political change; by the insubordination of the Parliaments, and the disorders of the finance; and by the new and extraordinary remedies that the Sovereign and his ministers thought fit to apply to these disorders.

The refractory and ambitious spirit of the Parliaments had been a source of vexation to the Court of France for more than half a century before the name of democracy was heard of in that kingdom. The members of these tribunals were always among the privileged orders; and the rights of the people formed no part of their subjects of contention with the Crown. They were suppressed under Lewis XV, and restored by his successor, before there was a man in France who had imagined the possibility of a popular revolution. The finances, on the other hand, had been in disorder for little less than a century. Since the time of Cardinal Fleuri, there had been a regular deficiency in the produce of the taxes, and a debt that was constantly increasing. From the year 1778 to the year 1784, the exigencies of the war with England had increased this debt by a sum of 1250 millions of livres; and when M. Neckar went out of office, the produce of the taxes was incapable of defraying the interest. The Parliaments, in the mean time, refused to register the edicts for new imposts; and it became evident, that the Government must be-

come bankrupt, if the privileged orders were not subjected to a more effectual contribution. As they constituted all the Parliaments, however, it was in vain to hope for the cooperation of these bodies; and with a view to overrule them, or at least to dispense with their authority, the *Notables* were assembled in 1787. In spite of all the pains that had been taken to ensure the success of this experiment, it failed. M. de Calonne was dismissed; and M. de Brienne, who succeeded him, undertook to compel the Parliaments to register the Royal edicts in spite of their resistance. The contest had now become a matter of popular interest and attention; and as the taxes, and the pretensions of the noblesse to immunity, were extremely disagreeable to the body of the people, the demand that was suddenly made by the Parliament of Paris for the convocation of the States-General, was seconded by the voice of the whole nation. The States-General had not been assembled since the year 1614. The *Tiers Etat* was at that time in the completest subjection to the Crown and the Nobility; and as the produce of the Royal domain was at any rate sufficient for the ordinary expenses of Government, their temper and disposition was but of little national importance. In the year 1788, every thing was different; and the ministry were sufficiently aware, that if the States were once assembled, there was an end to the ancient administration of Government in the country. They resisted the demands of the people, therefore, as long as they possibly could. The convocation of the States-General, in the mean time, was the demand and the petition of every order of men in France: The clergy, the nobility, the capital, the parliaments, and even a considerable proportion of those who were about the person of the Sovereign, concurred in thinking it indispensable to their salvation. The army followed their example; resistance became impossible; the ministry was dismissed; and orders were given for assembling the ancient representatives of the nation.

A revolution was thus brought about, says M. Mounier, in which philosophy had not the slightest operation, and by which the ancient monarchy and aristocracy must necessarily have received some limitation. It was not yet apparent that they were both to be entirely overthrown. Perhaps there was not an individual in the country, that looked forward to the establishment of a republic. The events that followed, were not necessary consequences of those that had gone before; but they were produced by causes of the same description, and owed their origin, alike, to circumstances that had no connexion with the speculations of philosophers.

The chief cause of the failure of this grand experiment, and of the first disorders that accompanied the revolution, was, according to M. Mounier, the dissension that naturally arose among

the different orders that had thus been called to deliberate, and the fluctuating and unsteady policy of the Court in its endeavours to overawe, or to reconcile them. As the principal object of this convocation, on the part of the Government, was to relieve the finances, by diminishing the exemptions of the privileged Orders, it would have rendered the whole scheme vain, to have given such a form to the Assembly as would have secured to these Orders the absolute command of its deliberations. M. Neckar, therefore, and a great part of the King's council, were disposed to listen to the applications that were made from all parts of the kingdom for a *double representation* of the Commons. The Parliaments, and most of the Nobility, were against it. Their opposition, however, was disregarded; the double representation was granted; and another question, of still greater importance, presented itself for the consideration of the Government.

By the ancient constitution of the States-General, the three different orders of Clergy, Nobility, and Commons, assembled in separate chambers, and took each of them their resolutions apart. The Third Estate was sure to be outvoted, therefore, in every question where the interest of the privileged orders was concerned; and the additional number of their representatives would not have secured them from insignificance, if this plan of deliberation had been adhered to. The same circumstances, therefore, that, by raising their consideration, and increasing their importance in the community, had entitled them to obtain a double representation, seemed obviously to require, that the ancient form of convocation should be abandoned, and that their voice should not be entirely without effect in the great Assembly of the nation. Notwithstanding the incalculable importance of adjusting this matter by some vigorous and immediate resolution, M. Mounier assures us, that the deputies were allowed to repair to Versailles, and the assembly of the States to be opened, before the King's ministers had come to any determination on the subject. It was known, at the same time, that one part of the deputies had been positively instructed by their constituents to contend for the ancient constitution of the States; while others had been directed to agree to nothing but the re-union of the Three Orders in one deliberative assembly.

The Chancellor de Barentin, in opening the session, congratulated the Third Estate upon the double representation they had so happily obtained, expressed his wishes for the agreement of the Three Orders to a joint deliberation, and ended by recommending it to them to begin by deliberating apart! M. Neckar held the same irresolute and inconsistent language; and each party conceived that the administration would decide ultimately in its favour.—This state of uncertainty only exasperated their prejudices, and fomented their mu-

tual animosity. The ministry wavered and temporized. M. Neckar at last proposed that they should deliberate together, at least upon the question of their future organization. The expedient was probably futile; but it was not put to the test of experiment. After it had been approved of in council, it was suddenly retracted by the influence of a party immediately about the person of the king, and a peremptory order issued for the separation and independence of the Three Orders of representatives. To prepare for the promulgation of this edict, a guard was appointed to exclude the representatives of the Third Estate from the usual place of their meeting. They believed that the council had determined on their dissolution: They adjourned to a tennis-court in the neighbourhood; and, in the enthusiasm of alarm, took the celebrated oath, never to separate till a legal constitution had been established. M. Mounier acknowledges that this oath was fraught with danger to the prerogatives of royalty; but he denies that it was taken in an assembly of republicans; and justifies it, upon the ground of the emergency and alarm by which it was dictated. The councils of the king wanted that firmness that had been shown by the representatives of the people; the re-union of the orders was decreed; and the king commanded the privileged deputies to deliberate along with those of the Tiers Etat.

In all these transactions (says M. Mounier), the philosophers had no participation; they were the result of contending interests, and the consequences of a political conjuncture, to which no parallel could be found in the history of the world; they were the fruits, in a particular manner, of that improvidence and presumption, that neglected the signs of the times, and disdained to provide for events which it chose to consider as impossible. A revolution, however, was already accomplished; and it might have terminated happily at this point, had it not been for fresh imprudencies of which the Government was guilty.

In spite of the dissensions by which they had been preceded, the first meetings of the National Assembly gave the greatest indications of returning harmony and order. The friends of monarchy, and the advocates for moderation, constituted the great majority, both in that assembly and in the nation. The aristocratical counsellors, however, by whom the king was surrounded in secret, destroyed this fair prospect of tranquillity; they persuaded him to try the effects of terror; they surrounded the metropolis with armies; they dismissed the popular ministers with insult, and replaced them by the avowed advocates of the prerogative. The populace, full of indignation and apprehension at the military array with which they were surrounded, rose in a tumultuous manner, and demolished the Bastille; a great part of the troops declared for the popular side of the question; the people flew to

arms in every part of the country; and the King was once more obliged to submit. The triumph which the lower orders had now obtained, and the dangers they had escaped, inflamed their presumption and their prejudices: the nobility and the higher clergy became the objects of their jealousy and aversion. Men were found in the Assembly, who were capable of employing those terrible passions as the instruments of their own elevation, and of purchasing a dangerous popularity, by the indiscriminate persecution of the aristocracy. Though these incendiaries did not at first exceed the number of 80, in an assembly of 800, their audacity, their activity, the terror of their associates among the rabble, and the disunion of those by whose cooperation they should have been opposed, gave them a fatal ascendancy in the capital, and enabled them, at length, to subject every part of the government to their will. Then followed the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October; the King's flight to Varennes; and the establishment of the republic in bloodshed and injustice.

Such, according to this author, was the true course and progress of the revolution, and such the causes to which it ought to be ascribed. The speculative writings of philosophers had as little to do with it as the lodges of Free-Masonry. The first steps were taken by men who detested the philosophers as infidels, or despised them as visionaries; the last, by men to whom all philosophy was unknown, and who pretended to use no finer instruments of persuasion than the purse and the dagger.

This account is certainly entitled to the praise of great clearness and simplicity, and cannot be denied to have a foundation in truth; but it appears to us to be deficient in profundity and extent, and to leave the revolution, in a great measure, to be accounted for, after all these causes have been enumerated and recognized. The finances of a nation may be disordered, we conceive, or its representatives assembled, without subverting its constitution. The different orders of the State may disagree, and grow angry in support of their respective pretensions, without tearing the frame of society to pieces, and obliterating every vestige of ancient regulation. The circumstances enumerated by M. Mounier, seem to us to be only the occasions and immediate symptoms of disorder, and not the efficient and ultimate causes. To produce the effects that we have witnessed, there must have been a revolutionary spirit fermenting in the minds of the people, which took advantage of those occurrences, and converted them into engines for its own diffusion and increase. M. Mounier, in short, has given us rather an history of the revolution, than an account of its causes; he has stated events as depending upon one another, which actually proceeded from one common principle; and thought he was explaining the origin of a disorder, when he was

only investigating the circumstances that had determined its eruption to one particular member.

He has thus accounted for the revolution, it seems to us, in no other way than an historian would account for an invasion, by describing the route of the assailing army, enumerating the stations they occupied, the defiles that were abandoned to them, and the bridges they broke up in their rear; while he neglected to inform us in what places the invaders had been assembled, by whom they had been trained and enlisted, and how they had been supplied with arms, and intelligence, and audacity. He has stated, as the first causes of the revolution, circumstances that really proved it to be begun; and has gone no farther back than to the earliest of its apparent effects: He has mistaken the cataracts that broke the stream, for the fountains from which it rose; and contented himself with referring the fruit to the blossom, without taking any account of the germination of the seed, or the subterraneous windings of the root.

It is in many cases, we will confess, a matter of great difficulty to distinguish between the predisposing and occasional causes of a complicated political event, or to determine in how far those circumstances that have *facilitated* its production, were really indispensable to its existence. In the question of which we are now treating, however, there does not appear to be any such nicety. M. Mounier maintains, that the revolution was occasioned entirely by the financial embarrassments of France, by the convocation of the States-General, and the irresolution of the Royal councils. The question therefore is not, whether the revolution could have been accomplished without these occurrences; but whether these are sufficient to account for it of themselves; and whether they leave nothing to be imputed to the influence of the preachers of liberty, and the writings of republican philosophers.

Now, upon this question, we profess to entertain an opinion not less decided than that of M. Mounier, though it happens to be diametrically opposite. Had there been no previous tendency to a revolution in France, the government might have declared a bankruptcy, without endangering the foundations of the throne; and the people would have remained quiet and submissive spectators of the quarrels between the ministers and the parliaments, and of the convocation and dissolution of the States-General themselves. This, indeed, is expressly the sentiment of M. Mounier himself, (p. 29.); and it is justified by all preceding experience. But if events might have happened in 1690, without endangering the monarchy, that were found sufficient to subvert it in 1790, it is natural to inquire, from what this difference has proceeded? All parties, it is believed, will agree in the answer—It proceeded from

the change that had taken place in the condition and sentiments of the people; from the progress of commercial opulence; from the diffusion of information, and the prevalence of political discussion. Now, it seems difficult to deny, that the philosophers were instrumental in bringing about this change; that they had attracted the public attention to the abuses of government, and spread very widely among the people, the sentiment of their grievances and their rights. M. Mounier himself informs us, that, for some time *before* the revolution, the French nation "had been enamoured of the idea of liberty, without understanding very well what it meant, and without being conscious that they were so soon to have an opportunity of attaining it. When that opportunity offered itself," he adds, "it was seized with an enthusiastic eagerness that paralyzed all the nerves of the Sovereign." He acknowledges also, that the deputies of the Tiers Etat were enabled to disobey the royal mandate for their separation, and to triumph in that disobedience, only because the *public opinion* was so decidedly in their favour, that nobody could be found who would undertake to disperse them by violence.

Now, if it be true, that for upwards of twenty years before this period, this love of liberty had been inculcated with much zeal and little prudence, in many eloquent and popular publications, and that the names and the maxims of those writers were very much in the mouths of those who patronized the subversion of royalty in that country, is it not reasonable to presume, that some part of this enthusiasm for liberty, and some part of that popular favour for those who were supposed to be its champions, by means of which it is allowed that the revolution was accomplished, may be attributed to the influence of those publications?

We do not wish to push this argument far; we are conscious that many other causes contributed to excite, in the minds of the people, those ideas of independence and reform by which the revolution was effected. The constant example, and increasing intimacy with England—the contagion caught in America—and, above all, the advances that had been made in opulence and information, by those classes of the people to whom the exemptions and pretensions of the privileged orders were most obnoxious—all cooperated to produce a spirit of discontent and innovation, and to increase their dislike and impatience of the defects and abuses of their government. In considering a question of this kind, it should never be forgotten, that it had many defects, and was liable to manifold abuses: But for this very reason, the writers who aggravated these defects, and held out these abuses to detestation, were the more likely to make an impression. To say that they made none, and that all the zeal that was testified in

France against despotism, and in favour of liberty, was the natural and spontaneous result of reflection and feeling in the minds of those whom it actuated, is to make an assertion which does not sound probable, and certainly has not been proved. That writings, capable of exciting it, existed, and were read, seems not to be contested upon any hand: It is somewhat paradoxical to contend, that they had yet no share in its excitation. If Moliere could render the faculty of medicine ridiculous by a few farces, in an age much less addicted to literature; if Voltaire could, by the mere force of writing, advance the interests of infidelity, in opposition to all the orthodox learning of Europe; is it to be imagined, that no effect would be produced by the greatest talents in the world, employed upon a theme the most popular and seductive?

M. Mounier has asked, if we think that men require to be taught the self-evident doctrine of their rights, and their means of redress; if the Roman insurgents were led by philosophers, when they seceded to Mons Sacer; or, if the Swiss and the Dutch asserted their liberties upon the suggestion of democratical authors? We would answer, that, in small states, and barbarous ages, there are abuses so gross, as to be absolutely intolerable, and so qualified, as to become personal to every member of the community; that orators supply the place of writers in those early ages; and that we only deny the influence of the latter, where we are assured of their non-existence. Because a vessel may be carried along by the current, shall we deny that her progress is assisted by the breeze?

We are persuaded, therefore, that the writings of those popular philosophers, who have contended for political freedom, had some share in bringing about the revolution in France; how great, or how inconsiderable a share, we are not qualified to determine, and hold it indeed impossible to ascertain. There are no *data* from which we can estimate the relative force of such an influence; nor does language afford us any terms that are fitted to express its proportions. We must be satisfied with holding that it existed, and that those who deny its operation altogether, are almost as much mistaken as those who make it account for every thing.

But though we conceive that philosophy is thus, in some degree, responsible for the French revolution, we are far from charging her with the guilt that this name implies. The writers to whom we allude, may have produced effects very different from what they intended, and very different even from what their works might seem calculated to produce. An approved medicine may have occasioned convulsions and death; and the flame

that was meant to enlighten, may have spread into conflagration and ruin.

M. Mounier, throughout his book, has attended too little to this distinction. He has denied, for the philosophers, all participation in the fact; and has had but little interest, therefore, to justify them on the score of intention. It is a subject, however, which deserves a little consideration.

That there were defects and abuses, and some of these very gross too, in the old system of government in France, we presume will scarcely be denied. That it was lawful to wish for their removal, will probably be as readily admitted; and that the peaceful influence of philosophy, while confined to this object, was laudably and properly exerted, seems to follow as a necessary conclusion. It would not be easy, therefore, to blame those writers who have confined themselves to a dispassionate and candid statement of the advantages of a better institution; and it must seem hard to involve in the guilt of Robespierre and the Jacobins, those persons in France who aimed at nothing more than the abolition of absurd privileges, and the limitation of arbitrary power. Montesquieu, Turgot, and Raynal, were probably, in some degree, dissatisfied with the government of their country, and would have rejoiced in the prospect of a reform; but it can only be the delirium of party prejudice, that would suspect them of wishing for the downfall of royalty, and for the proscriptions and equality of a reign of terror. It would be treating their accusers too much like men in their senses, to justify such men any farther on the score of intention: yet it is possible that they may have been instrumental in the revolution, and that their writings may have begun that motion, that terminated in ungovernable violence. We will not go over the commonplace arguments that may be stated to convict them of imprudence. Every step that is taken towards the destruction of prejudice, is attended with the danger of an opposite excess: But it is no less clearly our duty to advance against prejudices; and they deserve the highest praise, who unite the greatest steadiness with the greatest precaution. At the time when the writings we are speaking of were published, there was not a man in Europe who could discern in them the seeds of future danger. So far from denouncing them as the harbingers of regicide and confusion, the public received them as hostages and guides to security. It was long thought that their effects were inadequate to their merits: Nothing but the event could have instructed us that it was too powerful for our tranquillity. To such men, the reproach of improvidence can be made only because their foresight was not prophetic; and those alone are entitled to call them imprudent, who could have predicted the tempest in the calm, and

foretold those consequences by which the whole world has since been astonished.

If it be true, therefore, that writers of this description have facilitated and promoted the revolution, it is a truth which should detract but little, either from their merit or their reputation. Their designs were pure and honourable; and the natural tendency and promise of their labours, was exalted and fair. They failed, by a fatality which they were not bound to foresee; and a concurrence of events, against which it was impossible for them to provide, turned that to mischief, which was planned out by wisdom for good. We do not tax the builder with imprudence, because the fortress which he erected for our protection is thrown down by an earthquake on our heads.

There is another set of writers, however, for whom it will not be so easy to find an apology, who, instead of sober reasoning, and practical observation, have intruded upon the public with every species of extravagance and absurdity. The presumptuous theories, and audacious maxims of Rousseau, Mably, Condorcet, &c. had a necessary tendency to do harm. They unsettled all the foundations of political duty, and taught the citizens of every existing community, that they were enslaved, and had the power of being free. M. Mounier has too much moderation himself, to approve of the doctrines of these reformers; but he assures us, that instead of promoting the revolution, it was the revolution that raised them into celebrity; that they rose into reputation, after it became necessary to quote them as apologists or authorities; but that, before that time, their speculations were looked upon as brilliant absurdities, that no more deserved a serious confutation, than the Polity of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.—With all our respect for M. Mounier, we have some difficulty in believing this assertion. Rousseau, in particular, was universally read and admired, long before he was exalted into the Revolutionary Pantheon; and his political sagacity must have had some serious admirers, when he was himself invited to legislate for an existing community. Whatever influence he had, however, was unquestionably pernicious; and though some apology may be found for him in the enthusiasm of his disordered imagination, he is chargable with the highest presumption, and the most blameable imprudence. Of some of the other writers who have inculcated the same doctrines, we must speak rather in charity than in justice, if we say nothing more severe.

M. Mounier expresses himself with much judgment and propriety upon the subject of religion; its necessity to a sound morality, and its tendency to promote rational liberty, and to preserve good order. He is of opinion, however, that there is no natural connexion between irreligion and democracy, and thinks

that the infidel writers of this age have not to answer for its political enormities. He observes, that it was during the devoutest ages of the Church, that Italy was covered with republics, and that Switzerland asserted her independence; that the revolted States of America were composed of the most religious people of the world; and that the liberty and equality which brought Charles the First to the block, were generated among fanatics and puritans.

Our limits will not allow us to enter fully into the consideration of this very important question. We shall take the liberty to make but two remarks upon the opinion we have just quoted: The one is, that the existence of insurrections in a religious age, is no proof of the inefficacy of religion to promote a rational submission to authority;—a check may be very strong, without being altogether insurmountable; and disorders may arise in spite of religion, without discrediting its tendency to suppress them. It surely would be no good ground for denying that intoxication made men quarrelsome, to enumerate the instances in which people had quarrelled when they were sober. The other remark is, that instances taken from the conduct of enthusiasts and bigots, have no fair application to the present question. Fanaticism and irreligion approach very nearly to each other, in their effects on the moral conduct. He who thinks himself a favourite with the Deity, is apt to be as careless of his behaviour, as he who does not believe at all in his existence; both think themselves alike entitled to dispense with the vulgar rules of morality; and both are alike destitute of the curb and the guidance of a sober and rational religion. Submission to lawful authority is indisputably the maxim of Christianity; and they who destroy our faith in that religion, take away one security for our submission, and facilitate the subversion of governments. This is a great truth, the authority of which is not impaired by the rebellions that priests have instigated, or the disorders that fanatics have raised.

After having detained our readers so long with the investigation of M. Mounier's own theory of the revolution, we can scarcely undertake to follow him through all his remarks on the theories of others. He treats, with much scorn and ridicule, the idea of accounting for this great event, by the supposition of an actual conspiracy of philosophers and speculative men; and, upon this subject, we conceive that his statement is correct and satisfactory. There never were any considerable number of literary men in France, we are persuaded, who wished for the subversion of royalty; and the few that entertained that sentiment, expressed it openly in their writings, and do not appear to have taken any extraordinary pains, either to diffuse, or to set it in action. In attempting to prove this pretended conspiracy of the philosophers

against the throne, we conceive that the Abbé Baruel has completely failed; and are certain, that his zeal has carried him into excesses, which no liberal man will justify. We shall say nothing of the declarations of that miserable hypochondriac (Le Roi), who is said to have revealed the secret of the Committee which met at Baron Holbach's: But when an obscure writer denounces Montesquieu as a conspirator, and loads with every epithet of reproach, the pure and respectable names of Turgot, Malesherbes, and Neckar, the public will know what to think of his charity and his cause. It required certainly nothing less than the acuteness of the *odium theologicum*, to discover in Neckar's book on the importance of religious opinions, a proof of the *atheism* of the writer; and it would require a faith, that had superseded both charity and judgment, to believe that this virtuous minister "excited a famine, to drive the people to revolt; and then ruined the finances, to force them on to rebellion." Our readers will see, with pleasure, the refutation of these calumnies in this publication of M. Mounier. We regret that our limits do not permit us to enter at all into the detail of his observations.

We agree, then, upon the whole, with M. Mounier, that the revolution was produced by apparent and natural causes; that there is no room for pretending to *discoveries* upon such a subject; and that the conspiracies, and secret combinations which some writers have affected to disclose, have had no existence, but in their own imaginations. In the year 1786, there probably was not a man in France, who entertained the idea of overthrowing the throne of the Bourbons; and the party that shook it first, had evidently no connexion with that which laid it in ruins. It would not be easy to say, then, which party was the agent of this conspiracy of philosophers; and they who fought against each other, could not well be pupils of the same school, nor acting from the same code of instruction. If the Parliaments acted in subordination to this antimonarchical conspiracy, the leaders of the first National Assembly must have acted against it. If Fayette was its emissary, Orleans must have been its foe. The conspirators who supported Brissot, could not have contributed to the successes of Robespierre; and the devices by which Robespierre was successful, cannot account for the triumphs of Buonaparte. The idea, in short, of a conspiracy, regularly concerted, and successfully carried on by men calling themselves philosophers, for the establishment of a republic, appears to us to be the most visionary and extravagant. Such a supposition has, no doubt, a fine dramatic effect, and gives an air of theatrical interest to the history; but, in the great tragedy of real life, there are no such fantastic plots, or simple catastrophes. Events are always produced by the cooperation of complicated causes; and the theories that

would refer them to extraordinary and mysterious agents, may infallibly be rejected as erroneous.

We differ from M. Mounier, on the other hand, in believing, that though the philosophers did not concert, or organize the revolution in their councils of conspiracy, they yet contributed, in some degree, to its production, by the influence of their writings; the greater part without consciousness or design, and a few through a dangerous zeal for liberty, or an excessive thirst for distinction.

We have now concluded all that we meant to say upon the first part of M. Mounier's publication, or that in which he treats of the philosophers; and the length to which our observations have extended, must confine, within very narrow limits, our remarks on the remaining two parts.

On the subject of Free-Masonry, he treats, we think, with merited contempt, the reveries and visions of the Abbé Baruel, as to the crimes of the Templars, and the doctrine of Manes. He adopts the opinion of Professor Robison, as to the origin of this institution; and enumerates several of the opposite interpretations that have been given of the symbolical representations it employs. He denies that the secret of free-masonry, consists in liberty and equality; and reasons, with great acuteness, upon the absurdity of supposing, that the real import of this secret should have been unknown to its inventors. The Abbé Baruel, he says, maintains that this doctrine was reserved for the higher orders, and was not taught in England at all: yet he seems to allow, that it was from England that the rest of Europe have derived this institution; and he says, that five out of six of the free-masons in France, had been initiated into this dangerous doctrine. Now, it is strange, that the instructors of all the rest, should have been ignorant of the purport of their doctrine; and it is no less strange, that a doctrine, imparted only to the higher degrees, and withheld from the apprentices, companions, and masters, should have been made known to five-sixths of the whole free-masons in France. He admits, that certain individuals may, about the beginning of the revolution, have taken advantage of the secrecy and security of their lodges, to propagate seditious doctrines; but he denies that this was the object of the institution, or that the practice was prevalent to any dangerous degree. Orleans, he admits, was Grand-Master of the French lodges; but he owed that situation to his distinguished birth, and succeeded the prince of Conti. He vindicates several individuals from the imputation of impiety and disaffection, brought against them by Baruel; and speaks highly of the devotion and morality of many members of the Martiniste, and other most suspected lodges: At the same time, he assures his readers, that he is not himself either a Free-Mason or a Martiniste, and complains a little of Professor Robison, for having re-

presented him as such. He allows, that all secret societies are capable of becoming dangerous; and that it is the duty of Government to ascertain what are their doctrines and proceedings; but he alleges, that those of the free-masons have always been puerile and innocent: He observes, that they are still patronized by the friends of government and religion, in every nation of Europe; and reckon among their members, some of the most distinguished princes, prelates, and statesmen, that the age can boast of.

It seems to us to be impossible to refuse our assent to these general conclusions: Yet our author has, perhaps, treated too slightly the abuses which this institution sustained in France, during the first days of the revolution. The secrecy of their meetings and proceedings was certainly very favourable to the propagation of dangerous doctrines, and the concoction of wicked designs. It is highly natural to suppose that advantage would be taken of this circumstance, by those who were then caballing for power. The advantage, however, we certainly believe, was neither indispensable to their success, nor of importance to their progress. To refer the revolution to such a cause, is like referring the progress of a victorious army, to their having occupied a small eminence in their approach; it might cover their array for a moment, but could never be the means of their conquest. The Jacobin club never assembled under the disguise of a mason lodge, nor any of its affiliated societies; nor is any thing, indeed, more absurd, than to suppose that men should be converted into democrats in a crowd, by the help of mummery, and symbols, and enigmas.

The last part of M. Mounier's work is employed upon the illuminated orders of Germany. Most of our readers have, probably, looked into the publications, in which the views and doctrines of this famous society have lately been denounced to the public. The critical time at which these writings appeared in this country, gave them an interest, which the subject could never have commanded at any other; and people are still shuddering, in Britain, at a discovery which has been forgotten in Germany for more than a dozen of years. A great part of M. Mounier's observations upon this subject, are directed to elucidate the real views and objects of Weishaupt and his followers. He admits that their practices were illegal, and that their suppression was right: But the lessons taught in the lower degrees, he conceives to have been innocent; and the design of procuring all offices for men of talents, more impracticable than rebellious. The number of princes, nobles, magistrates, &c. that were initiated, and are recorded as converts, he takes to be a decisive proof of the political safety of the doctrines they made public; and the non-existence of any insurrection, or tendency to insurrection, either in Bava-

ria or in any part of the empire, he assumes, with reason, as a decisive argument against the possibility of their being the instigators of the French revolution. We have not leisure to follow him through all the observations he makes upon this subject: It is more to the purpose, to consider what he says as to the direct charge of their having contributed to bring about the French revolution.

Upon this charge, he observes, in the first place, that the doctrine of the Illuminati, as it appears in their original papers, is essentially different from that of the Jacobin leaders of the revolution. The former were for guiding the existing governments by secret and pacific influence, and were ambitious to enrol potentates and nobles among their members; the latter were for subverting every thing, and waged open war with all that was distinguished by birth or by office. The followers of Weishaupt professed to detest all violence, and to depend upon time and patience for the consummation of their wishes. The Jacobins preached, everywhere, *the sacred duty of insurrection*; and valued themselves upon regenerating a kingdom in a year. The German speculatists terminated their views, in the ultimate disappearance of *very* species of political institution, and the *kingship* of every father of a family. The French empiric pretended to regard the happiness of the individual, as dependent upon the perfection of the constitution under which he was to live. Each, accordingly, has acted in conformity to the principles it professed. The Jacobins have filled all France with desolation and terror. In the three hundred states and principalities of Germany, the Illuminati have not been so much as accused of having excited the slightest disturbance. Their chieftain has found an asylum in the court of a Prince too wise to be a dupe, and too virtuous to be an accomplice.

In the second place, M. Mounier remarks, that the society of Illuminati was suppressed in 1787; and the French revolution could not be said to have begun till 1789.

In the third place, he observes, and it is an observation that seems of itself nearly decisive of the question, that the name of France is never once mentioned in all that mass of papers that was seized in Bavaria; and that though they contain the most complete lists of their members, and the places of their meetings, there is not the name of a single Frenchman to be found among the number. With the exception of a few Italians, the society was composed altogether of the natives of Germany.

M. Barruel ascribes the *illumination* of all France to the labours of Bode and De Busch, who spent a few weeks in Paris in the year 1787. M. Mounier treats the idea of this sudden conversion with the ridicule it appears to deserve, and afterwards expresses himself in a more serious manner, in these words:

"I lived, during the first days of the revolution, in the society of many friends to true liberty, (and I hope, myself, to be reckoned among the number); and I am ready to declare upon my oath, that I never had the slightest reason to suspect, that the principles of any one of them were influenced, in the smallest degree, by the societies of Free-Masons, or of Illuminati. I also knew many at that time, whose conduct was less laudable, and who afterwards steered the vessel of the State into the middle of shoals and dangers; but for them also, I can make the same protestation."

When the character and opportunities of M. Mounier are attended to, this testimony must be allowed to possess very great authority.

He denies, that the story of Mirabeau's illumination is entitled to any credit. "The emissaries of Weishaupt would have attempted in vain," he says, "either to add to his information, to change his opinions, or to correct his vices." With regard to Pranelle De Lierre, whom Baruel accuses of having attempted to seduce Camille Jordan into the sect of Illuminati, and of having corresponded with him for that purpose, M. Mounier avers, that *he has it from Jordan himself*, that De Lierre never spoke to him on the subject of the Illuminati, never mentioned the name in his presence, and never wrote to him a syllable upon the subject.

Upon the facts contained in these statements, we are not qualified to decide; but the opinions expressed by the author, meet in general with our approbation. The object of the Illuminated Orders was probably, in its own nature, unattainable; and they would have perished by their internal dissensions, before they could have given any disturbance to the community. At the same time, their constitution was a system of manifest usurpation; and, independently of the doctrines they taught, their secret association alone, made them a proper object of reprobation. We are persuaded, at the same time, that their principles never spread beyond the precincts of Germany; and that they had no sort of share in producing the revolution in France. M. Baruel himself will not deny, that there is not a word in the papers of the sect, that could so much as suggest that idea; and the circumstances, by which he endeavours to support it, prove nothing to an impartial mind, but his own zeal and credulity.

We cannot dismiss this work of M. Mounier's, without bearing testimony, once more, to the candour and liberality which he has constantly preserved in treating of a subject, that has, more than any other, exasperated the prejudices of men. The time is coming, we hope, when this praise will confer less distinction; and when men, recovering from their apprehensions, and cooling from

their contests, shall begin to study the *moral* of that great tragedy, by which they have all been agitated, as actors or spectators.

M. Mounier's style is clear, concise, and energetic: he does not aim at pathetic eloquence; and never offends by that frothy declamation, which has been so common among the politicians of his country. His arguments are sometimes imperfectly expressed; and he frequently writes like a man, who despises the objections of his antagonists too much, to give them a good answer. As a short specimen of his manner of composition, we shall subjoin the following character of Mirabeau.

'The reſtleſs ambition of Mirabeau, and his inſatiable thirſt for celebrity, riches and power, made him, at the ſame moment, the ſlave of every party in the State. I have ſeen him go from the nocturnal committees of the partizans of Orleans, to the meetings of the determined republicans; and from thoſe, again, to the cabinets of the King's miniſters. He was always willing, however, to have ſided with the latter; and, if they had granted him the terms he expected, he would have preferred the ſupport of Royalty to an alliance with men he deſpiſed. His principles are not to be judged of, by the innumerable contradictions that occur in his ſpeeches and publications. In theſe, he never ſtudied ſo much to ſay what he thought, as what was moſt ſuitable to his intereſt at the exiſting criſis. To me he has frequently communicated his real opinion; and a man, certainly, I have never known, of an underſtanding more enlightened, of a more conſummate knowledge of politics, of a character more venal, or a heart more depraved. He ſold himſelf, in the end, ſeveral times over to the Court: But, before the purchaſe was completed, he had become unſerviceable for any thing but miſchief; and had ſo entangled himſelf with the demagogues and perturbators of the public peace, that he could not ſpeak reaſonably, without being accuſed of treachery to their cauſe."

ART. II. *Spital Sermon*, preached at Chriſt-church upon Eaſter Tueſday, April 15. 1800. To which are added, Notes by Samuel Parr, LL.D. Printed for J. Mawman in the Poultry. 1801. Quarto. Cloſely printed. pp. 161.

WHOEVER has had the good fortune to see Dr Parr's wig, must have observed, that while it trespasses a little on the orthodox magnitude of perukes in the anterior parts, it scorns even Episcopal limits behind, and swells out into boundless convexity of frizz, the μεγα θαυμα of barbers, and the terror of the literary world. After the manner of his wig, the Doctor has constructed his sermon, giving us a discourse of no common length, and subjoining an immeasureable mass of notes, which

appear to concern every learned thing, every learned man, and almost every unlearned man since the beginning of the world.

For his text, Dr Parr has chosen *Gal.* vi. 10. *As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good to all men, especially to those who are of the household of faith.* After a short preliminary comparison between the dangers of the selfish system, and the modern one of universal benevolence, he divides his sermon into two parts: In the first, examining how far, by the constitution of human nature, and the circumstances of human life, the principles of particular and universal benevolence are compatible: In the last, commenting on the nature of the charitable institution, for which he is preaching.

The former part is levelled against the doctrines of Mr Godwin; and, here, Dr Parr exposes, very strongly and happily, the folly of making universal benevolence the *immediate motive* of our actions. As we consider this, though of no very difficult execution, to be by far the best part of the sermon, we shall very willingly make some extracts from it.

'To me it appears, that the modern advocates for universal philanthropy have fallen into the error charged upon those who are fascinated by a violent and extraordinary fondness for what a celebrated author calls "some moral species." Some men, it has been remarked, are hurried into romantic adventures, by their excessive admiration of fortitude. Others are actuated by a headstrong zeal, for disseminating the true religion. Hence, while the only properties, for which fortitude or zeal can be esteemed, are scarcely discernible, from the enormous bulkiness to which they are swollen, the ends, to which alone they can be directed usefully, are overlooked or defeated; the public good is impaired, rather than increased; and the claims that other virtues equally obligatory have to our notice, are totally disregarded. Thus, too, when any dazzling phantoms of universal philanthropy have seized our attention, the objects that formerly engaged it, shrink and fade. All considerations of kindred, friends and countrymen, drop from the mind, during the struggles it makes to grasp the collective interests of the species; and when the association that attached us to them has been dissolved, the notions we have formed of their comparative insignificance will prevent them from recovering, I do not say any hold whatsoever, but that *strong* and *lasting* hold they once had, upon our conviction and our feelings. Universal benevolence, should it, from any strange combination of circumstances, ever become passionate, will, like every other passion, "justify itself:" and the importunity of its demands to obtain a hearing, will be proportionate to the weakness of its cause. But what are the consequences? A perpetual wrestling for victory between the refinements of sophistry, and the remonstrances of indignant nature —the agitations of secret distrust in opinions, which gain few or no

proſelytes, and feelings which excite little or no ſympathy—the neglect of all the uſual duties, by which ſocial life is preſerved or adorned; and in the purſuit of other duties which are unuſual, and indeed imaginary, a ſucceſſion of airy projects, eager hopes, tumultuous efforts, and galling diſappointments, ſuch, in truth, as every wiſe man forſakes, and a good man would rarely commiſerate.'

In a subsequent part of his sermon, Dr Parr handles the same topic with equal success.

'The ſtoics, it has been ſaid, were more ſucceſsful in weakening the tender affections, than in animating men to the ſtronger virtues of fortitude and ſelf-command; and poſſible it is, that the influence of our modern reformers may be greater, in furniſhing their diſciples with pleas for the neglect of their ordinary duties, than in ſtimulating their endeavours for the performance of thoſe which are extraordinary, and perhaps ideal. If, indeed, the repreſentations we have lately heard of univerſal philanthropy, ſerved only to amuſe the fancy of thoſe who approve of them, and to communicate that pleaſure which ariſes from contemplating the magnitude and grandeur of a favourite ſubject, we might be tempted to ſmile at them as groundleſs and harmleſs. But they tend to debaſe the dignity, and to weaken the efficacy of thoſe particular affections, for which we have daily and hourly occaſion in the events of real life. They tempt us to ſubſtitute the eaſe of ſpeculation, and the pride of dogmatiſm, for the toil of practice. To a claſs of artificial and oſtentatious ſentiments, they give the moſt dangerous triumph over the genuine and ſalutary dictates of nature. They delude and inflame our minds with phariſaical notions of ſuperior wiſdom and ſuperior virtue; and, what is the worſt of all, they may be uſed as "a cloke to us" for inſenſibility, where other men feel; and for negligence, where other men act with *viſible* and *uſeful*, though *limited*, effect.

In attempting to show the connexion between particular and universal benevolence, Dr Parr does not appear to us to have taken a clear and satisfactory view of the subject. Nature impels us both to good and bad actions; and, even in the former, gives us no measure, by which we may prevent them from degenerating into excess. Rapine and revenge, are not less natural than parental and filial affection; which latter class of feelings may themselves be a source of crimes, if they overpower (as they frequently do) the sense of justice. It is not, therefore, a sufficient justification of our actions, that they are natural. We must seek, from our reason, some principle which will enable us to determine what impulses of nature we are to obey, and what we are to resist: such is that of general utility, or, what is the same thing, of universal good; a principle which sanctifies and limits the more particular affections. The duty of a son to

a parent, or a parent to a son, is not an ultimate principle of morals, but depends on the principle of universal good, and is only praiseworthy, because it is found to promote it. At the same time, our spheres of action and intelligence are so confined, that it is better, in a great majority of instances, to suffer our conduct to be guided by those affections which have been long sanctioned by the approbation of mankind, than to enter into a process of reasoning, and investigate the relation which every trifling event might bear to the general interests of the world. In his principle of universal benevolence, Mr Godwin is unquestionably right. That it is the grand principle on which all morals rest—that it is the corrective for the excess of all particular affections, we believe to be undeniable: and he is only erroneous in excluding the particular affections; because, in so doing, he deprives us of our most powerful means of promoting his own principle of universal good; for it is as much as to say, that all the crew ought to have the *general* welfare of the ship so much at heart, that no sailor should ever pull any *particular* rope, or hand any *individual* sail. By universal benevolence, we mean, and understand Dr Parr to mean, not a barren affection for the species, but a desire to promote their real happiness; and of this principle, he thus speaks:

> I admit, and I approve of it, as an *emotion* of which general happiness is the cause, but not as a passion; of which, according to the usual order of human affairs, it could often be the object. I approve of it as a disposition to wish, and, as opportunity may occur, to desire and to good, rather than harm, to those with whom we are quite unconnected.

It would appear, from this kind of language, that a desire of promoting the universal good, were a pardonable weakness, rather than a fundamental principle of ethics; that the particular affections were incapable of excess; and that they never wanted the corrective of a more generous and exalted feeling. In a subsequent part of his sermon, Dr Parr atones a little for this over-zealous depretiation of the principle of universal benevolence; but he nowhere states the particular affections to derive their value and their limits from their subservience to a more extensive philanthropy. He does not show us that they exist only as virtues, from their instrumentality in promoting the general good, and that, to preserve their true character, they should be frequently referred to that principle as their proper criterion.

In the latter part of his sermon, Dr Parr combats the general objections of Mr Turgot to all charitable institutions, with considerable vigour and success. To say that an institution is

necessarily bad, because it will not always be administered with the same zeal, proves a little too much; for it is an objection to political and religious, as well as to charitable institutions; and, from a lively apprehension of the fluctuating characters of those who govern, would leave the world without any government at all. It is better there should be an asylum for the mad, and a hospital for the wounded, if they were to squander away 50 *per cent.* of their income, than that we should be disgusted with sore limbs, and shocked by straw-crown'd monarchs in the streets. All institutions of this kind must suffer the risk of being governed by more or less of probity and talents. The good which one active character effects, and the wise order which he establishes, may outlive him for a long period; and we all hate each other's crimes, by which we gain nothing, so much, that in proportion as public opinion acquires ascendancy in any particular country, every public institution becomes more and more guaranteed from abuse.

Upon the whole, this sermon is rather the production of what is called a sensible, than of a very acute man; of a man certainly more remarkable for his learning, than his originality. It refutes the very refutable positions of Mr Godwin, without placing the doctrine of benevolence in a clear light; and it almost leaves us to suppose, that the particular affections are themselves ultimate principles of action, instead of convenient instruments of a more general principle.

The style is such, as to give a general impression of heaviness to the whole sermon. The Doctor is never simple and natural for a single instant. Every thing smells of the rhetorician. He never appears to forget himself, or to be hurried by his subject into obvious language. Every expression seems to be the result of artifice and intention; and as to the worthy dedicatees, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, unless the sermon be *done into English by a person of honour*, they may perhaps be flattered by the Doctor's politeness, but they can never be much edified by his meaning. Dr Parr seems to think, that eloquence consists not in an exuberance of beautiful images—not in simple and sublime conceptions—not in the feelings of the passions; but in a studious arrangement of *sonorous, exotic, and sesquipedal* words: a very ancient error, which corrupts the style of young, and wearies the patience of sensible men. In some of his combinations of words, the Doctor is singularly unhappy. We have the *din of superficial cavillers*, the *prancings of giddy ostentation, fluttering vanity, hissing scorn, dank clod*, &c. &c. &c. The following intrusion of a technical word into a pathetic description, renders the whole passage almost ludicrous.

'Within a few days, mute was the tongue that uttered these celestial sounds, and the hand which signed your indenture lay cold and motionless in the dark and dreary chambers of death.'

In page 16, Dr Parr, in speaking of the indentures of the hospital, a subject (as we should have thought) little calculated for rhetorical panegyric, says of them—

'If the writer of whom I am speaking, had perused, as I have, your indentures and your rules, he would have found in them seriousness without austerity, earnestness without extravagance, good sense without the trickeries of art, good language without the trappings of rhetoric, and the firmness of conscious worth, rather than the prancings of giddy ostentation.'

The latter member of this eloge would not be wholly unintelligible, if applied to a spirited coach horse; but we have never yet witnessed the phenomenon of a *prancing indenture.*

It is not our intention to follow Dr Parr through the copious, and varied learning of his notes; in the perusal of which, we have been as much delighted with the richness of his acquisitions, the vigour of his understanding, and the genuine goodness of his heart, as we have been amused with his ludicrous self-importance, and the miraculous simplicity of his character. We would rather recommend it to the doctor, to publish an annual list of worthies, as a kind of stimulus to literary men; to be included in which, will unquestionably be considered as great an honour, as for a commoner to be elevated to the peerage. A line of Greek, a line of Latin, or no line at all, subsequent to each name, will distinguish, with sufficient accuracy, the shades of merit, and the degree of immortality conferred.

Why should Dr Parr confine this *eulogomania* to the literary characters of this island alone? In the university of Benares, in the lettered kingdom of Ava, among the Mandarins at Pekin, there must, doubtless, be many men who have the eloquence of * βαρρυονος, the feeling of ταιλωρος, and the judgment of ωκηρος, of whom Dr Parr might be happy to say, that they have profundity without obscurity—perspicuity without prolixity—ornament without glare—terseness without barrenness—penetration without subtlety—comprehensiveness without digression—and a great number of other things without a great number of other things.

In spite of 32 pages of very close printing, in defence of the University of Oxford, is it, or is it not true, that very many of its Professors enjoy ample salaries, without reading any lectures at all? The character of particular colleges will certainly vary

* Πάντες μὲν σοφοί· ἐγὼ δὲ Ὠκηρον μὲν σέβω. θαυμαζω δὲ Βάρρυον, ᾧ φιλῷ Ταίλωρον. See Lucian in Vita Dæmonact. vol. ii. p. 394.——(Dr. Parr's note.)

with the character of their governors; but the University of Oxford so far differs from Dr Parr, in the commendation he has bestowed upon its state of *public* education, that they have, since the publication of his book, we believe, and forty years after Mr Gibbon's residence, completely abolished their very ludicrous and disgraceful exercises for degrees, and have substituted in their place, a system of exertion, and a scale of academical honours, calculated (we are willing to hope) to produce the happiest effects.

We were very sorry, in reading Dr Parr's note on the Universities, to meet with the following passage:

"Ill would it become me, tamely and silently to acquiesce in the strictures of this formidable accuser, upon a seminary to which I owe many obligations, though I left it, as must not be dissembled, before the usual time, and, in truth, had been almost compelled to leave it, *not* by the want of a proper education, for I had arrived at the first place in the first form of Harrow School, when I was not quite fourteen—not by the want of useful tutors, for mine were eminently able, and to me had been uniformly kind—not by the want of ambition, for I had begun to look up ardently and anxiously to academical distinctions—not by the want of attachment to the place, for I regarded it then, as I continue to regard it now, with the fondest and most unfeigned affection—but by another want, which it were unnecessary to name, and for the supply of which, after some hesitation, I determined to provide by patient toil and resolute self-denial, when I had not completed my twentieth year. I ceased, therefore, to reside, with an aching heart: I looked back with mingled feelings of regret and humiliation to advantages of which I could no longer partake, and honours to which I could no longer aspire."

To those who know the truly honourable and respectable character of Dr Parr, the vast extent of his learning, and the unadulterated benevolence of his nature, such an account cannot but be very affecting, in spite of the bad taste in which it is communicated. How painful to reflect, that a truly devout and attentive minister, a strenuous defender of the church establishment, and by far the most learned man of his day, should be permitted to languish on a little paltry curacy in Warwickshire!

——Dii meliora, &c. &c.

ART. III. *Thoughts occasioned by the Perusal of Dr Parr's Spital Sermon;* being a Reply to the Attacks of Dr Parr, Mr M'Intosh, the Author of an Essay on Population, and others. By William Godwin. Taylor & Wilks, Chancery-Lane.

We were quite surprised at discovering so much good sense and moderation in the first part of this pamphlet, in which Mr Godwin replies to Mr M'Intosh and Dr Parr. The charge

which he proceeds against Mr M'Intosh, of suddenly breaking up a long established friendship, of holding him out to public execration, and whitewashing his own political reputation at the expense of his ancient comrade, is a charge out of our jurisdiction, as it is rather of a moral, than a literary nature, and, if true, affects Mr M'Intosh more as a man, than as an author.

Mr Godwin repeats here his recantations of the principle, '*that general utility should be made the immediate motive to our actions;*' but, at the same time, very fairly accuses Dr Parr of neglecting to consider the principle of universal benevolence as a *criterion*, though not a *motive* of action.

'There is a distinction to be introduced here, with which I am persuaded Dr Parr is well acquainted, though, for some reason, he has chosen to pass over one side of this distinction entirely in silence in his sermon, between the motive from which a virtuous action is to arise, and the criterion by which it is to be determined to be virtuous. The motives of human actions, are feelings, or passions, or habits. Without feeling, we cannot act at all; and without passion, we can not act greatly. But, when we proceed to ascertain whether our actions are entitled to the name of virtue, this can only be done by examining into their effects, by bringing them to a standard, and comparing them with a criterion.'

In a subsequent part of his pamphlet, Mr Godwin sets the doctrine of the particular and general affections in so clear and masterly a light, and in a manner so very superior to any thing we find in Dr Parr's sermon on the same subject, that we have great pleasure in laying the passage before our readers.

'For, after all, though I admit that the assiduities we employ for our children ought to be, and must be, the result of private and domestic affections, yet it is not these affections that determine them to be virtuous. They must, as has been already said, be brought to a standard, and tried by a criterion of virtue.

'This criterion has been above described, and it is not perhaps of the utmost importance whether we call it utility, or justice, or, more periphrastically, the production of the greatest general good, the greatest public sum of pleasurable sensation. Call it by what name you please, it will still be true, that this is the law by which our actions must be tried. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because he is one in the great congregation of the family of the whole earth. I must be attentive to the welfare of my child; because I can, in many portions of the never-ceasing current of human life, be conferring pleasure and benefit on him, when I cannot be directly employed in conferring benefit on others. I best understand his character and his wants; I possess a greater power of modelling his disposition and influencing his fortune; and, as was observed in Political Justice, (iv. 132.), he is the individual, in the great "distribution of the duties according superintendance and supply among the class capa-

ble of affording them," whom it falls to my lot to protect and cherish, I do not require that, when a man is employed in benefiting his child, he should constantly recollect the abstract principle of utility; but I do maintain, that his actions in prosecuting that benefit, are no further virtuous, than in proportion as they square with that principle.'

Aware of the very superior manner in which Mr Godwin's complaint is now accustomed to be treated, we had great hopes, upon reading so far, that a radical cure had been effected: but we had no sooner entered upon his remarks on population, than this pleasing delusion was dispelled, and we were convinced it was a case for life. The great expedients which this philosopher has in store to counteract the bad effects of excessive population, (so ably pointed out by Mr Malthus), are, abortion and child-murder. In gratitude for these noble remedies of social disorder, may we take the liberty of suggesting to Mr Godwin, the infinite importance of shaving and blistering the crown of his head, of keeping the *primæ viæ* open, and of strictly pursuing an antiphlogistic regimen. By these means, we have sometimes seen the understandings of great philosophers wonderfully and rapidly improved.

ART. IV. *Asiatic Researches:* or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. VI. 1801.

AMIDST the acquisitions which a few years have added to the stock of general information, the historian, the antiquary, the botanist and the geographer, will acknowledge important obligations to the ardour of literary research, excited in the centre of Asia. From the banks of the Ganges, the exploring genius of Philosophy has darted a rapid glance over the vast *terræ incognitæ* which extended in every direction; the manners and customs of populous nations, whose names were only known as occupying a place in our maps, have been perspicuously described; the position of their cities, and courses of their rivers ascertained and delineated. Mr Marsden's history of Sumatra, presents a comprehensive view of one of the most considerable isles of the Indian ocean; the Burman embassy has enabled Colonel Symes to afford an interesting sketch of a highly fertile country, inhabited by a race of enterprising warriors; and Captain Turner has pourtrayed, with much ability, the hardy, though unwarlike tribes, who cultivate the romantic mountains of Bhuttan, or tend their flocks on the sterile plains of the lofty Tibet. It is, however, to the publications of the Society instituted at Calcutta, by the late Sir William Jones, that the learned will chiefly look for accurate views of the past and present state of the na-

tions which surround them. Some important and many curious facts already ascertained, induce us to hope, that those expectations will not ultimately be disappointed. Amongst the former, we may class the deduction, not derived from the fallacious sources of a pliant etymology, but from a profound knowledge of most of the Asiatic languages, that the Arabs, Hindus, and Tartars, constitute three distinct races, whose manners, history, languages, and dogmata, are peculiar and unconnected, and from whom the other nations of Asia may reasonably be supposed to have proceeded. In the identification of Chandra Gupta, king of Prachi, with the Sandrocottus of the Greeks, a fixed era has been obtained, which must prove of the most important utility to those who shall attempt in future to trace the obscure history of ancient India. It is now ascertained, that the religion of Buddha prevails over a range of country even more extensive than that of Mohammed; counting amongst its votaries, all the Tartar tribes who have not embraced Islamism; the inhabitants of Tibet and Bhuttan, of Ava and its southern dependencies; the greater part of the Chinese nation, including the court, the people of Japan, of Ceylon, and probably of all the Indian isles, where the inhabitants are still polytheists. A variety of ingenious conjectures has been proposed by Captain Wilford, and supported with much erudition: the antiquity of the astronomical observations of the Hindus has become a subject of interesting discussion; and various tribes inhabiting the same country, but of different manners, idioms and configuration, have been distinguished and described. The volume before us is no less calculated, than those which have preceded it, to repay the attention of the curious.

Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujein.
By William Hunter *Esq.*

This sensible traveller accompanied the Resident at the court of the Mahratta chief, Madhugi Sindia, in the year 1792, to Oujein, the capital of his hereditary dominions, where he passed nearly a twelvemonth, and has furnished an instructive account of that city, and of two different routes from Agra to it. The first traversed the country of the brave Bundelas, who have still withstood the encroachments of the Mahrattas. The celebrated fortress of Gualior merited a description. The hill on which it stands is a mile and a half in length, in breadth only 300 yards, and its height, where greatest, 342 feet. At the north end is a palace, and about the middle of the fort, two remarkable buildings of red stone, in the most ancient style of Hindu architecture. On the outside, about half way up, are many cells, which contain the figures of men and animals, carved, in the same man-

ner as these excavations themselves, out of the solid rock. A line of blue enamel, still very fresh and brilliant, runs along all the east side. From hence to Oujein, the country usually presented the appearance of industry and successful culture. At Burwasagar, the Mahratta Subadar amused himself with philosophical experiments; he had got the plates of the Encyclopædia, neatly copied by artists of his own; and, at the age of sixty, expressed great solicitude to obtain an instructor in the English language, to enable him to understand the text.

The city of Oujein (in Sanscrit, Ujjaïni and Avanti) boasts a high antiquity, and is considered as the first meridian by Hindu geographers and astronomers. By repeated observations, Mr Hunter ascertained its longitude to be 75 deg. 51 min. E. and its latitude 23 deg. 2 min. 13 sec. But the modern city lies about a mile south of the spot; where, by digging to the depth of from fifteen to eighteen feet, the capital of Vicramaditya is found buried in the earth, with its walls entire, and pillars unbroken. The traditionary legend of the place, imputes its downfal to a shower of earth; and Mr Hunter remarks, that there are no traces of volcanic hills, nor scoriæ, in the vicinity. The entire state of the walls militates against the supposition of an earthquake, as Mr Hunter observes: we can, however, impute the ruin of Ujjaïni only to this cause, operating with a gentler concussion than usually attends that tremendous phenomenon; for the black vegetable mould, under which it lies buried, scarcely admits of being blown in such quantity. The present city is six miles in circumference, surrounded by a stone wall, with round towers; the Sipara washes its southern extremity, near which stands an observatory, built by the respectable Rajah of Arabbet. The officers of government are almost the only Mahratta inhabitants of Oujein; the bulk of the people speak a dialect little different from that of Agra; the Moslems form a considerable portion of the population, and of their number a great part is composed of Ismaelite sectaries.

Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy Islands, lying off Sumatra. By John Crisp *Esq.*

These islands are situated about twenty-five leagues west of Sumatra; a strait of two miles broad separates the northern Poggy from the south; and the whole appears in our maps under the appellation of Nassau island. The northern extremity lies in 2 deg. 18 min. S.; the southern in 3 deg. 16 min. Like Sumatra, they consist of steep mountains, covered with trees to their summits; amongst which are a considerable variety bearing fruit. The inhabitants amount only to 1400; and when the abundance of food, and mildness of the climate are considered, their resi-

dence cannot date from a remote period. The sago tree furnishes the principal article of food; pork, fish, and the common dunghill fowl, their favourite nutriment. Notwithstanding their proximity to Sumatra, 'their language is totally different, and their customs and habits of life indicate a very distinct origin, and bear a striking resemblance to those of the inhabitants of the late discovered islands in the Pacific Ocean.' Their colour is a light brown; the custom of tattooing is universal; the chastity of their females before marriage is not held in estimation; and they have no form of religious worship, nor idea of a future state.

Observations on the Theory of Walls, wherein some particulars are investigated, which have not been considered by Writers on Fortification. By William Lambton, *Lieutenant in his Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot.*

Mr Lambton is of opinion, that the force necessary to sustain a certain mass of earth, has been overrated, from neglecting to consider the tenacity of the masonry in the line where the wall is supposed to break off. He exhibits a formula for obtaining what he imagines a juster measure; but, till his deductions be confirmed by experiments on masses of masonry constructed at different times, the saving of expense, time, and labour, will scarcely justify a deviation from the present practice.

On the Poison of Serpents. By W. Boag *Esq.*

Fontana was satisfied, from the result of numerous experiments, that in the lunar caustic (nitrate of silver) he had discovered a specific remedy for the bite of serpents. The rationale of the cure is explained by Mr Boag, on the following hypothesis. The nature of the venom is the same in all serpents, and to be cured by the same means; it operates on the blood by abstracting the oxygen, on which its vitality depends; but this oxygen is supplied by the lunar caustic, since the nitric acid contains it in a loose form, and the silver has but little attraction for it. This theory, if supported by facts, seems sufficiently consistent; but all the animals bitten by a cobra de capello, the only snake used in Mr Boag's experiments, died, notwithstanding the application of the lunar caustic, unless where the venom had been previously exhausted by repeated incisions.

An Account of the Petrol um Wells in the Burman Dominions, extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Rangong, up the River Irávati to Amarápurá. By Captain Hiram Cox, *Resident at Rangong.*

These wells were visited and described by Colonel Symes, on his voyage down the Iravati; Captain Cox has added some in-

teresting particulars, and ascertained the existence of coal, below a supervening stratum of schistus. He concludes, 'that it possesses all the properties of coal-tar, being, in fact, the self-same thing. The only difference is, that nature elaborates in the bowels of the earth that for the Burmans, for which European nations are obliged to the ingenuity of Lord Dundonald.' From the 520 wells, Captain Cox estimates the annual average produce at 92,781 tons, and the value at near a million Sterling.

On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans: By Francis Buchanan, *M. D.*

Dr Buchanan accompanied Colonel Symes on his embassy to the Court of Amrapur; and, in the present disquisition, has communicated to the public, the result of his inquiries on the interesting topics mentioned in the title. Every thing relating to the lively and polished nation, so lately introduced to the acquaintance of the western world, is calculated to attract attention; and the writer is manifestly a person of abilities and education.

'Juvat integros accedere fontes,
Atque haurire; juvatque novos decerpere flores.'

Of the Burman literature, all we learn from Dr Buchanan is, that their books are numerous, and treat of history, religion, law, and medicine. But what do all books treat of? 'I heard of no poetry which the Burmans possess, except songs?' Had Dr Buchanan inquired, he would probably have found most of the works extant in the Pali language were in verse. The Burman religion occupies the remainder of this disquisition.

As we shall find it necessary to object, in many instances, to the information furnished by this gentleman, and, in most, to dissent from his conclusions, it is proper to account, in some measure, for the confidence with which we venture to contradict a writer, whose opportunities of information on the subjects he treats of, are peculiar to himself, and the other gentlemen of the mission. Dr Buchanan does not pretend to any acquaintance with the learned languages of the East; and he regrets, that his stay in the Burman dominions was too short to enable him to acquire theirs. In this predicament, his information is derived from a Romish missionary, and his etymological inferences from Paulinus. That Paulinus was unacquainted with the Sanscrit language, of which he has published a dictionary, it seems paradoxical to assert. It is nevertheless true, that, in his travels, he betrays a complete ignorance of that language, and quotes books for facts that are not to be found in them. His Sanscrit dictionary (which we have in vain endea-

voured to procure) is, we will venture to assert, a dictionary of the Malabar idiom, which bears the same relation to the Sanscrit that Italian does to Latin, or the vernacular dialect of modern Athens to the language of Aristotle and Plato.

'From a want of knowledge in the language,' says Dr Buchanan, 'I should have obtained a very superficial view of the religious tenets of the Rahans, had not Captain Symes given me the use of three treatises, which he procured from Vincentius Sangermano, an Italian priest residing at Rangong. These I have united into one connected account, translating them from the original Latin, and intermixing them throughout with such observations, as my personal acquaintance with the subject, and my reading, have enabled me to collect.'

Our attention was powerfully arrested by the first of these, entitled, Cosmographiia Burmana; but our astonishment was extreme, to discover this supposed Burman document, to be a singularly mutilated and imperfect transcript, intermixed with the translator's observations, of a Sanscrit poem. The latter is named Khetra Nirmana,* or the division of countries, and is unquestionably the most antient geographical tract now extant. It abounds in fable; but its extravagancies are compensated by the beauty of the imagery, and the harmony of the verse. The Burman version has retained only the fictions, and omits the names and descriptions of several hundreds of countries, mountains, and rivers, specified in the original.

The Burmans (says Sangermano) suppose the earth to be a circular plane, elevated in the centre. Here rises Mienmo (in Sanscrit, Meru; the Meros of Alexander's historians), the largest of mountains. Seven chains of hills, like so many belts, every where surround the king of mountains: and in the intervals between these chains, are seven rivers, called Sida, (Sita, is white, in Sanscrit), because their white waters are limpid like chrystal, and unable, from their lightness, to support even the smallest feather. Opposite to the four cardinal points of Mienmo, are placed, in the middle of the ocean, four great islands, the habitations of men and other animals. The eastern island, named Pioppavideha, is shaped like the moon in her quarters; the western island is like the full moon, and named Amaragoga; Unchegru, the northern island, is square; and, finally, the southern island, which we inhabit, is called Zabudiva, and shaped like a trapezium. 'These names are taken from cer-

* *Note by the Reviewer.*—From the Khetra Nirmana, the syſtem of Buffon and Bailli derives a confirmation, which theſe eminent philoſophers little expected; Vaïcûnta, or the Paradiſe of Viſnu, being unequivocally placed by the Pauranica in the Frozen Ocean.

tain trees, which are the sacred insignia of each particular island: thus, because the sacred tree of the southern island is Zabu, the island is named Zabudiva, or the island of the tree Zabu; diva, in the Pali language, signifying island.' This tree, Zabu, (says Dr Buchanan), is entirely the creature of fancy, there being no species of plant so called.

This assertion is altogether erroneous. Zabudiva, is a corruption of the Jambudwipa of the Hindu geographers; the Jambu tree, is the Eugenia Malaccensis of Linnæus, and the Jambosa domestica of Rumphius, who considers it as the most exquisite of the tropical fruits, after the mangostin. But dwipa does not, in the above passage, signify an island, but a region insulated by mountains. In the infancy of science, to name countries from such natural productions as were, or might be supposed, peculiar to each, seems, at least, an obvious mode of nomenclature. It only remains for us to prove this Burman document to be a mutilated transcript of the Khetra Nirmana.*

'The inhabitants of the northern island,' says Sangermano, 'differ totally from those of the others; for they neither practise agriculture, commerce, nor any other profession. There grows in their island a tree, called Padezabayn, on which, in place of fruit, hang precious garments of every kind: so that from these trees, the inhabitants are supplied with all manner of clothing. Neither have the inhabitants of Unchegru any

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* It would have been easy, if our limits had admitted of it, to have multiplied the instances of coincidence between the Burman and the Sanscrit document. But, if our readers consider the singularity of the ideas, (a tree yielding vesture, persons so similar in their form as not to be distinguishable, and a bird removing the bodies of the dead), and that they occur in both cases in the same order, this passage will probably be deemed as conclusive as a thousand. They will also remark, that the less extravagant fictions of the Pauranica, are caricatured by the ruder Burman; he is not contented with the inhabitants of his island clothing themselves in the leaves, but represents his tree as producing the dresses ready made; it is not the twins only who resemble each other, but the whole nation are absolutely undistinguishable. This comparative rudeness is also very remarkable in the following instance: As the Burman professes to delineate the extent of countries, he begins by exhibiting the measures of space, precisely similar to those of the Brahmans, excepting that for the seeds of the papavera, the former have substituted *lice*; thus, '7 lice = 1 grain of rice,' instead of 7 poppy seeds = 1 barley corn. The two documents would, in all probability, have been exactly similar, had not Sangermano contented himself with giving an *abstract* of the Burman, instead of a translation, and intermixed with it a variety of observations of his own.

need to cultivate the ground; as the same padezabayn produces a certain excellent kind of rice, which has no husk. Women, there, are not subject to the common sexual infirmities, and bear their children without any pain. When the time comes, they bring them forth in the streets, and there leave them. Thus, no one knows his own relations; as also, because all the inhabitants are of the same form and colour. As soon as a person dies, the body is deposited in a certain place, when very large birds, destined by Fate for that purpose, carry it away to another part of the island, and there devour it. These islanders are very handsome, especially the women, who excel in softness, suppleness, and elegance of limbs.'

Let our readers compare the above passage, with the following, which we translate literally from the Khetra Nirmana.

1. North of Meru, and south of Mount Nila (the Riphean mountains), lies the land of Curu, venerated by the pious.

2. There the trees bend with delicious fruits; there, a thousand flowers diffuse an exquisite fragrance.

3. From one tree, named Kharina, exudes a vegetable milk, sweet as ambrosia: its leaves supply vesture, its fruits nourishment to the natives.

4. The inhabitants are white and lovely; the women, fair as the nymphs of paradise; they usually produce twins.

5. These twins grow together; their aspects and qualities are similar, and, like a pair of turtles, one cannot be distinguished from the other.

6. Robust and healthy, they live in continual enjoyment, free from care; and, as their birth was contemporary, they both die at the same instant.

7. The huge bird, Bharunda, of enormous strength, lifts up the corse, and drops it in the river.'

We believe this collation will suffice to prove, that the Burman document is of Indian origin; though we are apt to suspect, that the missionary has frequently failed in seizing the sense of his original. But the Burman topography, which forms the second treatise, would probably have furnished a still more ample corroboration of this fact, had Sangermano furnished the Pali names of the 101 nations which are said to inhabit Zabadiva. Instead of this, he only remarks, 'that of all the nations which are said to inhabit the earth, we find none mentioned as part of the 101, except the Chinese, Siamese, and the inhabitants of Javay, Pegu, Laos, Cussay, and Arakan. The truth, however, we suspect to be, that the Pali names, of these countries alone, were known to the missionary; and that of the rest, the Pali names only were known to the Rahans, whom he

ing; which is also consentaneous with the opinion of Sir William Jones. Had Dr Buchanan consulted Arrian, he would have seen, that the Brahmans, with their division of casts, had existed, from time immemorial, in the days of Alexander; and that the opinion then prevalent was, that Crisna (whom the Greeks named the Indian Hercules, and mention his being worshipped at Mathura Deorum, where Crisna is still worshipped) appeared upon earth 4500 years before the reign of Sandrocottus, or Chandra Gupta: An exaggerated statement, but sufficient to prove the high antiquity assigned to the Hindu system, so early as the days of the Macedonian conqueror.

It cannot be disputed, that the religion of Buddha obtained, about the period of the Christian era, an extensive ascendancy throughout Hindustan; and it is equally true, that it is now almost extirpated, in all probability, by the exertions of the Brahmans. The Egyptian origin of the latter is not supported by a shadow of proof, and rests on the knowledge they have discovered of the source of the Nile, according to the ingenious hypothesis of Captain Wilford; which is, however, the converse of our author's. That learned speculatist supposes emigrations

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tion of all the paſſages in the Caſmirian hiſtory, which relate to the ſubject under diſcuſſion.

'1. When the water which covered the valley of Caſmir, had in ſome meaſure ſubſided, Caſſyapa, a ſaint of great reputation, brought a colony of Brahmans to it. When the population became numerous, it appeared neceſſary to chooſe a ruler; and the wife and experienced, aſſembling for that purpoſe, ſelected the moſt diſtinguiſhed for that ſtation.

'2. Again: When the regal authority devolved on Aſoca, the uncle's ſon of Rajah Janaca, he threw off the religion of the Brahmans, and adopted that of Jina, remaining conſtantly attached to him. His ſon, Rajah Jeluc, is reſpected as a juſt prince; he conquered the adjacent country as far as the ſea; he procured from Canoj, then the principal city of Hinduſtan, ſeven learned Brahmans, whom he appointed to the chief offices of his kingdom. The Hindus relate ſeveral wonderful adventures of this monarch. In his reign, the religion of Buddha continued to acquire an aſcendancy.

'3. In the reign of Rajah Nerka, the worſhip of Buddha was proſcribed, and his temples levelled with the ground.' Dr Buchanan, it will be obſerved, places this event *in anno Domini* 340; yet, many generations after, the hiſtorian mentions that Caſmir was conquered by Vicramaditya, who indiſputably reigned in the century before our Saviour. A deciſive proof of the total fallacy of his calculation, and of the juſtice of our remarks.

where oppression *always* paves the way for revolt, and succession is not clearly defined, ten years is as much as should be allowed for a reign; and Ouengund and Crisna will be placed in the year before Christ 248. Now, the Brahmans of Cassyapa could not be the sect of priests, because they cultivated the earth. This is confirmed by the account given of Rajah Jenneh (it should be Janaca), the 45th prince from Ouengund, 'who established, in his reign, the Brahmeny rites.' His successor, Jelouk, 'tolerated the doctrine of Buddha;' and it was not till the year 342, 'that the Brahmans got the better of the followers of Buddha, and burned down their temples.'

We must, in the first place, remark, that Cassyapa, himself a Brahman, is unquestionably understood by Abul Fazil to have introduced the Brahman priests into Casmir, whom he mentions, not as the cultivators of the earth, but because it was they who elected a king. So far is ten years for a reign from being the true average of an eastern dynasty, that the family of Timur, before the empire of Hindustan fell into confusion, furnish 35 years for a reign; and even now, notwithstanding the reigns of a few months which succeeded, 23 years is the average furnished by the reigning dynasty, in times of great turbulence and distraction. But we find that Abul Fazil states 168, not 151 princes, to have reigned between Ouengund and Cotadevi: Allowing 20 years to a reign, we shall find Ouengund to have reigned 2018 years before Christ; which is precisely the era at which Sir William Jones (whose assertions always derive new force from investigation) places his contemporary Crisna. A more unaccountable error afterwards occurs; for, so far from Rajah Janaca 'establishing the Brahmeny rites,' as Dr Buchanan asserts, his successor abjured these rites, and introduced those of Buddha. We translate the passage from Abul Fazil—'When the regal authority devolved on the cousin of Rajah Janaca, (the Rajah himself is not once mentioned, excepting in the chronological list), he threw off the rites of the Brahmans, and adopted the religion of Jina (Buddha), to whom he remained constantly attached.' The historian proceeds to mention, that this heresy was still more widely diffused in the reign of his successor Jeloak. * His words seem to imply, that Buddha was then liv-

* As the comparative antiquity of the Brahmanical and Samanian superstitions, is a point of singular importance to Indian history; and as Dr Buchanan has afforded, perhaps, the most striking instance, in the history of literature, of an author being cited to prove a fact, exactly the converse of what he really asserts; we will here insert a literal trans-

the rest of the world by almost inaccessible barriers; the river Alacnandra, before it joins the Ganges, washes the capital, seated in a plain two miles in extent, and probably the largest in the kingdom. The revenues of the Rajah only amount to 50,000*l.*; of which he pays a moiety, as tribute, to the sovereign of Gorca. Mines of copper, lead and iron, are wrought by his subjects; and gold is found in the sands of several rivers. This itinerary is valuable to the geographer, and the botanist; but we expected to derive more particular information concerning the Indian spikenard (Valerian Jatamansi), from the country in which it was supposed indigenous. This petty principality dates its origin 1978 years before Christ; and has been exempted, by its poverty, from the yoke of foreign invaders.

Description of the Caves, or Excavations, on the mountain about a mile to the eastward of the town of Ellore.

Sir Charles Malet has here furnished a minute, though somewhat perplexed, description of one of the most stupendous monuments of times of remote antiquity, still extant on the surface of the earth: An immense mountain, almost entirely excavated into large halls, spacious saloons, and lofty temples, supported by pillars of elegant workmanship, and ornamented by emblematical sculptures of wonderful beauty and endless variety. The solidity of its materials seems to mock the revolutions of states and empires, and to be destined to convey, to the remotest posterity, a memorial of the industry and ingenuity of primeval times. Obelisks, pyramids, and sphinxes, constitute a part of the decorations; and the mythological history of the Hindus furnishes the subjects of the sculptures. The work is attributed by them to the five sons of Pandu, who lived, according to Sir William Jones, about 2000 years before Christ. When the ingenious artist, Mr Wales, who has been employed in designing these excavations, shall have favoured the world with the plans and inscriptions of these singular remains, there is little doubt of ascertaining their origin and use. Sir Charles, from his being unacquainted with Sanscrit, his indisposition at the time he viewed them, and the ignorance of his Cicerone, has furnished a description better calculated to excite, than to gratify curiosity. The excavations at Thebes, in Egypt, appear to be analogous in their purposes and execution.

Remarks on some Antiquities on the West and South Coasts of Ceylon.

These papers, furnished by Captain Mackenzie and Mr Harington, supply some important confirmations of the received (and, we will venture to affirm, the true) opinion, concerning the relative antiquity of the religion of the Brahmans, and the

worship of Buddha. The former of these prevailed in Ceylon, till it was supplanted by the latter, introduced in the sixth century before Christ. Of the first fact, we never entertained a doubt, since the island is covered with towns and villages, named after the Hindu deities; the ruins of whose temples are now seen surrounding modern edifices constructed to Buddha. Attached to the latter, is usually seen a solid structure of a circular shape, surrounded by a terrace, in all respects similar to those described by Colonel Symes in the Burman dominions, where the same superstition is prevalent. Their analogy with the Egyptian pyramids, suggests a confirmation of one of Sir William Jones's hypotheses, of which his untimely death prevented the elucidation.—*See Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Indian zodiac.*

On Mount Caucasus. By Captain Francis Wilford.

Captain Wilford is a skilful geographer, and an excellent classical scholar. By birth a German, he has, since his residence in Bengal, to a knowledge of the antient languages of Europe, added that of India. His first communication to the Society, fixed demonstratively the seat of Tagara, a celebrated emporium, according to Arrian and Ptolemy, at Deoghir, near the excavations described by Sir Charles Malet. The next, attracted much more of the public attention, by endeavouring to establish, that an early intercourse had subsisted between India and the countries watered by the Nile, and successive emigrations having taken place from the former to the latter. The theory seemed too much founded on verbal etymologies; but these, with the coincidences derived from geography, history, and fable, constituted a mass of evidence, * which it were difficult to resist,

* *Note by the Reviewer.*—Much more might, doubtless, be produced, if requiſite. We met, a few days ago, with a paſſage of this nature, in the Sanſcrit hiſtory of Deva Mahuſa, or Dionyſius. The Pauranica mentions, that, after marching through various countries, he repaired to Ollaki, the city of Cuvera. The annotator adds, that by the city of Cuvera (the Indian Plutus), we muſt underſtand, mines of gold. On referring to the dictionary of Amara Singha, for the meaning of the word Ollaki, it was found to ſignify the city of Cuvera, and men with woolly hair. Mount Ollaki, between the Nile and the Red Sea, is thus deſcribed by the Arabian geographer: 'In the land of Baja, there are gold mines, particularly at a place called Ollaki: there are not, in any quarter of the world, ſuch gold mines as theſe. The inhabitants worſhip idols.' Ollaki has no ſignification whatever in Arabic; therefore, we preſume none in the Abyſſinian. Its Sanſcrit meanings are ſingularly appoſite, and muſt prove, we think, deciſive, as to the place alluded to.

whilst the fact to be proved was not improbable in itself. His subsequent communications exhibit the same powers of combination, the same erudition and ingenuity, but usually suggest much wilder hypotheses; so that, whilst we admire the talents of the writer, we seldom feel disposed to acquiesce in his conclusions. In this class we must rank his supposition, that the sacred isles of the Puránás, are those of Great Britain and Ireland; an hypothesis which would require the strongest proofs, and has hitherto been supported only by the weakest. The paper before us is distinguished by the same excellencies, and by similar defects: it abounds in assertions destitute of proof, and in valuable, judicious and curious remarks.

Mount Caucasus derived its name from the Khasa, a tribe whose descendants still inhabit the same regions. The appellation extended from India to the shores of the Mediterranean, probably because this extensive range was inhabited by Khasa: for we find the Cossei amongst the mountaineers of Persia, Mount Casius on the borders of Egypt, and another in Syria. Their original country is Cashgar, to the north-east of Cabul, situated in a delightful valley, and watered by a large river, which washes Chatraul, the capital city. This is still the seat of a petty Mohamedan prince, who is now tributary to the Chinese, together with the districts near the sources of the Oxus. An extensive branch of Caucasus was called, by the Greeks, Parapamisus, obviously derived from Para Vami, the pure and excellent city of Vami, commonly called Bamiyan. It is situated on the road between Balkh and Cabul, and, like Thebes in Egypt, consists of a vast number of apartments and recesses cut out of the rock, some of which, on account of their extraordinary dimensions, are supposed to have been temples: Two colossal statues, one eighty ells high, and the other only fifty, erect, and adhering to the mountain from which they are cut out, still arrest the attention of travellers. The Hindus and Buddhists have each a legend to account for them: The Moslems affirm, they represent Caïumaras and his consort; which means, says our author, Adam and Eve. Bamiyan is named Bahlica in the Puranas, and is frequently confounded with Balkh, by Persian writers, who mean the former, when they speak of the metropolis of the fire worshippers. This and the adjacent countries are considered, by the natives, as the place of abode of the progenitors of mankind. The foundation of Bamiyan is ascribed to Shama, who appears to be Shem; and from hence Abraham is said to have travelled to the west. A spot occurs also, answering minutely to the Mosaical description of the terrestrial paradise; for a small brook, winding through the valley, falls into a lake, whence issue four navigable rivers. The land of Khavila, abounding in

gold. is found in the district of Cabul. But although this idea be not countenanced by tradition, many circumstances concur to prove, that it was in this vicinity, Swayambhuva, or Noah, debarked with his family from the ark. The region near Tukht Soliman, is the only country where the olive tree is indigenous; and Noah was supplied with wine, by the vines still growing spontaneously between Bamiyan and the Indus. Aryavarta, or India, is probably the Araraut mentioned in scripture, whence the patriarchs journeyed (as they are said) from the east, to settle in Shinar. Parapamisus is named Parnassus, by Dionysius, Periegetes, Priscian, and Avienus: This term originated in the Parnasala, houses of leaves, inhabited by the hermits, who dwelt on this sacred mountain. For Deva Cala Yavana (Deucalion), king of this country, when he repaired to Greece, after being expelled from his dominions by Crisna, transferred to the Grecian Parnassus, the name and worship celebrated on the Parnassus of India.

We have selected the more prominent hypotheses proposed by Captain Wilford in the course of his learned disquisition. Arrian affirms, that Caucasus was a mountain of Scythia, widely distant from Parapamisus. But, be this as it may, its name is, in our opinion, a corruption of Cuh-Caf; a mountain which, according to the Persian romances, environs the habitable globe. The Khasa are unquestionably a tribe of mountaineers, who inhabit a part of the range north-west of India; but we have seen no reason to believe they extended even to the Caspian. The antiquity of Bamiyan, is proved, by tradition, and by its remains, which attest the workmanship of primeval artists; but we are by no means satisfied that it is the Bahlica of the Puranas; nor that Balkh, the ancient Bactria, is not the metropolis of the Ignicolists, mentioned by the Moslem historians. Our author, somewhat ludicrously, permits his readers to choose, whether they will suppose Sama, to whom its foundation is ascribed by the Buddhists, to be Shem, the son of Noah, or Sam, the famous hero of Persia, grandfather of Rustum. Were there no other alternative, we should declare for Sam, who was governor of Zabul for the king of Persia, and certainly lived in the vicinity; though, what analogy excepting of name, can be traced between a Buddhist devotee, and a Persian warrior, we are at a loss to imagine. The flaming sword which guards the approaches to Eden, has not, we apprehend, receded, nor permitted our author to penetrate to its site; and the bleak Mount of Araraut will retain its claim as the resting place of the ark, in spite of the vines and olives of Aryaverta. The legends respecting Parnassus and Deucalion, stand in a different predicament; for the historians of Alexander admit that he found

traces of the exploits of the Grecian deities as far east as his arms had reached. But the discussion, however curious, would occupy a space inconsistent with our limits.

On the Antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta. By Mr J. Bentley.

Mr Bentley appears to be a mathematician of considerable industry and merit. In this disquisition, he has supplied some instructive observations on the principles of the Hindu astronomy, and on the manner in which their cycles were, or might have been formed. He has also exhibited useful formulæ, showing their application in discovering the actual position of the heavenly bodies.

His discussion relative to the antiquity of the Surya Siddhanta, involves points of the utmost importance; no less, indeed, than whether the whole of Sanscrit literature shall be considered as the spurious productions of a recent age, or genuine monuments of primeval times. We shall endeavour to do justice to his formidable attack on the Indian Gymnosophists.

The Surya Siddhanta is generally believed to be the most ancient astronomical treatise the Hindus have; and, according to their notions, was received by divine revelation 2,164,899 years ago: But the mean result of calculations, from ten different *data* afforded by that work, and, on its own principles, assuming the position of the heavenly bodies to have been accurately observed at the time it was written, gives only 731 years for the date of its composition, or the year of our Lord 1068.* But, independent of all calculations, an astronomical work, intituled the Bhasvati, was composed 700 years ago by Sotanund, who, according to Hindu accounts, was a pupil of Varáha Mihira: the

* By exhibiting the mean result only, we have given Mr Bentley's argument an advantage to which it is not entitled. The individual results from each of the ten *data*, vary from 300 to 1100 years, for the age of the Surya Siddhanta. Hence, the only legitimate inference that can be deduced, is, either that the heavenly bodies were so inaccurately observed by the author, as to furnish no basis for calculation; or that the observations were made at a period prodigiously anterior to that assumed by Mr Bentley. The first alone is admissible, and in that we are disposed to acquiesce. But when it is recollected how many collations, researches, and ingenious conjectures, have been requisite to restore Greek and Roman writers to their pristine sense, some inquiry would be necessary respecting the manuscript used by Mr Bentley, and the certainty of his comprehending his text, which he interprets differently from his instructors. At present, Mr Bentley is involved in the following dilemma; either that the observations of the heavenly bodies contained in the Surya Siddhanta, are wholly erroneous; or that they were not made at the period he conjectures,

commentary on this treatise declares, that Varáha was the author of the Surya Siddhánta. ' Therefore, any Hindu work, in which the name of Varáha, or his system, is mentioned, must evidently be modern: and this circumstance alone totally destroys the pretended antiquity of many of the Puranas and other books, which, through the artifices of the Brahmanical tribe, have been hitherto deemed the most ancient in existence.' Now, all the other astronomical works Mr Bentley has seen, adopt the system given in the Surya Siddhánta by Varáha. A work ascribed to Parasara, a philosopher who is supposed to have lived before the Vedas were arranged in their present form, exhibits a still more manifest proof of forgery; since one of the formulæ it exhibits, mentions the era of Saca, which began *anno Domini* 78.

It would be easy to show, that the circumstances so forcibly stated, by no means justify the sweeping inference deduced by our authoor. Varáha Mihira was never considered as an antient writer, and is supposed by Sir William Jones, to have flourished *anno Domini* 499. That he was the author of the Surya Siddhánta, rests on the single authority of the commentator on the Bhasvati, a work which seems to have been composed in Siam; though we greatly wish Mr Bentley had imitated Sir William Jones on such occasions, by inserting the original passage. But, on what authority does our author assume, that the calpa or cycle of Varáha is that of Varáha *Mihira*, the modern astronomer? We find the Hindu cycles always distinguished by the names of different deities. There is the Devi Calpa, the Surya Calpa; the present is the Visnu Calpa; and we entertain no doubt, that the Varáha Calpa derived that designation from the Varáha Avatára, or incarnation of Visnu, in the form of a boar, as is the universal opinion of the natives. Now, the name of Varáha Mihira unquestionably does not occur in the Puránas, or in any work pretending to antiquity; and we have seen in what light we are to consider the Varáha Calpa. The mention of the era of Sácá, in a work attributed to Parásara, is only decisive against that passage; for we are satisfied no work of great antiquity can exist, in a country where the art of printing is unknown, free from interpolations. The institutes of Timur are now acknowledged to be genuine, and written under the direction of that conqueror, though they are found to contain an account of his own death. Some copyist of the Crista Parásara, was acquainted with an useful formula, which he injudiciously inserted in what he considered its proper place. Did our limits permit, we could distinctly prove, from considerations unconnected with astronomy, that the high antiquity attributed to the Hindu records, is founded on evidence of a nature almost conclusive.

ART. V. *Travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, and Persia,* undertaken by Order of the Government of France, during the firſt ſix years of the Republic, by G. A. Olivier, Member of the National Inſtitute, of the Society of Agriculture of the Department of the Seine, &c. &c. Illuſtrated by Engravings, conſiſting of Human Figures, Animals, Plants, Maps, Plans, &c. &c. To which is prefixed, a Map of Greece, of the Archipelago, and of a part of Aſia Minor. Vol. I. & II. Tranſlated from the French. Longman. 1801.

AMIDST the horrors of the revolutionary criſis in France, whilſt the Royal Family was confined in the Temple, a ſanguinary proſcription everywhere purſued its adherents; and whilſt the armies of the Allied Powers ſtill hovered on the frontiers, the executive provisional council found leiſure to draw up a ſchedule of inſtructions for Meſſrs Olivier and Bruguière, deputed to collect information relative to the intereſting countries enumerated in the title-page. 'Commerce, agriculture, natural hiſtory, general phyſics, geography, the medical art, and even our political relations with Turkey,' were the objects to which their attention was primarily directed.

M. Olivier, who alone lived to reviſit his native country, is a native of Provence, and was previouſly known to the literary world, by his 'Entomologie, ou hiſtoire naturelle des inſectes,' by his 'Dictionnaire des inſectes, faiſant partie de l'Encyclopedie méthodique,' and by a variety of Mémoires on ſubjects of natural hiſtory and agriculture. The candour and ſimplicity of the ſtatements, which M. Olivier has exhibited, as the reſult of his perſonal obſervations, confirms us in the opinion, that the oſtenſible motives, above aſſigned for his miſſion, were alſo the real ones; and we may reaſonably conclude, that the provisional government would ſcarcely have ſelected a laborious entomologiſt, for purpoſes of more queſtionable tendency.

'I have,' ſays our author, 'in the following narrative, avoided all ſingular anecdotes, all humorous ſtories, more fit to amuſe than inſtruct. I was not willing to employ thoſe over-brilliant colours, which may be captivating for a moment; but the effect of which is tranſient. The ſight of a deſerted field covered with myrtles, or that of a garden confuſedly planted with date and orange trees, could never inflame my imagination; and I have frequently ſurveyed, without aſtoniſhment, truncated capitals, and ſcattered fragments of columns.'

From this paſſage, our readers will be enabled to appreciate the extent and ſpecies of the entertainment afforded by the French traveller; they will find important facts, and meagre deſcription; much political diſcuſſion, and little illuſtration of manners. The luxuriant ſcenery, which ſkirts the banks of the Thracian Bos-

phorus, is certainly depicted with no very splendid colouring, in the pages of our author. To him the city of Constantine is an irregular capital, with an excellent harbour; the hoary cliffs of Olympus, viewed in the distant horizon, are only high mountains, covered through great part of the year with snow; and the celebrated labyrinth of Crete, suggests the idea of a large stone quarry.

M. Olivier, and his colleague, embarked at Toulon, in the month of April 1793; and, after a passage of twenty-two days, reached the harbour of Constantinople. The elevated position of this city, 'the mixture of trees, houses, and minarets, which it presents; the entrance of the Bosphorus; the harbour and suburbs of Galata, Pera, and St Demitri; Scutari, and the verdant hills which lie behind; the Propontis, with its islands; farther on, Mount Olympus, covered with snow; everywhere the variegated and fertile fields of Asia and Europe;—all this assemblage exhibits different pictures, which captivate and astonish.' But these impressions are speedily removed on entering the city, composed of narrow and ill-paved streets, and filled with mean houses, constructed of earth and wood. Its population he estimates at five hundred thousand inhabitants, ascertained by the distribution of corn monopolized by the Porte, and supposing that the men, women, and children eat a pound and a half of flour per day. Though this allowance be sufficiently ample, yet recent travellers do not admit so considerable a population: Mr Dallaway states it at 400,000, inclusive of the suburbs of Galata, Pera, Tophana, and Scutari. We are disposed, however, to believe our author correct; the quantity of corn daily distributed, is an ascertained fact; the estimated consumption of each individual, seems rather to err by excess; and if we take into consideration the probability of considerable quantities being smuggled into the city, we can scarcely suppose its population to fall short of his calculation.

The subsistence of this immense population is derived almost exclusively from the Grand Signior. 'Almost all the revenues of the royal treasury,' says M. Olivier, 'are consumed in Constantinople; here are placed all the national establishments; and, in the provinces, there neither are armies, navy, arsenals, nor fortresses kept up at his expense.' This observation, as above expressed, might lead to an important error; the provincial governors defray these expenses, from the revenues of their respective provinces, and remit the surplus to the royal treasury at Constantinople; but those disbursements are unquestionably derived from the same sources which supply the expenditure of the capital. The wealth annually poured into Constantinople, and consumed there, our author estimates at two hundred millions of livres; and to the presence of the sovereign, to the expense of his palace,

and to the public establishments, he attributes solely its great population.

'The richest private individuals of the empire, do not come hither to spend their income in effeminacy and idleness; or dissipate their fortunes in the hazards of play, in the pleasures of love, or in the luxury of the table. The Agas, or lords, remain on their estates, in order to preserve them, defend them, and make the most of them. The Pachas cannot quit their government, without an order of the sovereign. The Molhas' (it should be Mula) 'and the Cadis, exercise justice in the towns, whither they have received orders to repair: both the one and the other come to intrigue at Constantinople, only when they are displaced.'

The harbour presents an ever-varying scene, from the arrival and departure of ships and large boats, and the continual movement of caiques, manned by two or three rowers. In its facility of access; in that of its defence, by fortifying the entrance of the Bosphorus, and of the Hellespont; in its capacity of containing a considerable navy; and in the removal of depositions by the rotatory motion of the current, which keeps it perpetually clear; the harbour of Constantinople possesses still more important advantages. 'We may, at this moment, carry the Turkish navy to twenty sail of the line, one of which is a three decker; to upwards of twenty frigates or sloops, some of which are of 40 guns; and to various other small vessels.' Hussain Pacha, who, from a confidential slave, had been raised by Selim to the office of high-admiral, strenuously exerted himself to add to the number: but whilst the Turkish navy shall continue to be wrought by Greeks ignorant of navigation, and ill-affected to the cause in which they are engaged, their maritime power must be calculated from other *data* than the number of their vessels.

From Constantinople, our author was transported in ten minutes across the Bosphorus, and landed at Scutari, on the opposite shore. This town serves as an emporium, and a rendezvous to the caravans of Asia; and its population, estimated at 60,000 inhabitants, was included in that of the capital. 'The burying grounds of Scutari are the handsomest of the Ottoman empire, from their extent, the luxury of the tombs, and the height and closeness of the trees.' The Turks prefer being buried in Asia, which they consider as belonging to the true believers; while the land of Europe is expected again to revert one day into the possession of the Infidels; a prediction, which, like most others, will doubtless accelerate its own accomplishment. The cypress trees, which shade the cemetery, extend to the site of Chalcedon, now faintly marked by some remains of walls, and a small subterraneous temple. Notwithstanding the extensive gardens

which, in some places, cover the environs of Constantinople, the adjacent fields are surprisingly neglected; and, from their sterile aspect, bespeak rather a devastated country, than the vicinity of a populous city. A chain of schistose hills, very fertile, and covered with cypresses, oaks, lime-trees, chesnut-trees, arbutuses, myrtles, brooms, and vines, skirts the channel of the Bosphorus. The castles, erected on each shore to defend the passage, might, in our author's opinion, be dismantled by a single frigate. In the broadest part, only six miles from the Black Sea, stands the romantic village of Buyucdéré, chiefly inhabited by Europeans, Greeks, and Armenians;—to render it a residence perfectly agreeable, it were necessary, M. Olivier thinks, that the ambassadors of the Europeans should be less fond of ceremony, and the women of the Greeks less attached to money.

Citizen Beauchamp, at the request of the National Institute, having recently surveyed the coasts of the Black Sea, as far as Trebisond—'It results,' says M. Olivier, 'from his observations, that the south coast advances, in some places, about a degree more towards the north; that Capes Kerenpé and Indjé are nearly in the 42d degree; that the gulph of Samson is much deeper; and that Trebisond is five or six leagues more to the westward, than it is laid down on the charts.' This information would have been more valuable, had it been more particular: in fact, we find Karanpi (the ancient Carambis) actually occupying, in our charts, the position here assigned to it; and our readers will doubtless be surprised to find the Amisenus Sinus (called Amisun by the Turks) converted by the Citizen Beauchamp (for we cannot suppose it M. Olivier) into the gulph of *Samson.*

From Buyucdéré to the Black Sea, lies a country very uneven, a little mountainous, at first volcanic, then schistose, uncultivated, covered with rock-roses, arbutuses, and broom. The coast rises twenty toises, almost perpendicularly, for a great extent presenting a mixture of clay and calcareous earth, in which a company of Armenian traders wrought a few veins of a vegetable substance, 'which have not yet entirely reached the state of *charcoal.*' For this error, M. Olivier is manifestly indebted to his translator; and we cannot doubt that he meant, that these vegetable remains have not reached the state of coal.

In his medical capacity, M. Olivier had occasion to enter the haram of a Turkish officer: We select his description of the interior of the dwelling:

'We were received in a handsome kiosk, a sort of saloon open on the sides, ornamented with paintings, gilding, and Arabic sentences taken from the Koran. In the middle, were a jet-d'eau, and a bason of white marble; on one side was a view of the Bosphorus; and on the other,

that of a beautiful garden, and of part of the Capidgi's houſe, built with much elegance. After the cuſtomary compliments, pipes and coffee were brought; and, after an hour's converſation, we went to the female patient. No ſervant followed us. The Capidgi made us croſs various apartments, the doors of which he himſelf opened and ſhut. We arrived at a hall rather ſpacious, ſurrounded, on three ſides, by a ſopha covered with a beautiful crimſon cloth, trimmed with gold fringe. On the floor were ſpread a fine Egyptian mat, and a few little Perſian carpets. The ſick woman was in the middle of the room, on a light mattreſs, ſurrounded by large cuſhions, on which ſhe was leaning, and attended by two young female ſlaves.'

In Turkey, the law permits three manners of cohabiting with women. Tournefort juſtly obſerved, that a man married the first, hired the second, and purchased the third. M. Olivier, however, ſtates, somewhat inaccurately, that the second of these modes 'is diſtinguiſhed by the name of '*kapin:*' the word *cabîn*, to which he alludes, ſignifies literally a jointure or dowry, and is one of the many Perſic terms incorporated with the mixed idiom of the Turks. In conſidering the conſequences of polygamy on population, our author determines it to be prejudicial; aſſuming, however, that the number of women is nearly equal to that of men. Were this *petitio principii* conceded, there could be no queſtion that polygamy were unfavourable to population; but we apprehend that, in the ſouthern climates of Aſia, the number of female births conſiderably preponderates; and, unleſs this circumſtance be attributed to polygamy as an effect, its influence on population muſt ſtill remain problematical.

On the 9th April 1798, our author accompanied the French legation, to ſee the filing off of a part of the army, which Sultan Selim was ſending againſt Paſwan Oglou.

'We ſaw paſs in ſucceſſion, companies of cavalry, of Delis, of Yaïms, of Timariots, of Selictars, and of Spahis, armed with a muſket, two piſtols, and a ſabre. After them came a company of horſemen, armed with lances: like thoſe who went firſt, they had their ſabre and piſtols. Each company was preceded by one or two colours, and followed by a great number of Sacas, or water-carriers. The horſes on which theſe Sacas' (it ſhould be Saki) 'were mounted, had two large leather bottles of water, for the wants of the company.

'What had rather a bad effect among this choſen troop was, that the muſkets were of different form and calibre; the horſemen were irregularly clothed; many among them were in rags and ill mounted, while ſome others were better dreſſed and better armed. The officers were diſtinguiſhed by the beauty of their horſes, by the richneſs of the trappings, and by the footmen who preceded them.'

'Oglou, in Turkish, signifies son. The father was Ayam, or Notable of Widin.' [We must here remark, that the office of Ayan, enjoyed by the father of Paswan Oglou, derived from an Arabic word signifying an eye, and not Ayam, as M. Olivier writes it, was that of Inspector or Comptroller of the city, and certainly bore no resemblance to the functions of a French Notable.] 'He was rich, and enjoyed great consideration among his fellow citizens. He commanded a troop of volunteers in the last war of the Turks against the Russians and Germans. It is thought that his reputation, and, above all, his riches, induced the Grand Visir, then Seraskier of the army, to cause him to be apprehended, and his head to be cut off.' The conduct of Paswan Oglou is attributed, by our author, to revenge; and political events concurred to facilitate his designs. The signal and successive defeats of the Turkish armies, had called the attention of the Sultans Mustafa III. and Abdul Hamid, to the improvement of their military establishment; and various institutions were formed with that intention. Selim III, on his accession to the throne, struck with the superiority of European arms and tactics, determined to substitute a well-disciplined army, in the room of the mutinous and disorderly bands which constituted the corps of Janizaries; but that body, though little formidable to an enemy, was still too powerful to be attacked with impunity by their sovereign. An attempt to preclude the increase of their number by new recruits, occasioned an insurrection in the Western provinces: This revolt was suppressed everywhere but at Widin; where Paswan Oglou, recently appointed Ayan, marched at the head of the insurgents against the Pacha, cut him in pieces, and obliged him to abandon the town. This success collected around him all the disaffected Janizaries of the provinces; the prospect of immunity from the new taxes, enlisted others under his banners; the Greeks were attracted by the abolition of distinctions, and by the motto of liberty and justice, which were seen, perhaps, only on his standards. Seizing the imperial revenues, and levying contributions from the country, his force was already become so formidable, as to induce the Porte to grant him a pardon, and the restitution of his father's property: It was farther stipulated, that every thing should remain at Widin on the antient footing; that the new tax should not be established there; and that the Janizaries should be maintained in their rights. It was easy to predict the consequences of this disgraceful compromise: The Pacha deputed to the government of Widin by the Porte, found his authority merely nominal; the influence and intrigues of Paswan Oglou extended even to the Court; he solicited the government for himself, together with the dignity of Pacha of Three Tails; and, when he perceived his machinations fruitless, raised again the standard of revolt, drove away the

Pacha, and recommenced his incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Paswan Oglou, according to M. Olivier, was only deterred, by dread of the imperial Courts of Vienna and Petersburgh, from seizing on the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, and erecting them into an independent principality. A less hazardous attempt, in our author's opinion, would have been, to march to Constantinople, and to seat himself on the Ottoman throne! He did neither; but contented himself with levying contributions, augmenting his forces, and preparing to resist such attacks as the Porte might meditate against him. 'Already had the Janizaries refused to march; already did the immense number of inhabitants of Constantinople hold out their arms to him, whom they considered as their deliverer, as the defender of their rights: The majority of the great were devoted to his interests; and the people, as is well known, always seduced by the prestiges which surround the great man, second his projects without inquiry, and promote, without mistrust, all his enterprises.' At length, the different Pachas of European Turkey were ordered to march against him with all their forces. The result of the campaign was favourable to Paswan, who added Orsova, Silistria, Kersova, and almost all the towns situated on the Danube, to those which had previously acknowledged his authority. In 1798, all the Pachas of the empire were ordered to detach their quota of troops, for the reduction of this formidable rebel: The Janizaries still persisted in their refusal to march against a Mussulman, whose only crime was to have asserted their privileges. A numerous army was, however, collected, the rear guard of which M. Olivier had seen file off, and entrusted to the command of Hussain Pacha, the High Admiral, whose personal courage and tried fidelity were supposed to supply the place of experience, in an arduous service, to which he had been unaccustomed. The signal defeat of this commander, before the gates of Widin, completed the triumph, and has, for a time, consolidated the power of Paswan Oglou.

'As soon as Hussain had retired, Paswan recalled the soldiers that he had disbanded; he a second time made himself master of the places which he had evacuated, and again threatened the north of the empire. After various deliberations of the Council, the Porte determined to offer the rebel, whom it could not destroy, his pardon, the government of Widin, and the dignity of Pacha with Three Tails: And as, in these circumstances,' says M. Olivier, 'despotism required a victim, the Prince of Wallachia was sacrificed to the resentment of Hussain, and his head brought to Constantinople in Ventose, year 7 (1799.)'

We were desirous to lay before our readers the origin and progress of the powerful insurgent who still threatens destruction to the Ottoman throne: But it is now time we should complete

our survey of Constantinople, and prosecute our researches among the Grecian isles. That city enjoys the advantages of a mild temperature, a beautiful sky, and very healthful climate. The north-north-east wind, which is much the most prevalent, by blowing over the Black Sea, before it reaches the capital, tempers the heats of Summer, and mitigates the sharpness of the Winter cold. 'It seldom freezes in open day; and the thermometer scarcely ever falls, during the night, more than two or three degrees below the freezing point.' At that period, the tandour supplies the want of grates and chimnies; it is a copper brazier, placed under a table, round which the company sit; it appears to our author, of Greek origin; we must remark, however, that the word is used, in Persia, to signify an oven. To this dangerous mode of communicating heat, the frequent fires, which devastate the city, are, doubtless, imputable. A multitude of bears, and hungry dogs, infest the streets; yet canine madness is totally unknown in the East. Our author here points out an analogy between that disorder and the plague, neither of which, he thinks, can be spontaneously generated or communicated by the atmosphere: A dog must be bitten, and a man must come into contact with pestiferous persons, or with some article they have touched, before they receive the infection. We are convinced, that the plague is most frequently, and most fatally, communicated by actual contact; but, in absolutely denying the possibility of its spontaneous generation, M. Olivier appears to forget, that, both that disease, and canine madness, must have originated in that manner, in whatever mode they may now most frequently be communicated. Heat and cold are equally repugnant to this scourge of the finest climates: the sharp Winters of Asia Minor, and the intense heats of an Egyptian Summer, equally eradicate the seeds of this disease. Unction, our author considers as an useless remedy, but an important preservative; and seems to believe, that butter-men, whose hands and garments are usually impregnated with that substance, are scarcely ever attacked by the plague. Water-carriers are little subject to it; and persons under a venereal treatment, are also exempted from its influence. 'Nature indicates,' says our author, 'that the plague cannot be cured without the sudden appearance, and the abundant suppuration of one or more buboes: all the efforts of the physician should therefore tend to provoke, as quickly as possible, this suppuration, by the application of the actual cautery, or of a burning iron, to the place where the buboes begin to show themselves.' It seems to result from M. Olivier's inquiries, that this virus is analogous to that of the itch, of syphilis, of canine madness, and of all the disorders which, in man, and in animals, are only contagious through immediate

contact. In this case, it may be possible to find, among the preparations of metals and semi-metals, if not a specific, at least an useful remedy.

The Coran is the civil, criminal, and religious code of the Moslems; its interpreters, the Ulema, (properly, Elima, or the learned), compose the highest and most respectable body in the Turkish empire. At its head is the Mufti, or Shaikh-alislam, the supreme chief of the religion of Mohamed, whose decrees, or fatwa, M. Olivier calls fetfas. Two Cadileskers, or military judges, are annually appointed for Europe and Asia: the Istombul Effendi, or judge of Constantinople, is next in dignity. Mulas preside in the courts of the most considerable cities; and in those less populous, justice is administered, or bartered, by a Cadi. The universities of Constantinople, Bursa, and Adrianople, instruct those destined for the law, in religious, civil, and criminal jurisprudence; and the office of Madaris, or Professor, is itself an object of ambition, and a step to higher preferment. The law officers enjoy the important privilege of living secure from the extortions of the Pacha, and of transmitting their property to their heirs, without risk of confiscation. The ecclesiastical order may be said to consist of the Shaikh, who preaches in the mosques every Friday; of the Khatib, who recites the Khurba, attesting the unity of God, the prophetic character of Mohamed, and praying for the prosperity of the Sultan, and success of his arms against infidels; the Imam, who performs the usual service five times a day; and of the Muezzin, who, from the top of the minaret, summons pious Moslems to prayers. All these terms relative to law and religion, are of Arabic extraction, and have been sometimes mistaken, and oftener misspelt, by our author: But it were tedious to correct these minute defects, in a writer who appears never to have studied the Oriental languages.

The offices of the State are denoted by terms derived from the Turkish language. The dignity of Pacha of three tails, confers the supreme delegated power over a whole province. The distinction of this order into Pachas of three and of two tails, has not been explained by M. Olivier; but we believe it will be found to originate in the dignity, or Munsub, conferred by royal grant, at the period of elevation to the government, by which the Munsubdar is constituted commander of so many horse. If the number be triple that of the usual Munsub, the officer becomes a Pacha of three tails. Though this whimsical appellation be left unexplained by all the writers whom we have consulted, we rely, with some confidence, on the conjecture we have ventured to propose. A pachalic is divided, for military purposes, into certain districts, called sangiacs, or standards. The janizaries, spahis, yaïms, and timariots of the dis-

trict, are obliged, in case of war, to unite under the colours of a commander, called Sangiac-bey, and to wait the commands of the Pacha. When Greece was conquered by the arms of the Moslems, certain lands were granted to the officers and soldiers, without quit-rent, as a reward for their valour; others were erected into lordships, under the names of Yaïm and Timar, and granted for life, with the title of Aga, on condition of supplying a specified number of troops, when required.

There is room for an interesting disquisition which should trace the origin of the system, which appears to have extended with the Tartar conquests, almost from one end of Asia to the other; and which should illustrate the modification it underwent in the different countries, from the previous habits, or more complete subjection of the inhabitants. Thus we find, in Hindustan, subsequent to the Mogul conquest, the office of Subadar, analogous to that of Pacha, and, like it, distinguished by a titular Munsub of the greatest number of horse: the provincial Foujdar of India, represents the Sangiac-bey of Turkey. In the free lands, we recognise the Altumgha: the Yaïms and Timars supply the place of the Jaghirdar. This military system of the Tartar conquerors, was extremely foreign to the mild paternal government of the ancient Hindu princes: and we find the intelligent traveller, Abdul Rezac, who visited, as embassador, the court of Vijanagar, impute the great population and riches of that empire, to the army being paid from the treasury, and having no connexion with the cultivators of the land. In fact, we find that the system was never so completely introduced into India, as to eject the landed proprietors from their estates, which seems to have happened in Turkey. The Jaghirdars were not, like the Yaïms, proprietors for life of a certain portion of land, but claim from the Zemindar, the revenue accruing from the latter to government. We hope, the curious nature of the investigation will excuse the length of this digression, and plead our pardon, if we have pursued the parallel to an unwarrantable extent. The annual quit-rent, established by the Turks, 'amounts to a fifth of the produce for the Rayas, or Infidels,' and a seventh, only, for the lands held by Moslems. We must here remark, that the Arabic term, 'Raya,' is by no means synonimous with infidel; it signifies husbandman, or cultivator; and if it seem, almost exclusively, applied to Greeks, it is only because the Turks seldom descend to the labours of agriculture.

The Grand Visir, or prime minister, is the chief executive officer of the State, and formerly presided in the Divan composed of six councillors. Selim III. has increased the number to twelve; and, according to Mr Dallaway, usually attends in person: But this alteration has not, hitherto, been productive

of the advantages which the Sultan probably had in view. Dissensions usually prevail in the Divan; M. Olivier asserts, perfidy: But we cannot suppose, that the members of this council would think their personal aggrandisement could be augmented, by promoting the designs of Paswan Oglou, or the court of Petersburgh; and are inclined to add this allegation to the list of vulgar rumours.

Want of confidence in the government, and of security to private property, produce, in Turkey, their usual effects of depressing commerce, and raising the rate of interest; but M. Olivier candidly acknowledges, that dishonesty is not a Turkish vice; that their word may be relied on; and that, were they less oppressive towards their tributary subjects, they might be regarded as an estimable nation. Wool forms the principal article of export trade from Constantinople; camels hair, employed in the manufacture of hats; the hair of the Angora goat, cotton, buffaloes hides and tongues, hares skins, Turkey leather, silk, wax, copper, and orpiment, complete the list of exports. 'The Angora goats have much affinity, says our author, as to the fineness of their hair, to those of Carman and Cashmir. Both of them inhabit elevated places, cold in Winter, and very warm in Summer.' But the shawl goat, to which our author alludes, is a native of Tibet, not of Cashmir, and delights in a climate where the Angora goat would inevitably perish. In conformity to his instructions, M. Olivier endeavoured to discover the process used for dressing and dyeing the goats skins, known by the name of Morocco leather; but experienced a resistance which he did not expect; and it must still remain doubtful, whether it is to the quality of the skins, or to their proceedings, that we must attribute the beauty of the moroccos of the Levant.

M. Olivier and his associates had now spent above eighteen months in Constantinople and its environs; yet the French envoy had received no instructions concerning them, nor authority to supply them with the means of prosecuting their journey. In the rapid succession of parties in France, the object of their mission was forgotten with its projectors; and, receiving no answer to the different letters which they had addressed to their government, our travellers resolved to spend the Winter at the Dardanelles, or in the islands of Greece—'far,' says M. Olivier, 'from the agitations and intrigues which the various shades of political opinions had produced among the French, and of which we had, in spite of ourselves, been witnesses.' Neither the inclination, nor the instructions of our travellers, called their attention to the monuments of antiquity still extant in the Grecian isles; but M. Olivier's readers will be qualified to form a competent idea of their present state, or to conjecture what they might become when

emancipated from the Turkish yoke. The extent we have allowed to what we consider as the most interesting part of the volumes before us, precludes us from enlarging on what remains: We cannot however conclude, without taking a rapid survey of the places visited by our author previously to his arrival in Crete, where the second volume (and we presume no more has been tanslated) terminates.

At the head of the gulf of Mundania, the village of Ghemlec occupies the site of the ancient Cius; its present population is about 2000 souls: The Turks have established in the vicinity a dock-yard for the construction of ships of the line; in 1794, an eighty gun ship was on the stocks, and almost finished. The oaks and pines of Olympus and the neighbouring mountains, supply abundantly the requisite materials. Here the cold was sharply felt on the 12th December; and there fell five or six inches of snow, which brought a multitude of snipes and ducks into the woods and adjacent plains.

Marmora, which has obtained its name from its blue marble, and communicated it to the Propontis, is the ancient Proconnesus; twelve leagues in circuit, and, though mountainous, both populous and fertile: Their flocks of sheep, cotton, with the produce of their vines and olive trees, form the wealth of the inhabitants of Marmora. The entrance of the Hellespont has Gallipoli and Lampsacus on its opposite shores; the former occupies a cape terminated by a light-house, and contains about 16,000 inhabitants. Lampsacus, formerly much more considerable, famous for its gardens, its vineyards, the delicious flavour of its wines, and the worship of Priapus, has fallen to the state of a mean village. 'On the ruins of its temples has been erected a mosque; and the worship,' says M. Olivier, 'paid to the God, preserver of the universe, is replaced by offerings to the Panaya.' The god of Lampsacus seems to have gained a votary in M. Olivier, who laments the fall of his temples with the tenderness of the Roman poet—

> 'Sic umbrosa tibi contingant tecta, Priape,
> Ne capiti soles, ne noceantque nives.'

The site of Abydos is still marked by ruins: those of the ancient Dardanus have disappeared—*etiam periere ruinæ*. Between them, at the distance of three miles from the former, lies the castle and town of the Dardanelles, in which are reckoned 4000 inhabitants; it is seated in a fertile valley, washed by the Rhodius. 'Here the orange tree begins to grow in the open air.' From hence our author made an excursion to the Troad; and bears strong testimony to the accuracy of Homer's topography, and to its delineation by M. Le Chevalier. He does not, how-

ever, attempt to refute the objections so ingeniously urged by Mr Bryant. The Scamander no longer unites his waters with the Simois; but, after witnessing the battles of gods and heroes, now condescends to turn a few mills, the property of a Turkish Pacha. If the site of the ancient Troy were that which M. Le Chevalier conjectures, between the Simois and the sources of the Scamander, with its citadel constructed on the edge of a precipice,—its natural strength, aided by the valour and despair of its inhabitants, might, our author thinks, have enabled it to resist, for ten years, a formidable army. If we recollect, however, Homer, in his twentieth book, places Troy at a distance in the plain. The whole territory of the Troad, including the second castle of the Dardanelles, supports a population of 8000 inhabitants. The city founded by Alexander, still offers the ruins of ancient monuments: Pococke, Wheeler, Chandler, Le Chevalier, and others, are always referred to by our author, when such occur in his route. A league and a half from the coast, lies the small island of Tenedos; its town contains 6000 inhabitants; and the culture of their vines supplies occupation, and wine of an excellent quality, to its natives, remarkable for their assumed gravity and intemperate festivity, when unawed by the vicinity of their Turkish masters.

Two or three leagues distance from the coast of Asia, lies the isle of Lesbos, the birth-place of Sappho and of Theophrastus: It still possesses distinguished musicians; and in a young poet and performer of Molivo, our author could fancy he beheld a descendant of Arion, or of Terpander, who quelled a sedition by the charms of his voice. Numerous volcanic mountains, separated by plains of extreme fertility, intersect the isle of Lesbos: the population of the whole island may be estimated at 40,000 inhabitants, of whom one half are Greeks. By a peculiar custom, of great antiquity, the eldest daughter here succeeded to the whole property of both her parents, to the exclusion of sons and younger daughters: this singular mode of succession has recently undergone some modification in favour of the latter. The Aleppo and stone pine, the arbutus, the andrachne, the lentisk, the turpentine tree, the myrtle, the agnus castus, and a variety of rock roses, cover the basaltic mountains of Lesbos: 50,000 quintals of oil are annually exported to Constantinople; but its wine was found scarce and unpalateable.

Fortunately for the island of Scio, it has become the appanage of a Sultana, who protects the inhabitants from the extortions of provincial officers. Its extent, less considerable than Lesbos, is about 50 miles from north to south. 'According to the registers of the government, the population of Scio is to be estimated at 110,000 inhabitants. In the capital are reckoned 30,000; *viz.*

3500 Turks, 1500 Greek Roman Catholics, 25,000 Greek schismatics. About 100 Jews may be added to this calculation.'

'After having crossed,' says M. Olivier, 'a little arm of the sea, I thought myself transported into another region, into another climate. I had seen the Greek bent under the yoke of the most frightful despotism: he was deceitful, rude, timid, superstitious, and poor. Here he enjoys a shadow of liberty: he is honest, civil, bold, industrious, witty, intelligent, and rich. Here I no longer find that mixture of pride and meanness which characterizes the Greeks of Constantinople, and of a great part of the Levant; that timidity, that cowardice, which is occasioned by perpetual fear; that bigotry, which prevents no crime. What distinguishes the inhabitants of Scio from the other Greeks, is a decided inclination towards commerce, a warm taste for the arts, a keen desire for enterprise: It is a sprightly, pleasant, epigrammatic wit; it is sometimes a sort of mad and burlesque gaiety, which has given rise to the following proverb—"It is as uncommon to find a green horse, as a prudent Sciot."

The beauty of the women exceeds what he has remarked elsewhere; but the use of cosmetics, and their love of gain, detract from the effect of their charms. Mastic, obtained by incision from a variety of the lentisk, is the most important production of Scio. The women are in the habit of masticating this gum: 'that of the best quality is sent to Constantinople for the palace of the Grand Signior; the second quality is intended for Cairo, and passes into the harams of the Mamalucs.' Oranges, lemons, and citrons, are articles of considerable export. The expressed juice of the two latter, furnishes a syrup in much request; and the rinds, preserved in sugar or honey, are distributed all over the Levant. The essential oil of roses, and dried figs, of an excellent quality, conclude the list of their exports.

The small island of Tenos, now Tino, ranks next to Scio in its comforts, and in the industry of its inhabitants, whose numbers are stated at 15,800. The same cause accounts for the prosperity of both; here the inhabitants remit the amount of revenue at which they are assessed: No Turks reside on the island; and the labours of their silk worms enables them punctually to observe the conditions. Ninety miles from Tenos, lies the isle of Andros, the appanage of a Sultana: Like the former, it is mountainous and lofty, though possessing more lands fit for cultivation; its population is rated at 12,000 inhabitants, who export silk, oranges, and lemons, to Athens and the Morea. Twelve leagues distant, the small island of Mycone, contains 4000 inhabitants, all mariners or cultivators. Near it lies the celebrated isle of Delos, still fixed, as when rivetted by the voice of Neptune, in order to afford a shelter to the mother of Apollo and Diana. Yet every where schistose or granitical, it exhibits no trace of volcano; 'nothing that can explain, by the laws of phy-

sics, the wonders which the Greeks have transmitted to us respecting it.' At this day, there no longer exists any thing but ruins, but deserted fields, on which seem to grow, with regret, a few sorry plants, a few stunted shrubs. Rhenea, or the great Delos, is also uninhabited, though some portion of it is cultivated by the peasants of Mycone. Naxos, now Naxia, was the birthplace of Bacchus; the gate and foundations of his temple are still seen near the fountain of Ariadne; a streamlet of pellucid water still marks the place whence she viewed, with despair, the ship which conveyed away her inconstant hero. This island contains 10,000 inhabitants, and belongs chiefly to the descendants of noble Venetian families, whose contempt of agriculture is unhappily imitated by the other inhabitants of Naxos. Two thousand wretched peasants languish on the neighbouring isle of Paros, subject to the fatal visitation of the Turkish fleets. The grotto of Aniparos, our author is at a loss to determine whether to be a marble quarry long excavated, or a vast natural cavity. The island of Nio, the ancient Jos, is forty miles in circuit; its base is everywhere schistose or granitical, and its numerous mountains mostly calcareous; its population is estimated at 3700; but the tomb of Homer, who died here in passing from Samos to Athens, has left no vestige remaining of its existence. Cimolis, now Argentiera, from its doubtful possession of a silver mine, is eighteen miles in circuit, consisting chiefly of volcanic mountains, and containing about 200 inhabitants. Porphyry of various colours, and in various stages of decomposition, are found abundantly in Cimolis: The Cimolian earth, used by the antients as fuller's earth, appears to have been porphyry, which had attained the last degree of decomposition, and become friable, soft, and light. An unhealthy atmosphere, infected by sulphureous exhalations, has almost depoluated the once flourishing isle of Melos, now Milo, sixty miles in circuit, and containing only 500 inhabitants. Our travellers attempted to ascend the volcanic mountain Calamo; but the fetid exhalations, heat, and instability of the ground, deterred them from persisting. A grotto in the island, exhibits chrystals of gypsum, and plumose alum in loose filaments, united in bundles, from one to ten, twelve, or fifteen lines in length. The distance from Cimolis to Thera is sixteen leagues. 'Thera,' says Pliny, 'cum primum emersit Calliste dicta. Ex ea avulsa postea Therasia; atque inter duas enata mox Automate.' M. Olivier is convinced, that these three islands, at a remote epoch, must have formed but one, and that there has taken place a sudden and violent depression which has divided them. The coast, in some places, nearly 100 toises in elevation, presents itself like a perpendicular mountain, formed of various strata, and of different banks of volcanic substances:

fragments of basaltes, with pumice stones, and strata of puzzolana, are found in this and the above mentioned islands. Three other islands, of posterior formation, occupy a part of the interjacent space. Hiera was dedicated to the infernal deities, because it was seen to issue, all on fire, from the bottom of the sea, according to Pliny, 130 years after the separation of Thera from Therasia. In 1573, a fresh explosion produced the little Caïmeni: the eruption of the new Caïmeni, subsequent to Thera being visited by Tournefort, must have happened between 1707 and 1711. This, and Hiera, are each about a mile in length, and covered with blocks of basaltes, pumice stones, and puzzolana. From hence, our author proceeds to Crete, of which he has furnished an instructive and very detailed account, which concludes the volume.

'L'on ne vaut jamais que ce qu'on veut valoir,' says some French author; and the writer who only aims to instruct, will seldom be found to amuse. Yet, the perspicuous and candid account which M. Olivier exhibits of the actual state of the Turkish empire, cannot fail to inspire considerable interest. The throne, founded by Othman on the ruins of the Greek empire, and transmitted by him to his posterity at the close of the thirteenth century, seems, at the present moment, to totter to its base: yet the personal character of Selim III. is treated respectfully by writers of all denominations: a degree of energy, proportioned to the difficulty of the crisis, is, however, certainly wanting. The ferocity and martial habits of this race of Tartars, have not declined in the lap of luxury; but the discipline and tactics of their European neighbours are improved, whilst theirs have continued stationary; and the successful rebellion of a popular leader, founded on, and supported by the disaffection of the Janizaries, affords to the distant Pachas a dangerous proof of the weakness of the Porte. The Turkish crescent is on the wane; but whether its disappearance will be accelerated by foreign invasion or internal rebellion, time alone can discover.

Art. VI. *Political Recollections relative to Egypt:* Containing Observations on its Government under the Mamalucs; its Geographical Position; its Intrinsic and Extrinsic Resources; its relative Importance to England and France; and its Dangers to England in the Possession of France; with a Narrative of the ever-memorable British Campaign in the Spring of 1801. By George Baldwin Esq. late his Majesty's Consul-General in Egypt, and attached to the Commander in Chief during the above glorious Campaign. 8vo. pp. 227. Cadell. 1801.

Were the ability requisite for pursuing political investigations always commensurate with the opportunities for prosecut-

reverend author has preferred fine writing to inquiry; and his reader, who looks for facts, will in vain peruse a tedious volume of eloquence, that may not be altogether agreeable to his taste. For ourselves, we must confess, that we could not help feeling some degree of impatience, while we dutifully laboured through his toilsome declamation. But now that the task is over, we dismiss all irritation from our mind; and we not only can willingly forgive the honest, but mistaken, desire of giving delight and of gaining fame, but we feel ourselves likewise bound to pay our tribute of applause to that ardent patriotism which breathes throughout this piece of composition. We might not perhaps, without a little hesitation, adopt the expressions, or participate the wonder of Mr Irvine, when he speaks of emigration from the Highlands, as 'a singular phenomenon in the history of Britain, that so many citizens should leave *the most favoured* province.' But we acknowledge the eloquence at least of his remark, that, 'in a free-born mind, of the Celtic cast, there is *some quality* that glories to struggle and overcome adversity.' Being natives of a Lowland district, we must be excused by the local proprieties of our own patriotism, if we venture to doubt, whether he would prove successful in the issue of the following challenge: 'If you except Switzerland and the Valais, before the French revolution, I defy the most renowned kingdoms of Europe to adduce one province, that competes with the Highlands in point of national felicity.' We cannot, however, dissemble our admiration of the pious simplicity and gratitude of the following passage:

'It is well known that the Highlanders, scattered through our fleets and armies, arrest the admiration, and excite the astonishment of the world. Patient of hunger and fatigue, ready to obey, and as able to execute, they are selected for the most arduous and desperate enterprizes, and uniformly cover themselves with glory, though not always crowned with victory. Who can read the history of the dissensions, regarding the succession of the Queen of Hungary to the Imperial dignity—the war for the admission of the French and Russians into Germany—the contests for the independence of America—the defence of the British settlements in India—and the late struggles with the French Republic—without thanking Providence that he was born a Highlander? Who can then learn, without regret, that those first in assault, and last in retreat, abandon their native country, and abandon its defence?' &c.

From the manner in which the subject is treated in this pamphlet, we have no proper opportunity of entering into any general remarks on the emigrations from Scotland. If it should be presented to us in a more manageable form, we shall seize the occasion with pleasure. The history of the Highland emigrations is intimately connected with that of the agricultural improvements

of the island: and our interest is at present heightened, by the temporary effects that result from the recent cessation of hostilities. These consequences, indeed, are not confined to the Highlands. The general subject, considered as an article of political philosophy, might be illustrated by present examples from every district of the country, and from every department of industry. And the description of that conduct, which an enlightened government will pursue, with regard to emigration, would involve some of the most important principles of national policy, and some of the most sacred privileges of mankind.

ART. VIII. *Thalaba, the Destroyer:* A Metrical Romance. By Robert Southey. 2 vol. 12mo. London.

POETRY has this much, at least, in common with religion, that its standards were fixed long ago, by certain inspired writers, whose authority it is no longer lawful to call in question; and that many profess to be entirely devoted to it, who have no *good works* to produce in support of their pretensions. The catholic poetical church, too, has worked but few miracles since the first ages of its establishment; and has been more prolific, for a long time, of Doctors, than of Saints: it has had its corruptions and reformation also, and has given birth to an infinite variety of heresies and errors, the followers of which have hated and persecuted each other as cordially as other bigots.

The author who is now before us, belongs to a *sect* of poets, that has established itself in this country within these ten or twelve years, and is looked upon, we believe, as one of its chief champions and apostles. The peculiar doctrines of this sect, it would not, perhaps, be very easy to explain; but, that they are *dissenters* from the established systems in poetry and criticism, is admitted, and proved indeed, by the whole tenor of their compositions. Though they lay claim, we believe, to a creed and a revelation of their own, there can be little doubt, that their doctrines are of *German* origin, and have been derived from some of the great modern reformers in that country. Some of their leading principles, indeed, are probably of an earlier date, and seem to have been borrowed from the great apostle of Geneva. As Mr Southey is the first author, of this persuasion, that has yet been brought before us for judgment, we cannot discharge our inquisitorial office conscientiously, without premising a few words upon the nature and tendency of the tenets he has helped to promulgate.

The disciples of this school boast much of its originality, and seem to value themselves very highly, for having broken loose from the bondage of antient authority, and reasserted the independence

of genius. Originality, however, we are persuaded, is rarer than mere alteration; and a man may change a good master for a bad one, without finding himself at all nearer to independence. That our new poets have abandoned the old models, may certainly be admitted; but we have not been able to discover that they have yet created any models of their own; and are very much inclined to call in question the worthiness of those to which they have transferred their admiration. The productions of this school, we conceive, are so far from being entitled to the praise of originality, that they cannot be better characterized, than by an enumeration of the sources from which their materials have been derived. The greater part of them, we apprehend, will be found to be composed of the following elements: 1. The antisocial principles, and distempered sensibility of Rousseau—his discontent with the present constitution of society—his paradoxical morality, and his perpetual hankerings after some unattainable state of voluptuous virtue and perfection. 2. The simplicity and energy (*horresco referens*) of Kotzebue and Schiller. 3. The homeliness and harshness of some of Cowper's language and versification, interchanged occasionally with the *innocence* of Ambrose Philips, or the quaintness of Quarles and Dr Donne. From the diligent study of these few originals, we have no doubt that an entire art of poetry may be collected, by the assistance of which, the very *gentlest* of our readers may soon be qualified to compose a poem as correctly versified as Thalaba, and to deal out sentiment and description, with all the sweetness of Lambe, and all the magnificence of Coleridge.

The authors, of whom we are now speaking, have, among them, unquestionably, a very considerable portion of poetical talent, and have, consequently, been enabled to seduce many into an admiration of the false taste (as it appears to us) in which most of their productions are composed. They constitute, at present, the most formidable conspiracy that has lately been formed against sound judgment in matters poetical; and are entitled to a larger share of our censorial notice, than could be spared for an individual delinquent. We shall hope for the indulgence of our readers, therefore, in taking this opportunity to inquire a little more particularly into their merits, and to make a few remarks upon those peculiarities which seem to be regarded by their admirers as the surest proofs of their excellence.

Their most distinguishing symbol, is undoubtedly an affectation of great simplicity and familiarity of language. They disdain to make use of the common poetical phraseology, or to ennoble their diction by a selection of fine or dignified expressions. There would be too much *art* in this, for that great love of nature with which they are all of them inspired; and their

sentiments, they are determined shall be indebted, for their effect, to nothing but their intrinsic tenderness or elevation. There is something very noble and conscientious, we will confess, in this plan of composition; but the misfortune is, that there are passages in all poems, that can neither be pathetic nor sublime; and that, on these occasions, a neglect of the embellishments of language is very apt to produce absolute meanness and insipidity. The language of passion, indeed, can scarcely be deficient in elevation; and when an author is awanting in that particular, he may commonly be presumed to have failed in the truth, as well as in the dignity of his expression. The case, however, is extremely different with the subordinate parts of a composition; with the narrative and description, that are necessary to preserve its connexion; and the explanation, that must frequently prepare us for the great scenes and splendid passages. In these, all the requisite ideas may be conveyed, with sufficient clearness, by the meanest and most negligent expressions; and, if magnificence or beauty is ever to be observed in them, it must have been introduced from some other motive than that of adapting the style to the subject. It is in such passages, accordingly, that we are most frequently offended with low and inelegant expressions; and that the language, which was intended to be simple and natural, is found oftenest to degenerate into mere slovenliness and vulgarity. It is in vain, too, to expect that the meanness of those parts may be redeemed by the excellence of others. A poet, who aims at all at sublimity or pathos, is like an actor in a high tragic character, and must sustain his dignity throughout, or become altogether ridiculous. We are apt enough to laugh at the mock-majesty of those whom we know to be but common mortals in private; and cannot permit Hamlet to make use of a single provincial intonation, although it should only be in his conversation with the grave-diggers.

The followers of simplicity are, therefore, at all times in danger of occasional degradation; but the simplicity of this new school seems intended to ensure it. *Their* simplicity does not consist, by any means, in the rejection of glaring or superfluous ornament,—in the substitution of elegance to splendour, or in that refinement of art which seeks concealment in its own perfection. It consists, on the contrary, in a very great degree, in the positive and *bonâ fide* rejection of art altogether, and in the bold use of those rude and negligent expressions, which would be banished by a little discrimination. One of their own authors, indeed, has very ingenuously set forth, (in a kind of manifesto that preceded one of their most flagrant acts of hostility), that it was their capital object 'to adapt to the uses of poetry, the ordinary language of conversation among the middling and lower orders

of the people." What advantages are to be gained by the success of this project, we confess ourselves unable to conjecture. The language of the higher and more cultivated orders may fairly be presumed to be better than that of their inferiors: at any rate, it has all those associations in its favour, by means of which, a style can ever appear beautiful or exalted, and is adapted to the purposes of poetry, by having been long consecrated to its use. The language of the vulgar, on the other hand, has all the opposite associations to contend with; and must seem unfit for poetry, (if there were no other reason), merely because it has scarcely ever been employed in it. A great genius may indeed overcome these disadvantages; but we can scarcely conceive that he should court them. We may excuse a certain homeliness of language in the productions of a ploughman or a milkwoman; but we cannot bring ourselves to admire it in an author, who has had occasion to indite odes to his college bell, and inscribe hymns to the Penates.

But the mischief of this new system, is not confined to the depravation of language only; it extends to the sentiments and emotions, and leads to the debasement of all those feelings which poetry is designed to communicate. It is absurd to suppose, that an author should make use of the language of the vulgar, to express the sentiments of the refined. His professed object, in employing that language, is to bring his compositions nearer to the true standard of nature; and his intention to copy the sentiments of the lower orders, is implied in his resolution to make use of their style. Now, the different classes of society have each of them a distinct character, as well as a separate idiom; and the names of the various passions to which they are subject respectively, have a signification that varies essentially, according to the condition of the persons to whom they are applied. The love, or grief, or indignation of an enlightened and refined character, is not only expressed in a different language, but is in itself a different emotion from the love, or grief, or anger of a clown, a tradesman, or a market-wench. The things themselves are radically and obviously distinct; and the representation of them is calculated to convey a very different train of sympathies and sensations to the mind. The question, therefore, comes simply to be—which of them is the most proper object for poetical imitation?

It is needless for us to answer a question, which the practice of all the world has long ago decided irrevocably. The poor and vulgar may interest us, in poetry, by their *situation*: but never, we apprehend, by any sentiments that are peculiar to their condition, and still less by any language that is characteristic of it. The truth is, that it is impossible to copy their diction or their sentiments correctly, in a serious composition; and this, not

merely because poverty makes men ridiculous, but because just taste and refined sentiment are rarely to be met with among the uncultivated part of mankind; and a language, fitted for their expression, can still more rarely form any part of their ordinary conversation. The low-bred heroes, and interesting victims of poetry, have no sort of affinity to the real vulgar of this world; they are imaginary beings, whose characters and language are in contrast with their situation; and please those, who can be pleased with them, by the marvellous, and not by the nature of such a combination. In serious poetry, a man of the middling or lower order *must necessarily* lay aside a great deal of his ordinary language; he must avoid errors in grammar and orthography; and steer clear of the cant of particular professions, and of every impropriety that is ludicrous or disgusting: nay, he must speak in good verse, and observe all the graces in prosody and collocation. After all this, it may not be very easy to say how we are to find him out to be a low man, or what marks can remain of the ordinary language of conversation in the inferior orders of society. If there be any phrases that are not used in good society, they will appear as blemishes in the composition, no less palpably, than errors in syntax or quantity; and, if there be no such phrases, the style cannot be characteristic of that condition of life, the language of which it professes to have adopted. All approximation to that language, in the same manner, implies a deviation from that purity and precision, which no one, we believe, ever violated spontaneously.

It has been argued, indeed, (for men will argue in support of what they do not venture to practise), that as the middling and lower orders of society constitute by far the greater part of mankind, so, their feelings and expressions should interest more extensively, and may be taken, more fairly than any other, for the standards of what is natural and true. To this, it seems obvious to answer, that the arts that aim at exciting admiration and delight, do not take their models from what is ordinary, but from what is excellent; and that our interest in the representation of any event does not depend upon our familiarity with the original, but on its intrinsic importance, and the celebrity of the parties it concerns. The sculptor employs his art in delineating the graces of Antinous or Apollo, and not in the representation of those ordinary forms that belong to the crowd of his admirers. When a chieftain perishes in battle, his followers mourn more for him, than for thousands of their equals that may have fallen around him.

After all, it must be admitted, that there is a class of persons (we are afraid they cannot be called *readers*), to whom the representation of vulgar manners, in vulgar language, will afford much entertainment. We are afraid, however, that the ingenious

writers who supply the hawkers and ballad-singers, have very nearly monopolized that department, and are probably better qualified to hit the taste of their customers, than Mr Southey, or any of his brethren, can yet pretend to be. To fit them for the higher task of original composition, it would not be amiss if they were to undertake a translation of Pope or Milton into the vulgar tongue, for the benefit of those children of nature.

There is still another disagreeable effect of this affected simplicity, which, though of less importance than those which have been already noticed, it may yet be worth while to mention: This is, the extreme difficulty of supporting the same tone of expression throughout, and the inequality that is consequently introduced into the texture of the composition. To an author of reading and education, it is a style that must always be assumed and unnatural, and one from which he will be perpetually tempted to deviate. He will rise, therefore, every now and then, above the level to which he has professedly degraded himself; and make amends for that transgression, by a fresh effort of descension. His composition, in short, will be like that of a person who is attempting to speak in an obsolete or provincial dialect; he will betray himself by expressions of occasional purity and elegance, and exert himself to efface that impression, by passages of unnatural meanness or absurdity.

In making these strictures on the perverted taste for simplicity, that seems to distinguish our modern school of poetry, we have no particular allusion to Mr Southey, or the production now before us: On the contrary, he appears to us, to be less addicted to this fault than most of his fraternity; and if we were in want of examples to illustrate the preceding observations, we should certainly look for them in the effusions of that poet who commemorates, with so much effect, the chattering of Harry Gibbs' teeth; tells the tale of the one-eyed huntsman 'who had a cheek like a cherry;' and beautifully warns his studious friend of the risk he ran of 'growing double.'

At the same time, it is impossible to deny that the author of the 'English Eclogues' is liable to a similar censure; and few persons, we believe, will perusé the following verses (taken almost at random from the Thalaba), without acknowledging that he still continues to deserve it.

'At midnight Thalaba started up,
For he felt that the ring on his finger was moved.
He called on Allah aloud,
And he called on the Prophet's name.
Moath arose in alarm,
"What ails thee, Thalaba?" he cried,
"Is the robber of night at hand?"

" Dost thou not see," the youth exclaimed,
" A spirit in the Tent?"
Moath looked round, and said,
" The moon-beam shines in the Tent,
' I see thee stand in the light,
' And thy shadow is black on the ground."
Thalaba answered not.
" Spirit!" he cried, " what brings thee here?" &c.

WOMAN.

Go not among the Tombs, Old Man!
There is a madman there.

OLD MAN.

Will he harm me if I go?

WOMAN.

Not he, poor miserable man!
But 'tis a wretched sight to see
His utter wretchedness.
For all day long he lies on a grave,
And never is he seen to weep,
And never is he heard to groan,
Nor ever at the hour of prayer
Bends his knee, nor moves his lips.
I have taken him food for charity,
And never a word he spake;
But yet so ghastly he looked
That I have awakened at night,' &c.

Now, this style, we conceive, possesses no one character of excellence; it is feeble, low, and disjointed; without elegance, and without dignity; the offspring, we should imagine, of mere indolence and neglect; or the unhappy fruit of a system that would teach us to undervalue that vigilance and labour which sustained the loftiness of Milton, and gave energy and direction to the pointed and fine propriety of Pope.

The *style* of our modern poets, is that, no doubt, by which they are most easily distinguished: but their genius has also an internal character; and the peculiarities of their taste may be discovered, without the assistance of their diction. Next after great familiarity of language, there is nothing that appears to them so meritorious as perpetual exaggeration of thought. There must be nothing moderate, natural, or easy, about their sentiments. There must be a ' qu'il mourut,' and a ' let there be light,' in every line; and all their characters must be in agonies and ecstasies, from their entrance to their exit. To those who are acquainted with their productions, it is needless to speak of the fatigue that is produced by this unceasing summons to admiration, or of the compassion which is excited by the spectacle of these

eternal strainings and distortions. Those authors appear to forget, that a whole poem cannot be made up of striking passages; and that the sensations produced by sublimity, are never so powerful and entire, as when they are allowed to subside and revive, in a slow and spontaneous succession. It is delightful, now and then, to meet with a rugged mountain, or a roaring stream; but where there is no sunny slope, nor shaded plain, to relieve them—where all is beetling cliff and yawning abyss, and the landscape presents nothing on every side but prodigies and terrors—the head is apt to grow giddy, and the heart to languish for the repose and security of a less elevated region.

The effect even of genuine sublimity, therefore, is impaired by the injudicious frequency of its exhibition, and the omission of those intervals and breathing places, at which the mind should be permitted to recover from its perturbation or astonishment: but where it has been summoned upon a false alarm, and disturbed in the orderly course of its attention, by an impotent attempt at elevation, the consequences are still more disastrous. There is nothing so ridiculous (at least for a poet) as to fail in great attempts. If the reader foresaw the failure, he may receive some degree of mischievous satisfaction from its punctual occurrence; if he did not, he will be vexed and disappointed; and, in both cases, he will very speedily be disgusted and fatigued. It would be going too far, certainly, to maintain, that our modern poets have never succeeded in their persevering endeavours at elevation and emphasis; but it is a melancholy fact, that their successes bear but a small proportion to their miscarriages; and that the reader who has been promised an energetic sentiment, or sublime allusion, must often be contented with a very miserable substitute. Of the many contrivances they employ to give the appearance of uncommon force and animation to a very ordinary conception, the most usual is, to wrap it up in a veil of mysterious and unintelligible language, which flows past with so much solemnity, that it is difficult to believe it conveys nothing of any value. Another device for improving the effect of a good idea, is, to embody it in a verse of unusual harshness and asperity. Compound words, too, of a portentous sound and conformation, are very useful in giving an air of energy and originality; and a few lines of scripture, written out into verse from the original prose, have been found to have a very happy effect upon those readers to whom they have the recommendation of novelty.

The qualities of style and imagery, however, form but a small part of the characteristics by which a literary faction is to be distinguished. The subject and object of their compositions, and the principles and opinions they are calculated to support, constitute a far more important criterion, and one to which it is usually

altogether as easy to refer. Some poets are sufficiently described as the flatterers of greatness and power, and others as the champions of independence. One set of writers is known by its antipathy to decency and religion; another, by its methodistical cant and intolerance. Our new school of poetry has a moral character also; though it may not be possible, perhaps, to delineate it quite so concisely.

A splenetic and idle discontent with the existing institutions of society, seems to be at the bottom of all their serious and peculiar sentiments. Instead of contemplating the wonders and the pleasures which civilization has created for mankind, they are perpetually brooding over the disorders by which its progress has been attended. They are filled with horror and compassion at the sight of poor men spending their blood in the quarrels of princes, and mortifying their sublime capabilities in the drudgery of unremitting labour. For all sorts of vice and profligacy in the lower orders of society, they have the same virtuous horror, and the same tender compassion. While the existence of these offences overpowers them with grief and confusion, they never permit themselves to feel the smallest indignation or dislike towards the offenders. The present vicious constitution of society alone is responsible for all these enormities! the poor sinners are but the helpless victims or instruments of its disorders, and could not possibly have avoided the errors into which they have been betrayed. Though they can bear with crimes, therefore, they cannot reconcile themselves to punishments; and have an unconquerable antipathy to prisons, gibbets, and houses of correction, as engines of oppression, and instruments of atrocious injustice. While the plea of moral necessity is thus artfully brought forward to convert all the excesses of the poor into innocent misfortunes, no sort of indulgence is shown to the offences of the powerful and rich. Their oppressions, and seductions, and debaucheries, are the theme of many an angry verse; and the indignation and abhorrence of the reader is relentlessly conjured up against those perturbators of society, and scourges of mankind.

It is not easy to say, whether the fundamental absurdity of this doctrine, or the partiality of its application, be entitled to the severest reprehension. If men are driven to commit crimes, through a certain moral necessity; other men are compelled, by a similar necessity, to hate and despise them for their commission. The indignation of the sufferer is at least as natural as the guilt of him who makes him suffer; and the good order of society would probably be as well preserved, if our sympathies were sometimes called forth in behalf of the former. At all events, the same apology ought certainly to be admitted for the wealthy, as for the needy offender. They are subject alike to the overruling influ-

ence of necessity, and equally affected by the miserable condition of society. If it be natural for a poor man to murder and rob, in order to make himself comfortable, it is no less natural for a rich man to gormandize and domineer, in order to have the full use of his riches. Wealth is just as valid an excuse for the one class of vices, as indigence is for the other. There are many other peculiarities of false sentiment in the productions of this class of writers, that are sufficiently deserving of commemoration. But we have already exceeded our limits in giving these general indications of their character, and must now hasten back to the consideration of the singular performance which has given occasion to all this discussion.

The first thing that strikes the reader of Thalaba, is, the singular structure of the versification, which is a jumble of all the measures that are known in English poetry, (and a few more), without rhyme, and without any sort of regularity in their arrangement. Blank odes have been known in this country about as long as English sapphics and dactylics; and both have been considered, we believe, as a species of monsters, or exotics, that were not very likely to propagate, or thrive, in so unpropitious a climate. Mr Southey, however, has made a vigorous effort for their naturalization, and generously endangered his own reputation in their behalf. The melancholy fate of his English sapphics, we believe, is but too generally known; and we can scarcely predict a more favourable issue to the present experiment. Every combination of different measures is apt to perplex and disturb the reader who is not familiar with it; and we are never reconciled to a stanza of a new structure, till we have accustomed our ear to it by two or three repetitions. This is the case, even where we have the assistance of rhyme to direct us in our search after regularity, and where the definite form and appearance of a stanza assures us that regularity is to be found. Where both of these are wanting, it may be imagined that our condition will be still more deplorable; and a compassionate author might even excuse us, if we were unable to distinguish this kind of verse from prose. In reading verse, in general, we are guided to the discovery of its melody, by a sort of preconception of its cadence and compass; without which, it might often fail to be suggested by the mere articulation of the syllables. If there be any one, whose recollection does not furnish him with evidence of this fact, he may put it to the test of experiment, by desiring any of his illiterate acquaintances to read off some of Mr Southey's dactylics, or Sir Philip Sydney's hexameters. It is the same thing with the more unusual measures of the antient authors. We have never known any one who fell in, at the first trial, with the proper rythm and cadence of

the *pervigilium Veneris*, or the choral lyrics of the Greek dramatists. The difficulty, however, is virtually the same, as to every new combination; and it is an unsurmountable difficulty, where such new combinations are not repeated with any degree of uniformity, but are multiplied, through the whole composition, with an unbounded license of variation. Such, however, is confessedly the case with the work before us; and it really seems unnecessary to make any other remark on its versification.

The author, however, entertains a different opinion of it. So far from apprehending that it may cost his readers some trouble to convince themselves that the greater part of the book is not mere prose, written out into the form of verse, he is persuaded that its melody is more obvious and perceptible than that of our vulgar measures. 'One advantage,' says Mr Southey, 'this metre *assuredly* possesses; the dullest reader cannot distort it into discord: he may read it with a *prose mouth*, but its flow and fall will still be perceptible.' We are afraid, there are duller readers in the world than Mr Southey is aware of. We recommend the following passages for experiment.

> "The Day of the Trial will come,
> When I shall understand how profitable
> It is to suffer now."
>
> 'Hodeirah groaned and closed his eyes,
> As if in the night and the blindness of death
> He would have hid himself.'
>
> "Blessed art thou, young man,
> Blessed art thou, O Aswad, for the deed!
> In the day of visitation,
> In the fearful hour of judgment,
> God will remember thee!"
>
> "It is the hour of prayer,
> My children, let us purify ourselves
> And praise the Lord our God!"
> The boy the water brought;
> After the law they purified themselves,
> And bent their faces to the earth in prayer.'
>
> 'Azure and yellow, like the beautiful fields
> Of England, when amid the growing grass
> The blue-bell bends, the golden king-cup shines,
> In the merry month of May!
>
> 'But Thalaba took not the draught,
> For rightly he knew had the Prophet forbidden
> That beverage the mother of sins.'

'The blinded multitude
Adored the Sorcerer,
And bent the knee before him,
And shouted out his praise,
"Mighty art thou, the Bestower of joy,
'The Lord of Paradise!"

'Dizzy with the deafening strokes,
In blind and interrupted course,
Poor beast, he struggles on;
And now the dogs are nigh!
How his heart pants! you see
The panting of his heart;
And tears like human tears
Roll down, along the big veins——'

——————— 'they perished all,
All in that dreadful hour: but I was saved
To remember and revenge.'

'Like the flowing of a Summer gale he felt
Its ineffectual force;
His countenance was not changed,
Nor a hair of his head was singed.

"Aye! look and triumph!" he exclaimed,
'This is the justice of thy God!
'A righteous God is he, to let
His vengeance fall upon the innocent head!
"Curse thee, curse thee, Thalaba!"

'With what a thirst of joy
He should breathe in the open gales of heaven!'

'Vain are all spells! the Destroyer
Treads the Domdaniel floor.'

"Thou hast done well, my servant!
'Ask and receive thy reward!'

Mr Southey must excuse us for doubting, whether even a *poet's mouth* could turn these passages into good verse; and we are afraid, the greater part of his readers will participate in our scepticism.

The subject of this poem is almost as ill chosen as the diction; and the conduct of the fable as disorderly as the versification. The corporation of magicians, that inhabit 'the Domdaniel caverns, under the roots of the ocean,' had discovered, that a terrible *destroyer* was likely to rise up against them from the seed of Hodeirah, a worthy Arab, with eight fine children. Immediately the murder of all those innocents is resolved on; and a sturdy assassin sent with instructions to destroy the whole family

(as Mr Southey has it) 'root and branch.' The good man, accordingly, and seven of his children are despatched: But a cloud comes over the mother and the remaining child; and the poem opens with the picture of the widow and her orphan, wandering, by night, over the deserts of Arabia. The old lady, indeed, might as well have fallen under the dagger of the Domdanielite; for she dies without doing any thing for her child, in the end of the first book; and little Thalaba is left crying in the wilderness. Here he is picked up by a good old Arab, who takes him home, and educates him like a pious mussulman; and he and the old man's daughter fall in love with each other, according to the invariable custom in all such cases. The magicians, in the mean time, are hunting him over the face of the whole earth; and one of them gets near enough to draw his dagger to stab him, when a providential *simoom* lays him dead on the sand. From the dead sorcerer's finger, Thalaba takes a ring, inscribed with some unintelligible characters, which he is enabled to interpret by the help of some other unintelligible characters that he finds on the forehead of a locust; and soon after takes advantage of an eclipse of the sun, to set out on his expedition against his father's murderers, whom he understands (we do not very well know how) he has been commissioned to exterminate. Though they are thus seeking him, and he seeking them, it is amazing what difficulty they find in meeting: they do meet, however, every now and then, and many sore evils does the Destroyer suffer at their hands. By faith and fortitude, however, and the occasional assistance of the magic implements he strips them of, he is enabled to baffle and elude their malice, till he is conducted, at last, to the Domdaniel cavern, where he finds them assembled, and pulls down the roof of it upon their heads and his own; perishing, like Samson, in the final destruction of his enemies.

From this little sketch of the story, our readers will easily perceive, that it consists altogether of the most wild and extravagant fictions, and openly sets nature and probability at defiance. In its action it is not an imitation of any thing; and excludes all rational criticism, as to the choice and succession of its incidents. Tales of this sort may amuse children, and interest, for a moment, by the prodigies they exhibit, and the multitude of events they bring together: but the interest expires with the novelty; and attention is frequently exhausted, even before curiosity has been gratified. The pleasure afforded by performances of this sort, is very much akin to that which may be derived from the exhibition of a harlequin farce; where, instead of just imitations of nature and human character, we are entertained with the transformation of cauliflowers and beer-barrels, the ap-

parition of ghosts and devils, and all the other magic of the wooden sword. Those who can prefer this eternal sorcery to the just and modest representation of human actions and passions, will probably take more delight in walking among the holly griffins and yew sphinxes of the city gardener, than in ranging among the groves and lawns which have been laid out by a hand that feared to violate nature, as much as it aspired to embellish her; and disdained the easy art of startling by novelties, and surprising by impropriety.

Supernatural beings, though easily enough raised, are known to be very troublesome in the management, and have frequently occasioned much perplexity to poets and other persons, who have been rash enough to call for their assistance. It is no very easy matter to preserve consistency in the disposal of powers, with the limits of which we are so far from being familiar; and when it is necessary to represent our spiritual persons as ignorant, or suffering, we are very apt to forget the knowledge and the powers with which we had formerly invested them. The antient poets had several unlucky rencounters of this sort with Destiny and the other deities; and Milton himself is not a little hampered with the material and immaterial qualities of his angels. Enchanters and witches may, at first sight, appear more manageable; but Mr Southey has had difficulty enough with them; and cannot be said, after all, to have kept his fable quite clear and intelligible. The stars had said, that the Destroyer might be cut off in that hour when his father and brethren were assassinated; yet he is saved by a special interposition of heaven. Heaven itself, however, had destined him to extirpate the votaries of Eblis; and yet, long before this work is done, a special message is sent to him, declaring, that, if he chooses, the Death-angel is ready to take him away instead of the sorcerer's daughter. In the beginning of the story, too, the magicians are quite at a loss where to look for him; and Abdaldar only discovers him by accident, after a long search; yet, no sooner does he leave the old Arab's tent, than Lobaba comes up to him, disguised and prepared for his destruction. The witches have also a decoy ready for him in the desart; yet he sups with Okba's daughter, without any of the sorcerers being aware of it; and afterwards proceeds to consult the simorg, without meeting with any obstacle or molestation. The simoom kills Abdaldar, too, in spite of that ring which afterwards protects Thalaba from lightning, and violence, and magic. The Destroyer's arrow then falls blunted from Lobaba's breast, who is knocked down, however, by a shower of sand of his own raising; and this same arrow, which could make no impression on the sorcerer, kills the magic bird of Aloadin, and pierces the rebel-

lious *spirit* that guarded the Domdaniel door. The whole infernal band, indeed, is very feebly and heavily pourtrayed. They are a set of stupid, undignified, miserable wretches, quarrelling with each other, and trembling in the prospect of inevitable destruction. None of them even appears to have obtained the price of their self-sacrifice in worldly honours and advancement, except Mohareb; and he, though assured by destiny that there was one death-blow appointed for him and Thalaba, is yet represented, in the concluding scene, as engaged with him in furious combat, and aiming many a deadly blow at that life on which his own was dependent. If the innocent characters in this poem were not delineated with more truth and feeling, the notoriety of the author would scarcely have induced us to bestow so much time on its examination.

Though the tissue of adventures through which Thalaba is conducted in the course of this production, be sufficiently various and extraordinary, we must not set down any part of the incidents to the credit of the author's invention. He has taken great pains, indeed, to guard against such a supposition; and has been as scrupulously correct in the citation of his authorities, as if he were the compiler of a true history, and thought his reputation would be ruined by the imputation of a single fiction. There is not a prodigy, accordingly, or a description, for which he does not fairly produce his vouchers, and generally lays before his readers the whole original passage from which his imitation has been taken. In this way, it turns out, that the book is entirely composed of scraps, borrowed from the oriental tale books, and travels into the Mahometan countries seasoned up for the English reader with some fragments of our own ballads, and shreds of our older sermons. The composition and harmony of the work, accordingly, is much like the pattern of that patchwork drapery that is sometimes to be met with in the mansions of the industrious, where a blue tree overshadows a shell-fish, and a gigantic butterfly seems ready to swallow up Palemon and Lavinia. The author has the merit merely of cutting out each of his figures from the piece where its inventor had placed it, and stitching them down together in these judicious combinations.

It is impossible to peruse this poem, with the notes, without feeling that it is the fruit of much reading, undertaken for the express purpose of fabricating some such performance. The author has set out with a resolution to make an oriental story, and a determination to find the materials of it in the books to which he had access. Every incident, therefore, and description, —every superstitious usage, or singular tradition, that appeared to him susceptible of poetical embellishment, or capable of picturesque representation, he has set down for this purpose,

and adopted such a fable and plan of composition, as might enable him to work up all his materials, and interweave every one of his quotations, without any *extraordinary* violation of unity or order. When he had filled his commonplace book, he began to write; and his poem is little else than his commonplace book versified.

It may easily be imagined, that a poem constructed upon such a plan, must be full of cumbrous and misplaced description, and overloaded with a crowd of incidents, equally unmeaning and ill assorted. The tedious account of the palace of Shedad, in the first book—the description of the Summer and Winter occupations of the Arabs, in the third—the ill-told story of Haruth and Maruth—the greater part of the occurrences in the island of Mohareb—the paradise of Aloadin, &c. &c.—are all instances of disproportioned and injudicious ornaments, which never could have presented themselves to an author who wrote from the suggestions of his own fancy; and have evidently been introduced, from the author's unwillingness to relinquish the corresponding passages in D'Herbelot, Sale, Volney, &c. which appeared to him to have great capabilities for poetry.

This imitation, or admiration of Oriental imagery, however, does not bring so much suspicion on his taste, as the affection he betrays for some of his domestic models. The former has, for the most part, the recommendation of novelty; and there is always a certain pleasure in contemplating the *costume* of a distant nation, and the luxuriant landscape of an Asiatic climate. We cannot find the same apology, however, for Mr Southey's partiality to the drawling vulgarity of some of our old English ditties. Here is what he has been pleased to present to his readers (in a note), as 'one of the most beautiful of our old ballads, so full of beauty.' The heroine is an old *mare* belonging to John Poulter.

'At length old age came on her
And she grew faint and poor,
Her master he fell out with her
And turned her out of door,
Saying, if thou wilt not labour,
I prithee go thy way,—
And never let me see thy face
Until thy dying day.
These words she took unkind,
And on her way she went,
For to fulfil her master's will
Always was her intent.
The hills were very high,
The vallies very bare,
The Summer it was hot and dry—
It starved Old Poulter's mare.'

There are three stanzas more; but we shall only add the last. Old Ponthee repents, and sends his main Will to bring the mare back to Will, at first, cannot find her; but, as he is thinking of giving up the search,

He went a little farther
And turned his head aside,
And just by goodman Whitfield's gate
Oh there the Mare he spied.
He asked her how she did,
She stared him in the face,
Then down she laid her head again,—
She was in wretched case.

These three last lines, Mr Southey seriously considers as the *non plus ultra* of purity and pathos.

The text certainly is not, by any means, so bad as might have been expected from such a note; though there are some passages, in which a patriotic zeal for neglected English authors has made him copy their style a little too faithfully. Could the great master of *Namby Pamby* have lisped out his repetitions in blaak verse, with more amiable simplicity than in the following passage? The author is describing a certain spring, that, he says, 'tossed and heaved strangely up and down.'

And yet the depths were clear,
And yet no ripple wrinkled o'er
The face of that fair Well.
And on that Well so strange and fair
A little boat there lay,
Without an oar, without a sail;
One only seat it had, one seat
As if for only Thalaba.
And at the helm a Damsel stood,
A Damsel bright and bold of eye;
Yet did a maiden modesty
Adorn her fearless brow.
She seemed sorrowful, but sure
More beautiful for sorrow.

From the extracts and observations which we have hitherto presented to our readers, it will be natural for them to conclude, that our opinion of this poem is very decidedly unfavourable; and that we are not disposed to allow it any sort of merit. This, however, is by no means the case. We think it written, indeed, in a very vicious taste, and liable, upon the whole, to very formidable objections: But it would not be doing justice to the genius of the author, if we were not to add, that it contains passa-

ges of very singular beauty and force, and displays a richness of poetical conception, that would do honour to more faultless compositions. There is little of human character in the poem, indeed; because Thalaba is a solitary wanderer from the solitary tent of his protector: But the home group, in which his infancy was spent, is pleasingly delineated; and there is something irresistibly interesting in the innocent love and misfortunes, and fate of his Oneiza. The catastrophe of her story is given, it appears to us, with great spirit and effect, though the beauties are of that questionable kind, that trespass on the border of impropriety, and partake more of the character of dramatic, than of narrative poetry. After delivering her from the polluted paradise of Aloadin, he prevails on her to marry him before his mission is accomplished. She consents with great reluctance; and the marriage feast, with its processions, songs, and ceremonies, is described in some joyous stanzas. The book ends with these verses:

> 'And now the marriage feast is spread,
> And from the finished banquet now
> The wedding guests are gone.
>
> Who comes from the bridal chamber?
> It is Azrael, the Angel of Death.'

The next book opens with Thalaba lying distracted upon her grave, in the neighbourhood of which he had wandered till 'the sun, and the wind, and the rain, had rusted his raven locks;' and there he is found by the father of his bride, and visited by her ghost, and soothed and encouraged to proceed upon his holy enterprize. He sets out on his lonely way, and is entertained the first night by a venerable dervise: As they are sitting at meal, a *bridal procession* passes by, with dance, and song, and merriment. The old dervise blessed them as they passed; but Thalaba looked, 'and breathed a low deep groan, and hid his face.' These incidents are skilfully imagined, and are narrated in a very impressive manner.

Though the *witchery* scenes are in general but poorly executed, and possess little novelty to those who have read the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, there is, occasionally, some fine description, and striking combination. We do not remember any poem indeed that presents, throughout, a greater number of lively images, or could afford so many subjects for the pencil.

The introductory lines have a certain solemn and composed beauty:

> 'How beautiful is night!
> A dewy freshness fills the silent air;
> No mist obscures, no little cloud
> Breaks the whole serene of heaven:

In full-orbed glory the majestic moon
Rolls thro' the dark blue depths.
Beneath her steady ray
The desert circle spreads,
Like the round ocean, girdled with the sky.
How beautiful is night!'

There are many fine sketches of tropical scenery in the description of Aloadin's Paradise. The following verses breathe the true spirit of Oriental poetry.

'And oh! what odours the voluptuous vale
Scatters from jasmine bowers,
From yon rose wilderness,
From clustered henna, and from orange groves
That with such perfumes fill the breeze,
As Peris to their Sister bear,
When from the summit of some lofty tree
She hangs, encaged, the captive of the Dives.
They from their pinions shake
The sweetness of celestial flowers,
And as her enemies impure
From that impervious poison far away
Fly groaning with the torment, she the while
Inhales her fragrant food.
Such odours flowed upon the world,
When at Mohammed's nuptials, word
Went forth in heaven to roll
The everlasting gates of Paradise
Back on their living hinges, that its gales
Might visit all below; the general bliss
Thrilled every bosom, and the family
Of man, for once, partook one common joy.'

The picture of Maimuna sitting by a fire in a solitary cavern, and singing 'a low, sweet, unintelligible song' as she spun, reminds us of the appearance of Calypso in the Odyssey.

——————την δ' ενδοθι τετμεν ιουσαν.
Πυρ μεν επ' εσχαρόφιν μεγα καιετο, τηλοθι δ' οδμη
Κέδρου τ' ευκεατοιο, θυου τ' ανα πυον οδωδει,
Δαιομενων· η δ' ενδον αοιδιαουσ' οπι καλη,
Ίστον επαιχομενη, χρυσειη κερκιδ' υφαινεν.

Maimuna's figure is very striking, too, when she goes up to read the stars.

'Lo! on the terrace of the topmost tower
She stands; her darkening eyes,
Her fine face raised to heaven,

Her white hair flowing like the silver streams
That streak the northern night.

The little episode of Laila is one of the most pleasing passages in the whole poem; though it is quite in the style of a fairy tale, and borders on silliness throughout. In the midst of a desart of snow, Thalaba descries a distant light, and finds, on his approach, that it proceeds from

> ' ——a little lowly dwelling place,
> Amid a garden, whose delightful air
> Felt mild and fragrant, as the evening wind
> Passing in Summer o'er the coffee groves
> Of Yemen, and its blessed bowers of balm.
> A Fount of Fire that in the centre played,
> Rolled all around its wonderous rivulets,
> And fed the garden with the heat of life.'

He enters, and finds a damsel sleeping, who afterwards informs him that she was placed there by her father, who 'saw a danger in her horoscope,' and hid her in that solitude.

> ' ——he made this dwelling, and the grove,
> And yonder fountain-fire; and every morn
> He visits me, and takes the snow, and moulds
> Women and men, like these, and breathes into them
> Motion, and life, and sense, .. but to the touch
> They are chilling cold, and even when night closes
> They melt away again, and leave me here
> Alone and sad.'

She then tells him, that her father had also constructed a guardian of the garden, which, when he asks to see,

> ' She took him by the hand,
> And thro' the porch they past,
> Over the garden and the grove
> The fountain streams of fire
> Poured a broad light like noon;
> A broad unnatural light
> That made the Rose's blush of beauty pale,
> And dimmed the rich Geranium's scarlet blaze.
> The various verdure of the grove
> Now wore one undistinguishable grey,
> Chequered with blacker shade.'

The guardian was a brazen figure, grasping a thunderbolt. As soon as Thalaba appeared,

> ' The charmed image knew Hodeirah's son,
> And hurled the lightning at the dreaded foe!

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His ring saves him; but the Old Magician comes and tells the Destroyer, that he must either kill that innocent maid, or die himself.

Around her father's neck
Still Laila's hands were clasped.
Her face was turned to Thalaba.
A broad light floated o'er its marble paleness,
As the wind waved the fountain fire.
Her large dilated eye, in horror raised,
Watched his every movement.

Thalaba refuses to stain his hands in the blood of innocence. The Magician, retiring, draws his dagger.

All was accomplished. Laila rushed between
To save the saviour Youth.
She met the blow, and sunk into his arms,
And Azrael from the hands of Thalaba
Received her parting soul.

There is some very fine poetry in the two concluding books, from which we would willingly make some extracts, if we had not already extended this article to an unusual length, and given such a specimen of the merits and defects of this performance, as will probably be sufficient to determine the judgment of our readers.

All the productions of this author, it appears to us, bear very distinctly the impression of an amiable mind, a cultivated fancy, and a perverted taste. His genius seems naturally to delight in the representation of domestic virtues and pleasures, and the brilliant delineation of external nature. In both these departments, he is frequently very successful; but he seems to want vigour for the loftier flights of poetry. He is often puerile, diffuse, and artificial, and seems to have but little acquaintance with those chaster and severer graces, by whom the epic muse would be most suitably attended. His faults are always aggravated, and often created, by his partiality for the peculiar manner of that new school of poetry, of which he is a faithful disciple, and to the glory of which, he has sacrificed greater talents and acquisitions, than can be boasted of by any of his associates.

ART. IX. *Discourses on Various Subjects.* By Thomas Rennell, D.D. Master of the Temple. Rivington, London.

We have no modern sermons in the English language, that can be considered as very eloquent. The merits of Blair

(by far the most popular writer of sermons within the last century) are plain good sense, a happy application of scriptural quotation, and a clear harmonious style, richly tinged with scriptural language. He generally leaves his readers pleased with his judgement, and his just observations on human conduct, without ever rising so high as to touch the great passions, or kindle any enthusiasm in favour of virtue. For eloquence, we must ascend as high as the days of Barrow and Jeremy Taylor: And even there, while we are delighted with their energy, their copiousness, and their fancy, we are in danger of being suffocated by a redundance which abhors all discrimination; which compares till it perplexes, and illustrates till it confounds.

To the *Oases* of Tillotson, Sherlock, and Atterbury, we must wade through many a barren page, in which the weary Christian can descry nothing all around him, but a dreary expanse of trite sentiments, and languid words.

The great object of modern sermons, is to hazard nothing: Their characteristic, is decent debility; which alike guards their authors from ludicrous errors, and precludes them from striking beauties. Every man of sense, in taking up an English sermon, expects to find it a tedious essay, full of commonplace morality; and if the fulfilment of such expectations be meritorious, the clergy have certainly the merit of not disappointing their readers. Yet it is curious to consider, how a body of men so well educated, and so magnificently endowed as the English clergy, should distinguish themselves so little in a species of composition to which it is their peculiar duty, as well as their ordinary habit, to attend. To solve this difficulty, it should be remembered, that the eloquence of the Bar and of the Senate force themselves into notice, power, and wealth—that the penalty which an individual client pays for choosing a bad advocate, is the loss of his cause—that a prime minister must infallibly suffer in the estimation of the public, who neglects to conciliate eloquent men, and trusts the defence of his measures to those who have not adequate talents for that purpose: whereas, the only evil which accrues from the promotion of a clergyman to the pulpit, which he has no ability to fill as he ought, is the fatigue of the audience, and the discredit of that species of public instruction; an evil so general, that no individual patron would dream of sacrificing to it his particular interest. The clergy are generally appointed to their situations, by those who have no interest that they should please the audience before whom they speak; while the very reverse is the case in the eloquence of the Bar, and of Parliament. We by no means would be understood to say, that the clergy should owe their promotion principally to their eloquence, or that eloquence ever could, consistently with the

constitution of the English Church, be made a common cause of preferment. In pointing out the total want of connexion between the privilege of preaching, and the power of preaching well, we are giving no opinion as to whether it might, or might not, be remedied; but merely stating a fact. Pulpit discourses have insensibly dwindled from speaking to reading; a practice, of itself sufficient to stifle every germ of eloquence. It is only by the fresh feelings of the heart, that mankind can be very powerfully affected. What can be more ludicrous, than an orator delivering stale indignation, and fervour of a week old; turning over whole pages of violent passions, written out in German text; reading the tropes and apostrophes into which he is hurried by the ardour of his mind; and so affected at a preconcerted line, and page, that he is unable to proceed any farther!

The prejudices of the English nation have proceeded a good deal from their hatred to the French; and, because that country is the native soil of elegance, animation, and grace, a certain patriotic solidity, and loyal awkwardness, have become the characteristics of this: so that an adventurous preacher is afraid of violating the antient tranquillity of the pulpit: and the audience are commonly apt to consider the man who tires them less than usual, as a trifler, or a charlatan.

Of British education, the study of eloquence makes little or no part. The exterior graces of a speaker are despised; and debating societies (admirable institutions, under proper regulations) would hardly be tolerated, either at Oxford or Cambridge. It is commonly answered to any animadversions upon the eloquence of the English pulpit, that a clergyman is to recommend himself, not by his eloquence, but by the purity of his life, and the soundness of his doctrine; an objection good enough, if any connexion could be pointed out between eloquence, heresy, and dissipation: But, if it be possible for a man to live well, preach well, and teach well, at the same time; such objections, resting only upon a supposed incompatibility of these good qualities, are duller than the dullness they defend.

The clergy are apt to shelter themselves under the plea, that subjects so exhausted are utterly incapable of novelty; and, in the very strictest sense of the word *novelty*, meaning that which was never said before, at any time, or in any place, this may be true enough, of the first principles of morals: but the modes of expanding, illustrating and enforcing a particular theme, are capable of infinite variety; and, if they were not, this might be a very good reason for preaching commonplace sermons, but is a very bad one for publishing them.

We had great hopes, that Dr Rennel's Sermons would have proved an exception to the character we have given of sermons in general; and we have read through his present volume, with a conviction, rather that he has misapplied, than that he wants, talents for pulpit eloquence. The subjects of his sermons, fourteen in number, are, 1. The consequences of the vice of gaming: 2. On old age: 3. Benevolence exclusively an evangelical virtue: 4. The services rendered to the English nation by the Church of England, a motive for liberality to the orphan children of indigent ministers: 5. On the grounds and regulation of national joy: 6. On the connexion of the duties of loving the brotherhood, fearing God, and honouring the King: 7. On the guilt of bloodthirstiness: 8. On atonement: 9. A visitation sermon: 10. Great Britain's naval strength, and insular situation, a cause of gratitude to Almighty God: 11. Ignorance productive of atheism, anarchy, and superstition: 12. 13. 14. On the sting of death, the strength of sin, and the victory over them both by Jesus Christ.

Dr Rennel's first sermon, upon the consequences of gaming, is admirable for its strength of language, its sound good sense, and the vigour with which it combats that detestable vice. From this sermon, we shall, with great pleasure, make an extract of some length.

"Further, to this sordid habit, the gamester joins a disposition to fraud, and that of the *meanest* cast. To those, who soberly and fairly appreciate the real nature of human actions, nothing appears more inconsistent, than that societies of men, who have incorporated themselves for the express purpose of gaming, should disclaim fraud or indirection, or affect to drive from their assemblies those among their associates, whose crimes would reflect disgrace on them. Surely this, to a considerate mind, is an odious and refined a banter as can well be exhibited. For when we take into view the vast latitude allowed by the most upright gamesters, when we reflect that, according to their precious casuistry, every advantage may be legitimately taken of the young, the unwary, and the inebriated, which superior coolness, skill, address, and activity can supply, we must look upon pretences to honesty as a most shameless aggravation of their crimes. Even if it were possible that, in his own practices, a man might be a FAIR GAMESTER, yet, for the result of the extended frauds committed by his fellows, he stands deeply accountable to God, his country, and his conscience. To a system, necessarily implicated with fraud; to associations of men, a large majority of whom subsist by fraud; to habits calculated to poison the source and principle of all integrity, he gives efficacy, countenance, and concurrence. Even his *virtues* he suffers to be subsidiary to the cause of vice. He sees, with calmness, depredation committed daily and hourly in his company, perhaps under his very roof. Yet does of

this description declaim (so desperately deceitful is the heart of man) against the very knaves they cherish and protect, and whom, perhaps, with some poor sophistical refuge for a worn-out conscience, they even initiate. To such, let the Scripture speak with emphatical decision—*When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him.*'

The reader will easily observe, in this quotation, a command of language, and a power of style, very superior to what is met with in the great mass of sermons. We shall make one more extract.

'But in addition to fraud, and all its train of crimes, propensities and habits of a very different complexion enter into the composition of a Gamester: a most ungovernable FEROCITY OF DISPOSITION, however for a time disguised and latent, is invariably the result of his system of conduct. Jealousy, rage, and revenge, exist among gamesters in their wildest and most frantic excesses, and end frequently in consequences of the most atrocious violence and outrage. By perpetual agitation, the malignant passions spurn and overwhelm every boundary which discretion and conscience can oppose. From what source are we to trace a very large number of those murders, sanctioned or palliated indeed by custom, but which stand at the tribunal of God precisely upon the same grounds with every other species of murder?—From the gaming table, from the nocturnal receptacles of distraction and frenzy, the Duellist rushes with his hand lifted up against his brother's life!—Those who are as yet on the threshold of these habits, should be warned, that however calm their *natural* temperament, however meek and placable their disposition, yet that, by the events which every moment arise, they stand exposed to the ungovernable fury of themselves and others. In the midst of fraud, protected by menace on the one hand, and on the other, of despair, irritated by a recollection of the miseries of the artifice and the baseness of the hands by which utter and remediless ruin has been inflicted; in the midst of these feelings of horror and distraction, it is, that the voice of brethrens blood *crieth unto God from the ground*—*and now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.* Not only THOU who actually sheddest that blood, but THOU who art the artificer of death—thou who administerest incentives to these habits—who disseminatest the practice of them—improvest the skill in them—fomentest the propensity to them—at THY hands will it be required, surely, at the tribunal of God in the next world, and perhaps, in most instances, in his distributive and awful dispensations towards thee and thine here on earth.'

Having paid this tribute of praise to Dr Rennel's first sermon, we are sorry so soon to change our eulogium into censure, and to blame him for having selected for publication so many sermons touching directly and indirectly upon the French Revolution. We confess ourselves long since wearied with this

kind of discourses, bespattered with blood and brains, and ringing eternal changes upon atheism, canibalism, and apostasy. Upon the enormities of the French Revolution, there can be but one opinion; but the subject is not fit for the pulpit. The public are disgusted with it to satiety; and we can never help remembering, that this politico-orthodox rage in the mouth of a preacher, may be profitable as well as sincere. Upon such subjects as the murder of the Queen of France, and the great events of these days, it is not possible to endure the draggling and the daubing of such a ponderous limner as Dr Rennel, after the ethereal touches of Mr Burke. In events so truly horrid in themselves, the field is so easy for a declaimer, that we set little value upon such declamation; and the mind, on such occasions, so easily outruns ordinary description, that we are apt to feel more, before a mediocre oration begins, than it ever aims at inspiring.

We are surprised that Dr Rennel, from among the great number of subjects which he must have discussed in the pulpit, (the interest in which must be permanent and universal), should have published such an empty and frivolous sermon, as that upon the victory of Lord Nelson; a sermon good enough for the garrulity of joy, when the phrases, and the exultation of the Porcupine, or the True Briton, may pass for eloquence or sense; but utterly unworthy of the works of a man who aims at a place among the great teachers of morality and religion.

Dr Rennel is apt to put on the appearance of a holy bully, an evangelical swaggerer, as if he could carry his point against infidelity by big words and strong abuse, and kick and cuff men into Christians. It is a very easy thing to talk about the shallow impostures, and the silly ignorant sophisms of Voltaire, Rousseau, Condorcet, D'Alembert, and Volney, and to say that Hume is not worth answering. This affectation of contempt will not do. While these pernicious writers have power to allure from the Church great numbers of proselytes, it is better to study them diligently, and to reply to them satisfactorily, than to veil insolence, want of power, or want of industry, by a pretended contempt; which may leave infidels and wavering Christians to suppose that such writers are abused, because they are feared; and not answered, because they are unanswerable. While every body was abusing and despising Mr Godwin, and while Mr Godwin was, among a certain description of understandings, increasing every day in popularity, Mr Malthus took the trouble of refuting him; and we hear no more of Mr Godwin. We recommend this example to the consideration of Dr Rennel, who seems to think it more useful, and more pleasant, to rail than to fight.

After the world has returned to its sober senses upon the merits of the ancient philosophy, it is amusing enough to see a few *bad heads* bawling for the restoration of exploded errors, and past infatuation. We have some dozen of plethoric phrases about Aristotle, who is, in the estimation of the Doctor, *et rex et sutor bonus*, and every thing else; and to the neglect of whose works, he seems to attribute every moral and physical evil under which the world has groaned for the last century. Dr Rennel's admiration of the ancients is so great, that he considers the works of Homer to be the region and depositary of natural law, and natural religion. * Now, if, by natural religion, is meant the will of God collected from his works, and the necessity man is under of obeying it: it is rather extraordinary that Homer should be so good a natural theologian, when the divinities he has painted, are certainly a more drunken, quarrelsome, adulterous, intriguing, lascivious set of beings, than are to be met with in the most profligate court in Europe. There is, every now and then, some plain, coarse morality in Homer; but the most bloody revenge, and the most savage cruelty in warfare, the ravishing of women, and the sale of men, &c. &c. &c. are circumstances which the old bard seems to relate as the ordinary events of his times, without ever dreaming that there could be much harm in them; and if it be urged that Homer took his ideas of right and wrong from a barbarous age, that is just saying, in other words, that Homer had very imperfect ideas of natural law.

Having exhausted all his powers of eulogium upon the times that are gone, Dr Rennel indemnifies himself by the very novel practice of declaiming against the present age. It is an *evil age*—an *adulterous age*—an *ignorant age*—an *apostate age*—and *a foppish age*. Of the propriety of the last epithet, our readers may perhaps be more convinced, by calling to mind a class of fops not usually designated by that epithet—men clothed in profound black, with large canes, and strange amorphous hats—of big speech, and imperative presence—talkers about Plato—great affecters of senility—despisers of women, and all the graces of life—fierce foes to common sense—abusive of the living, and approving no one who has not been dead for at least a century. Such fops, as vain, and as shallow as their fraternity in Bond-street, differ from these only as Gorgonius differed from Rusillus.

In the ninth Discourse, (p. 226.), we read of St Paul, that he had 'an heroic zeal, directed, rather than bounded, by the nicest discretion—a conscious and commanding dignity, softened by the meekest and most profound humility.' This is intended for a fine piece of writing; but it is without meaning: for, if

* P. 318.

words have any limits, it is a *contradiction in terms*, to say, of the *same* person, at the *same* time, that he is nicely discreet, and heroically zealous; or that he is profoundly humble, and imperatively dignified: and if Dr Rennel means, that St Paul displayed these qualities at different times, then could not any one of them direct or soften the other.

Sermons are so seldom examined with any considerable degree of critical vigilance, that we are apt to discover in them sometimes a great laxity of assertion: such as the following—

'Labour to be undergone, afflictions to be borne, contradictions to be suffered, danger to be braved, interest to be despised in the best and most flourishing ages of the Church, are the perpetual badges of far the greater part of those who take up their cross and follow Christ.'

This passage, at first, struck us to be untrue; and we could not immediately recollect the afflictions Dr Rennel alluded to, till it occurred to us, that he must undoubtedly mean the eight hundred and fifty actions which, in the course of eighteen months, have been brought against the clergy for non-residence.

Upon the danger to be apprehended from Roman Catholics in this country, Dr Rennel is laughable. We should as soon dream, that the wars of York and Lancaster would break out afresh, as that the Protestant religion in England has any thing to apprehend from the machinations of Catholics. To such a scheme as that of Catholic emancipation, which has for its object, to restore their natural rights to three or four millions of men, and to allay the fury of religious hatred, Dr Rennel is, as might be expected, a very strenuous antagonist. Time, which lifts up the veil of political mystery, will inform us if the Doctor has taken that side of the question which may be as lucrative to himself, as it is inimical to human happiness, and repugnant to enlightened policy.

Of Dr Rennel's talents as a reasoner, we certainly have formed no very high opinion. Unless dogmatical assertion, and the practice (but too common among theological writers) of taking the thing to be proved, for part of the proof, can be considered as evidence of a logical understanding, the specimens of argument Dr Rennel has afforded us, are very insignificant. For putting obvious truths into vehement language; for expanding and adorning moral instruction; this gentleman certainly possesses considerable talents: and if he will moderate his insolence, steer clear of theological metaphysics, and consider rather those great laws of Christian practice, which must interest mankind through all ages, than the petty questions which are important to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, he may live beyond his own days, and become a star of the third or fourth magnitude in the English Church.

ART. X. *Voyage dans le Departemens de la France,* par une Société d'Artistes et Gens de Lettres; enrichi de tableaux géographiques, & d'estampes. 9 tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1792 à 1801.

A STATISTICAL Survey of France, in its modern divisions, would be a work eminently calculated to attract, and to repay, the attention of the politician, and of the public at large. The publication before us, though it comprehend a part of the subjects now generally denominated Statistics, yet embraces so many other topics, as to furnish but a very superficial view of those which we consider as the most important.

In the year 1792, Citizen La Vallée, formerly an officer in the army, accompanied by the Messieurs Brion, began their journey through the different departments. Their work appeared in Numbers, of which one was published every month, comprehending the account of one department, accompanied by a small map, with designs of the principal towns and most striking scenery. In this manner, they have visited and described, successively, all the departments which composed the kingdom of France; to which are added, Savoy, Geneva, and Corsica—in number, all which now constitute the Republic, excepting the Austrian Netherlands, and the countries on the Rhine. The designs are entitled to little praise, and the maps are by no means executed with neatness, by the Messrs Brion.

M. La Vallée, to whom the composition of the work was entrusted, is the author of a variety of publications, none of which, we believe, have attained much celebrity. He lays claim, however, to the admiration of future ages; and, with a modesty almost peculiar to his countrymen, professes his confidence, that, by posterity, he will be classed as a philosopher of no mean distinction.

After describing the towns, and the general appearance of the country through which he travels, M. La Vallée details the principal events of which they were the theatre, from the earliest authentic records, to the downfal of the monarchy; and adds a bibliographical account of the most conspicuous characters which they produced, or who resided in them. By these means, the historical anecdotes occupy above three fourths of the whole work, and leave little space for more material information, had the author been qualified to furnish it, which we are rather disposed to doubt.

Yet this plan would have had its attractions, if impartiality had guided the pen of the author! But to this essential qualification of an historian, M. La Vallée has the candour not even to pretend; and confesses, that his indignation at tyranny, and hatred for superstition, prevents him from viewing, dispassionately, the actions of kings and priests. The manifest object of the publi-

cation, indeed, is to render odious to the French nation, every thing which had been held sacred by their ancestors; and unfortunately the civil wars, which so long devastated that country, with the profound ignorance of rational religion, which, during the middle ages, prevailed over all Europe, might have furnished our author with very ample materials for sarcasm, without having recourse to misrepresentation. But, merely to confirm opinions already prevalent, would have been an undertaking unworthy the zeal of M. La Vallée, in the cause of liberty. That Louis XI. and Charles IX. were tyrants, is a truth which requires no corroboration. It is the mild benevolence of Louis XII. the munificence of Francis I. the valour and magnanimity of Henry IV. and the dazzling splendour of Louis XIV. which are dangerous, and which cannot be rendered unpopular, but by talents of a superior description. To traduce these princes, consequently, is an object never lost sight of in the course of the performance.

A number of the anecdotes are amusing, and well related; the superstitious practices of the Catholic clergy, their grotesque processions, and artful devices to enrich the Church, at the expense of the laity, are ridiculed with some humour; but the too faithful description of the horrors perpetrated during the civil and religious wars, stamps a character of atrocity on the work, which destroys the amusement derived from scenes merely ridiculous. We were particularly struck with the singular sensibility M. La Vallée never fails to discover: He seldom approaches a city without bursting into tears, at the recollection of the oppressions it underwent under the feudal system: and it is remarkable, that his philanthropy never blazes so violently, as during the government of Robespierre. At that period, he never spares his readers a single barbarity committed during the old regime; and only forgets to mention, that the scenes passing before his eyes, exceeded in horror, all that the history of France could furnish during the lapse of so many ages.

This publication affords a singular proof of the prodigious depreciation of assignats. One Number originally cost three livres; from this it gradually rose to 120 livres; and when the assignats were totally decried, the price was fixed at two livres, in money.

ART. XI. *The General Diffusion of Knowledge, one great Cause of the Prosperity of North Britain:* With an Appendix, containing a Proposal for Improving the present Mode of Teaching the Greek Language. By Alexander Christison, one of the Masters of the High School of Edinburgh, and F. R. S. Edin. 1802.

WE have here some judicious observations, and some very melancholy facts, on a most interesting subject, the dif-

fusion of knowledge among the lower orders of Scotland, by the parochial seminaries of education. It is indeed deeply afflicting, and will ever stain the memory of the present age, that after that institution had been proved, by the experience of a whole century, to have a most beneficial influence upon the intelligence, the industry, and the morals of our people, it should have been suffered to sink into inefficiency, either from negligence, from a beggarly spirit of economy, or from motives of a still more illiberal description. Of the progress of this evil, we have long been ashamed; but we were not aware that its extent was already so great as it is described by the author of this tract, whose statements appear to have been derived from very accurate inquiries.

'The wretched income of some established teachers, particularly parish schoolmasters, is becoming every day worse. Many of them do not earn half so much as a journeyman mason. The unhappy old men who are in the profession, must continue in it, as they are too old to learn any other; but many of them, unless the income be rectified, will have no successors. This event has taken place already. There are many parish schools vacant: because no man will accept of them with so small a reward for severe labour.'

'Accounts have been received from 427 parishes. The average income, for each schoolmaster, seems to be between 23l. and 24l. a year. The amount of the income of the schoolmaster, in each of the 427 parishes, was taken from his own affidavit, sworn before a justice of the peace. There is good reason to think, that, when the list shall be completed for the whole of North Britain, the average will be still lower. Of the 427 parishes, the income of six is less than 10l. a year each. One is 6l. 18s. 10d. Several of the schoolmasters say, that they could not live without the aid of their relations. A journeyman mason can earn 30l. a year.'

The arguments, on which Mr Christison founds the necessity of directing the attention of the Legislature to this public calamity, are not distinguished by novelty, because the topic has been long since exhausted, to the satisfaction of all enlightened men. He has sometimes impaired the force of his observations, by an injudicious ambition of elegance; but, in the following passage, there is a truth and warmth of description, which must have been caught from immediate feelings, and which more correct composition does not always preserve.

'I do not think there is any thing more interesting on this globe, than a boy of genius, in the lower rank of life, generous, elevated, virtuous; resisting the allurements of his play-fellows, retiring to his books and meditations; with a scanty education, no director of his studies, few books, and those frequently ill chosen; overlooked by the rich, worn out by toil, and sometimes dissuaded from his pursuits by

by a weak adviser; sifting, and doubting, and comparing; puzzled with a difficult passage in some author one day, and enlightened the next; hoping that he may, in consequence of his acquisitions, reach the highest degree of happiness which a man of virtue can attain in this world, become useful to his country, and repay his parents and relations for all their toils, and care, and tenderness.'

We have understood from public report, that a bill is to be introduced next Session of Parliament, to adjust the salaries of parochial schoolmasters. As several attempts of the kind have already proved abortive, and were indeed prosecuted with a languor which scarcely merited success, we shall not subject ourselves to the chance of another disappointment, by indulging a very sanguine expectation of the measure, or bestowing any portion of praise by anticipation. If such a proposal shall be brought forward, we can only wish that it may be prosecuted in earnest, and with simplicity; and that, all idea being rejected either of artificial modification or of mischievous controul, the means of education may be opened with liberality to the lower orders, and the national institution fixed on a permanent and respectable footing.

In the Appendix to this pamphlet, Mr Christison proposes that the study of the Greek language should be united with that of Latin, in the course of education which boys receive at the High School of Edinburgh. We have not the least doubt that this is a practicable improvement, and would greatly enhance the utility of that respectable seminary. There are few literary men in Scotland, who do not come to regret that unclassical negligence which almost excludes Greek literature from our present system of education. At a mature period of life, we are at length forced to suspend severer and more important studies, in order to acquire, very imperfectly, what might have been secured, with ease, at an earlier age.

ART. XII. *Reflections at the Conclusion of the War*; Being a Sequel to Reflections on the Political and Moral State of Society at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. The Third Edition, with Additions. By John Bowles, Esq.

If this peace be, as Mr Bowles asserts, the death-warrant of the liberty and power of Great Britain, we will venture to assert, that it is also the death-warrant of Mr Bowles's literary reputation; and that the people of this island, if they verify his predictions, and cease to read his books, whatever they may lose in political greatness, will evince no small improvement in critical acumen. There is a political, as well as a bodily hypo-

delusion; and there are empirics always on the watch to make their prey, either of the one, or of the other. Dr Solomon, Dr Brodum, and Mr Bowles, have all commanded their share of the public attention: But the two former gentlemen continue to flourish with undiminished splendour; while the patients of the latter are fast dwindling away, and his drugs falling into disuse and contempt.

The truth is, if Mr Bowles had began his literary career, at a period when superior discrimination, and profound thought, not vulgar violence, and the eternal repetition of rabble-rousing words, were necessary to literary reputation, he would never have emerged from that obscurity to which he will soon return. The intemperate passions of the public, not his own talents, have given him some temporary reputation; and now, when men hope and fear with less eagerness than they have been lately accustomed to do, Mr Bowles will be compelled to descend from that moderate eminence, where no man of real genius would ever have condescended to remain.

The pamphlet is written in the genuine spirit of the Windham and Burke school; though Mr Bowles cannot be called a servile copyist of either of these gentlemen, as he has rejected the logic of the one, and the eloquence of the other, and imitated them only in their headstrong violence, and exaggerated abuse. There are some men who continue to astonish and please the world, even in the support of a bad cause. They are mighty in their fallacies, and beautiful in their errors. Mr Bowles sees only one-half of the precedent; and thinks, in order to be famous, that he has nothing to do but to be in the wrong.

War, eternal war, till the wrongs of Europe are avenged, and the Bourbons restored, is the master-principle of Mr Bowles's political opinions, and the object for which he declaims through the whole of the present pamphlet.

The first apprehensions which Mr Bowles seems to entertain, are of the boundless ambition and perfidious character of the First Consul, and of that military despotism he has established, which is not only impelled by the love of conquest, but interested, for its own preservation, to desire the overthrow of other states. Yet the author informs us, immediately after, that the life of Buonaparte is exposed to more dangers than that of any other individual in Europe, who is not actually in the last stage of an incurable disease; and that his death, whenever it happens, must involve the dissolution of that machine of government, of which he must be considered not only as the sole director, but the main spring. Confusion of thought, we are told, is one of the truest indications of terror; and the panic

Whether this patriotism be original, or whether it be copied from the Upholsterer in Foote's Farces, who sits up whole nights watching over the British constitution, we shall not stop to inquire; because, when the practical effect of sentiments is good, we would not diminish their merits, by investigating their origin. We seriously commend in Mr Bowles, this future dedication of his life to the service of his King and country; and consider it as a virtual promise that he will write no more in their defence. No wise or good man has ever thought of either, but with admiration and respect. That they should be exposed to that ridicule, by the forward imbecility of friendship, from which they appear to be protected by intrinsic worth, is so painful a consideration, that the very thought of it, we are persuaded, will induce Mr Bowles to desist from writing on political subjects.

ART. XIII. *Adresse aux Vrais Hommes de bien, à ceux qui Gouvernent comme à ceux qui sont Gouvérnes.* Par J. Herrenschwand. Londres. 8vo.

'I Sow these seeds of truth,' says the author of this publication in his preface, 'in the beginning of a new century; and they will bear fruit when it pleases Providence.' It is impossible to dispute this: But we flatter ourselves, that the seed M. Herrenschwand has sown may long be permitted to lye among the rocks and dry places upon which he seems conscious that it has fallen.

The truths he has set himself to demonstrate, are the three following: 1. 'That in the general design of the universe,' (we translate literally his own inimitable expressions), 'the race of man was destined to develop the earth in all its different capabilities, and, at the same time, to develop in itself all the faculties with the germs of which it had been provided by nature: 2. That there ought to have been no rulers in the world, but for the purpose of promoting this double development: and 3. That all the sovereigns that have ever existed, so far from fulfilling this august destination, have never once failed, either through error or depravity, to be the scourges of mankind, and the *sole* authors of the miseries that have afflicted the world.'

From this proposition of the subject, we will confess, we did not know very well what to expect, and had read, indeed, very nearly to the end of the book, before we could attain any clear conception of the author's design in composing it. This indocility, which we do not pretend to dissemble, was considerably

assisted by the novelty of the jargon in which the work is composed, and the singular tardiness with which the parts of the argument are made to follow one another. These difficulties, however, we have at length surmounted, or imagine, at least, that we have surmounted, and are enabled to inform our readers, that this address contains the author's view of the natural progress of human society to opulence and refinement, and his own infallible recipe for maintaining it in this progress with uninterrupted prosperity for ever.

There are few works, upon the merits of which it is so easy to decide, as this which is now before us: Whatever is just or true in it, has been already laid before the public in a much more intelligible manner by many preceding writers; whatever is new and original is, in the highest degree, extravagant and absurd. Of the first sort, is all that speculation which traces man's inventions to his necessities, and shows the dependence of his improvement on his wants, and all the reasoning that relates to the variations of price, and the natural causes by which production and consumption are adapted to each other: Of the latter, are most of the author's applications of these sound principles, and, in a peculiar manner, that great discovery, for the sake of which the whole book seems to have been written, which reveals the inseparable connexion between the prosperity of a people, and the profuse expenditure of their rulers.

It would be altogether intolerable to pursue this author through the melancholy mazes of his argument, in the first half of the volume. The substance of it is, that societies subsisting by hunting or pasturage, 'are *monsters* that dishonour man and the earth, and are proscribed by the general design of the universe:' That every society, which is not monstrous, must be composed of husbandmen, manufacturers, and independent consumers: That the more men work, the more sources of enjoyment they will possess; and that there is no way to keep their genius and their industry constantly upon the increase, but to provide for a constant increase of ready money in the hands of the independent consumers. He then crosses himself in devout astonishment, that this great discovery should have been reserved for J. Herrenschwand; and that, in the innumerable crowd of those who have hitherto guided the earth by their counsels, no one should have been found, who was capable of reducing the science of human prosperity to this simple problem. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing the succeeding paragraph, as it stands in the original before us: It contains a succinct view of the author's whole doctrine; and we are per-

suaded, that no one can read it through, without acknowledging that it is impossible for any translation to do it justice.

'Car falloit-il' (says our modest author) 'une si grande penétration pour juger que nul peuple ne pourroit multiplier son bien-être physique dans une progression non-interrompue sans la multiplication non-interrompue du travail de ses agriculteurs et de ses manufacturiers; que ses agriculteurs et ses manufacturiers ne pourroient multiplier leur travail dans une progression non-interrompue, sans la multiplication non-interrompue de la consommation de ses consommateurs indépendans; et que ses consommateurs indépendans ne pourroient multiplier leur consommation dans une progression non-interrompue, sans la multiplication non-interrompue des métaux précieux en monnoies dans leurs mains?'

Such is the style we have to encounter in every page: But the matter begins to be too interesting to be neglected.

The whole wisdom of the politician being thus reduced to the determination of a single problem, viz. By what means is it possible to multiply to infinity the current money of the consumer? the author sets himself about the resolution of it, with suitable formality and precision. Before disclosing his grand secret, indeed, he is mischievous enough to trifle with our impatience, through fifty pages of dreadful preparation, and takes an infinite deal of pains to enumerate the various sources, from which it is certain that this supply *cannot* be derived: He demonstrates to our perfect satisfaction, that this inexhaustible and swelling stream of riches cannot possibly be supplied by the labours of the husbandman—nor by those of the merchant or manufacturer—nor, finally, by the exertions of the independent consumer himself. At this stage of the argument, we naturally feel our hearts sink in despair within us, and are ready to give up all for lost: for our infallible author had already defined a legitimate society, to be that which consisted of husbandmen, manufacturers, and independent consumers; and if all of these together could not help the latter to a constantly increasing supply of money, it seemed inevitable that the 'designs of the universe' must be frustrated, and difficult to know where else to look for assistance. In the midst of this perplexity, however, our author comes most opportunely to our relief, with a body of chosen auxiliaries, whom he introduces by the name of '*consommateurs independans par excellence*;' and dispels all our fears in a moment, by assuring us, that these gentlemen have it in their power to put as much coined money in the pockets of the other independent consumers, as the glory of the universe may require. He does not condescend, at this time, to give any sort of explanation of the grounds of this assurance; but parades his *consommateurs independans par excellence* in triumph, through ma-

ny weary pages, and expatiates, with much complacency, upon the felicity and importance of the invention. After asserting, again and again, that they alone have the power of increasing their expenditure at pleasure, and repeating, ten times over, all that had been said from the beginning of the book, about *consumption*, and *development*, and *physical good*, and *the universe*, he concludes the chapter in the following words, which we beg leave to lay before our readers in the original, from the same inability to furnish them with an adequate translation, which was the apology for a former quotation.

' Car posez dans un peuple l'augmentation de la consommation de ses consommateurs indépendans par excellence, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation de sa consommation générale ; posez l'augmentation de sa consommation générale, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation du travail de ses agriculteurs et de ses manufacturiers ; posez l'augmentation du travail de ses agriculteurs et de ses manufacturiers, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation des revenus annuels de ses consommateurs indépendans ordinaires ; enfin posez l'augmentation des revenus annuels de ses consommateurs indépendans ordinaires, et vous poserez aussi nécessairement l'augmentation de sa consommation générale, et par conséquent de sa prospérité.

' Il est donc de toute évidence, que la consommation des consommateurs indépendans par excellence est le principe actif et le ressort principal du mécanisme de l'économie politique de la terre, tel que l'univers l'a lui-même arrêté dans son dessein général. Ainsi, gouverner la terre dans les vues de l'univers, et la combler de gloire et de bonheur, n'a dû définitivement exiger rien de plus, que de savoir seulement bien ménager dans chaque peuple la consommation des consommateurs indépendans par excellence ; puisque c'est de cette consommation seule qu'a dû dépendre le sort entier des peuples. '

All this time, the reader is left to guess what manner of persons these *consommateurs par excellence* may be, or by what means they are to be enabled to work so many wonders. It is not till after he has groped his way through thirty more pages of chaotic dissertation, that he is let into the first of these secrets, and given to understand, that the *consommateurs par excellence* in every society, are the *governors* in that society ; and that for this good reason, that truly they require an infinitude of articles of manufacture, both for their own accommodation, and for the public service ; and that their consumption being unlimited, they are therefore perfectly qualified to develop the prosperity of any nation, by occasioning a constant increase of its industry and production !

The grand secret, then, for ensuring the happiness of a people is, for its rulers to spend as much as possible ; and the *one*

duty which the *universe* has imposed on a sovereign is, to take care that his expenditure increases annually, with an uninterrupted progression! The governors of the world, we believe, will make no violent opposition to this doctrine; and if this be the rule of their duty, we cannot think that they have, in fact, very generally deserved all that reprobation which M. Herrenschwand has bestowed upon them, for their ignorance or neglect of it.

After having told us who these *consommateurs par excellence* are, our author has still to inform us of the means by which they are enabled, not only to increase their own expenditure to infinitude, but also to increase, in the same proportion, the quantity of money in the pockets of all the other independent consumers in the community. To disclose this secret, seems indeed to have been the great object of the book; but it is of too much importance to be disclosed precipitately; and we have still to render ourselves worthy of receiving it, by listening to a tedious harangue against foreign trade, and the establishment of public banks. From the author's decided antipathy to the latter, we certainly did not expect, that his scheme for the boundless multiplication of riches in a community, should have rested on the basis of public credit, and a paper circulation. Such, however, is the case; and though the elements are vulgar and ordinary enough in themselves, it must be confessed, that his disposition of them is altogether original.

We will not afflict our readers, by copying out any part of the indigested detail into which the author finds it necessary to enter. They will be enabled to form a judgement of the whole plan from the following short sketch of it.

Having already demonstrated, in his own way, that a regular and constant increase in the expenditure of the government, was the only true means of ensuring a constant progression in the intelligence and enjoyment of the people; the next step was, to furnish the governors with the means of this boundless expenditure, and to provide an adequate supply for this continual and increasing waste. *Public credit*, he says, offers such a supply; and it is only by the grossest abuse that it has hitherto been prevented from affording it. His scheme for ensuring the benefit of it, is simply as follows: Whenever government shall think it necessary to stimulate the genius and exertions of the country, by an additional demand for employment, it has no more to do, than to issue as much paper money as may be necessary to set it in motion; and, in order to prevent the depreciation of this paper, and to ensure its free circulation, it must take care to provide for its due payment and realization in specie. For this purpose, it must previously deposit gold and silver

to the amount of *one twenty-fifth* part of the whole issue in paper, and repeat the deposite in the beginning of each of the twenty-four succeeding years; so that one twenty-fifth part may be regularly called in, paid, and destroyed, every year. By making the deposition in the *beginning* of every year, the fullest security is afforded, of course, for the termly payment; and the credit of the circulating paper can never be subjected to any kind of suspicion. To ensure its currency still more effectually, it is further proposed, that it shall bear interest at the rate o ½ *per cent.* from the time of its being issued; and the payment of this interest shall also be provided for by a previous depositation of the precious metals; the funds for making these termly payments being raised by a rated income-tax upon the people. Thus, continues our author, if the government finds it necessary to support the progressive advancement of the nation by the expenditure of twenty millions, it has only to deposit one million in specie, and issue the twenty in paper—every year it repeats this deposite, and pays off one twenty-fifth part of the whole, with the interest of what remains in circulation. It repeats this issue of paper, on the same conditions, as often as the condition of the country requires it; and thus, without increasing the contributions of the people, it multiplies its own revenues more than twenty fold; and employs the whole of them in the maintenance of domestic industry!—'Such,' exclaims our author, 'such is the infinite simplicity of the mechanism, by which the rulers of the world may realize all the good and the glory that was intended for this planet, by the general design of the universe!'

It would require a volume, almost as long and as tedious as that we are now considering, to point out all the errors and absurdities that compose this new system of finance. We do not think it necessary to engage in a task so disgusting; and shall satisfy ourselves with observing, in a very few words, 1st, that it is impracticable, and, 2d, that if it were practicable, it would be utterly useless.

In the first place, this scheme for the unlimited issue of government paper for circulation, takes it for granted, that there must always be an unlimited demand for a medium of this nature, and that the channel of circulation can never be so full as to admit of no farther addition. If there is any fact, however, in all this branch of science, that is demonstrably certain, it is the very opposite of this, which M. Herrenschwand has assumed, without argument or hesitation. The demand for money of any sort, but especially for paper money, must at all times be limited by the number and rapidity of the exchanges which it is employed to facilitate; and as soon as this purpose is sufficiently

provided for, no more money can possibly be forced into the circulation. It may, indeed, be issued from the mint and the stamp-office; but the coin will be melted down or exported, and the paper will return with a stream exactly equal to that in which the redundancy was issued. If there be at the time, therefore, a sufficiency of money in the country, the twenty millions of government paper, instead of being absorbed, and continuing to circulate for twenty-five years, will all return immediately, or be depreciated to a considerable degree, if payment be peremptorily refused. If this happen with the first issue, it is easy to conceive what must be the fate of the thousand additional ones that are to follow, with a progressive increase of their amount, in the course of the boundless development of the earth and its inhabitants. The *bonus* of *one-half per cent.* interest, will not mend the matter: When government paper, bearing *three per cent.* is not saleable at a discount of more than thirty, we may imagine, that a stock bearing *one half per cent.* would not find many purchasers *at par.*

All these, however, are slight errors and omissions, when compared with some others that are included in the very plan and conception of the system: for though it is the very essence and object of the whole contrivance, to increase and multiply the riches and resources of the government, and so to enable it to spend a great deal more than it raises from the people; yet nothing can be more evident, than that it accomplishes no part of this object; and that, after granting all the impossibilities for which our author contends, the people will, upon this new plan of finance, be still obliged to contribute, in gold and silver, the whole sum and quantity which the government issues to them in paper. However extraordinary or incredible it may appear, that a man should have composed a long and elaborate work in explanation of this new system of economy, without being aware of a fallacy so obvious and fundamental, it is not the less certain that it exists, and may be made evident to the most careless inquirer, in a very few words.

The object of the whole system, is to maintain a constantly increasing expenditure on the part of the government; and this, our author alleges, may be accomplished by means of public credit, without any pressure on the people. To us it is very evident, that it is accomplished entirely by the contributions of the people; and that he derives less assistance from public credit than any artificer in finance that ever employed it as an instrument. The author has supposed, that the government issues twenty millions of paper, and pays it off in twenty-five years, by levying an annual tax of one million upon the people. If this were the whole fact, it would be plain, that the people paid

twenty-five millions in gold and silver, for the privilege of using twenty millions of government paper for a certain limited time; and it might fairly be argued, that it would have been much better to have issued their own gold and silver to them at once, in larger quantity, and at a cheaper rate. The only advantage that can possibly be ascribed to this scheme, is, that it enables the governors to anticipate their revenue a little, and to spend in one year what it will take them upwards of twenty to repay. Sound politicians will doubt whether this be an advantage: At any rate, it is an advantage by no means peculiar to this system, since the ordinary device of borrowing and funding possesses it in a far greater degree.

This, however, is by no means the just view of the case: The expenditure of the government is constantly to increase; and it is evident, that if they issue twenty millions in one year, they must issue at least as many the year after, instead of withdrawing one of those millions from the circulation. If they issue none the year after, it is evident, that they diminish their expenditure by twenty millions; and by twenty-one millions, if they redeem one of the preceding issue. It is necessary, therefore, to answer the conditions of our author's own problem, that the government continue every year to issue at least as large a sum as it began with issuing; and the consequences of this proceeding are pretty decisive as to the merit of M. Herrenschwand's discovery. In order to liquidate a twenty-fifth part of the first issue, the people must contribute one million annually in specie, and that for twenty-five years. For the second issue, they must make a similar contribution; and for the third, and the fourth, and all the succeeding issues, in the same proportion. In the first year, therefore, they must bring into the treasury one million in gold and silver; in the second, two millions; in the third, three; and so on in proportion, till, at the twenty-fifth year, they will be obliged to make payment of no less than twenty-five millions in specie. As the first issue of paper will now be completely redeemed, the charge will not mount any higher; but it will continue at this rate till some variation takes place in the annual quantity of paper that is issued, with which it will rise and fall in proportion: And thus, upon the whole, the people, after the elapse of the first twenty-five years from the establishment of this system, will have to raise an annual sum of *twenty-five millions* in gold and silver, in return for an annual distribution of *twenty millions* of government paper! The conclusion follows with the certainty of a demonstration from the author's own premises, and certainly affords a satisfactory specimen of his powers of reasoning, and the singular texture of his understanding.

With these observations we joyfully take our leave of the system of J. Herrenschwand. The puerilities with which his volume concludes, are less calculated to excite ridicule, than compassion; and we willingly leave his admirers to enjoy the spectacle of a perfidious minister making progresses through the country, in a moveable pillory, with a label on his breast (p. 180.), and all the other melancholy machinery of his Utopia, without censure or molestation.

Of the style of this performance it will be unnecessary to say any thing, after the specimens we have already exhibited. It is certainly quite original in the department of literature, and reads exactly like a deed of conveyance, or an indictment for a libel, with all the *inuendos* filled up. The author has uniformly *overlaid* his meaning with words, and taken so much unfortunate pains to avoid being misunderstood, that he cannot be comprehended without the greatest exertion.

To such of our readers as may think themselves entitled to an apology, for having been so long detained on an article of this description, we beg leave to intimate, that M. Herrenschwand is a very old offender; that he has already been guilty of several quartos on the subject of political economy; and that no less an authority than Mr Arthur Young has announced him to the world, as 'one of the greatest political geniuses of the age.'

ART. XIV. *The Utility of Country Banks considered.* London, 1802. pp. 86.

THESE eighty-six pages, of which not more than twenty are employed on the subject of country Banks, afford an amusing specimen of plagiarism. The anonymous author appears to have met with Hume's Political Discourses, and Smith's Inquiry, a short time, probably, before the date of his pamphlet, which is made up of unacknowledged extracts from those works, mutilated both in composition and argument, and thrown together into a shapeless mass. By a diligent study of those excellent models, for a certain number of years, he may perhaps qualify himself to understand such disquisitions; and, by the improvement at least of his taste, be prevented from violating, as he has done, the property of others.

In the following extract, our readers will easily recognize the fragments of a passage in Smith's chapter on the wages of labour; but they will also acknowledge, how much the tame sketches of one artist may be improved, when a new tone of colouring is imparted by the hand of a greater master.

'All animals multiply, naturally, in proportion to their means of subsistence; and no species can ever multiply beyond it. In civilized society, the scantiness of subsistence among the lower ranks of the people, sets a limit to the multiplication of the human species, by destroying a great part of the children produced by their fruitful marriages. When labour is to be had, and is liberally rewarded, the lower orders are enabled to provide better for their children. A greater number is consequently reared, and added to the national stock of population. It necessarily does this, too, as nearly as possible in the proportion which the demand for labour requires. In this point of view, we may consider the institutions which tend to set it in motion: The *manufactures* of a country are, *inventions for* the multiplication of the human species, and *the propagation of intellectual beings; they are the creative powers of thought, happiness, and moral existence.* Without such fostering establishments, life would decay, and society wither at its root. With such aid, the demand for man increases, and the reward of labour necessarily encourages the marriages and multiplication of labourers; so that a continual increasing demand is supplied by a continually increasing population. An increase of wealth produces the liberal reward of labour, which is the cause of increasing population. To complain of it, is to lament over the necessary cause and effect of the greatest public prosperity.'

The manner in which the principles of the Wealth of Nations are mistated, is almost as ludicrous as this debasement of its composition. After copying the instances which Smith gives, of the various commodities that, in a rude state of commerce, perform the functions of money, our author adds the following example.

'We may add another, hitherto unnoticed, though not so clearly a species of exchange, which is manure, that children and poor persons gather on the post-roads in Yorkshire, and in the north, where, for the excellence of its quality, it is valuable to the farmer; and I am told that it is a very common practice for poor persons to exchange it for coals, or other necessaries; thus making horse dung a species of money.'

In another part of the pamphlet, we are promised the 'explanation of some phenomena which have surprised the reasoners on finance.' One of these phenomena is 'the increasing prosperity of the nation, during a long and expensive war.'—For the solution of which, he deems it quite enough to transcribe several pages, still without acknowledgment, of those reasonings by which Mr Smith shows that the expenses of foreign war may be defrayed by the exportation of the finer manufactures. What was, in fact, a particular mode of national expenditure, our pamphleteer conceives to have been an accession to the national wealth; and he explains 'the increasing

prosperity of the nation, during a long and expensive war,' by a series of observations, which lead Smith himself to the very different conclusion, 'that manufactures may flourish amidst the ruin of their country, and begin to decay upon the return of its prosperity.'

Lest our readers should be misled, by us, to suppose that the whole of this tract is transcription, without any attempts at original composition, we have selected one or two passages, which we do not remember to have seen, either in the Wealth of Nations, or in the Political Discourses of Mr Hume.

'As grand political machines, moving the great levers of the empire, and raising the ponderous powers of war, National Banks may be contemplated as national bulwarks, towers of strength, and edifices of defence.'

'Building, though considerably checked during the war, has in many parts of the country proceeded with vigour; and houses, streets, and towns have been raised, as substantially, on paper currency, as brick or stone, cemented by gold or silver, could have built them.'

'If it be objected, that gold, the sight of which so gratifies the human eye, is now seldom to be seen, let it be remembered, that it is invisibly performing its magic effects on the commerce of the nation. We may be assured, that every guinea, though unseen, is actively employed for the good of the community; its paper representative is not intended to supply its place, that it may sleep in idleness; on the contrary, it goes forth to seek new adventures: The Chrysal of the day is not bred up in idleness; he seldom sleeps long in the iron chests of bankers.'

'When we consider the effects of an extended commerce, we may trace the twenty shilling note of a Glasgow bank, from its embarkation in the Clyde, in its form of manufacture, through the West or East Indies, till it returns, in the suite of a Nabob, who fixes it in a palace which he builds in the neighbourhood of his native city, on his return from Asia, whither he himself was probably first sent by the operation of paper currency.'

ART. XV. *Bread; or, the Poor.* A Poem. By Mr Pratt, Author of Sympathy, Gleanings, &c. Quarto. Longman and Rees, and Becket.

THE author of this poem professes to instruct, as well as amuse the public; to interest their humanity, by an account of the sufferings of the poor, and enlighten their understandings by this profound lesson of political œconomy, that scarcity is occasioned entirely by monopoly, and lately took place after most

plentiful harvests. We must confess, we did not expect that a poem, written professedly on that system, would add much to the present stock of knowledge: We, however, persevered in reading it, in hopes that the excellence of the poetry would make some amends for the absurdity of the doctrine; and were perfectly disposed to forget the fallacy of Mr Pratt's arguments, in the fire of his numbers. After an attentive perusal of the whole work, however, Mr Pratt's poetry and philosophy seemed to us so much on a par, that we thought it extremely probable that both would be entirely forgotten before the First Number of this publication could issue from the press. As we profess to confine our criticisms to works which are likely to engage some portion of public attention, we did not feel ourselves called upon to quote metaphors which seemed doomed to quiet repose in a snuff shop, or comment on similes which would be known only to the pastry cook.

In this idea, we have been so much mistaken, that we ought to be more cautious how we indulge such conjectures in future. A second edition was announced some time ago, and the public was, at the same time, informed, that, on account of the great variety of valuable information which the work contained, the title was changed from 'Bread, or, The Poor,' to 'The Poor, or, Bread.' If a work was passed over, which, in the course of a few months, has received so strong a mark of public approbation, it might justly be attributed to the obscurity of the Reviewers, not of the poem; and where so much solicitude is displayed in the adjustment of a title, it may be supposed that the author has bestowed no common portion of labour in the composition of the work.

The poem opens, as might be expected, with earnest invocations to spirits of Pity, Benevolence, and the 'blest muse of Sympathy.' In the midst of these, Mr Pratt introduces himself and his subject in the following lines—

> 'I sing the Poor! for them invite the lyre,
> For them alone I ask the poet's fire;
> For them, at hours forbade to touch the string,
> Late from the grave escap'd, I yearn to sing.'

It must be confessed, that Mr Pratt has made a valuable addition to all former descriptions of modern bards, by this interesting portrait of himself. We admit, that there is great spirit in Pope's description of the poet

> —'Who, locked from ink and paper, scrawls
> With desp'rate charcoal round his darkened walls;
> Or he who, high in Drury Lane,
> Lulled by soft zephyrs through the broken pane,
> Rhymes ere he wakes, and prints before term ends.'

purchased by a man who, by the common order of events, must be reduced to poverty himself. It may farther be demanded of Mr Pratt, how men, so idle and dissolute, should be able to accomplish the design of which he accuses them? A design, which the most unremitting industry, in possession of immense capital, could hardly accomplish. Mr Pratt overcomes all these difficulties, by supposing that the farmers become monopolists on the days on which they do not hunt.

> 'But the tir'd hunt allows a vacant day;
> Trade takes its turn, and intereſt has its ſway.
> The bold monopoliſt, and jobber ſly,
> Reſum'd—(the farmer-gentleman laid by)'—

Any farther specimens of Mr Pratt's poetry may appear unnecessary. The address to the gentlemen farmers is, however, so animated, that Mr Pratt might think he met with injustice, if no part of it was quoted. A stronger proof of the extent and influence of popular credulity and fury, can hardly be produced, than that such absurd and unmerited abuse has been published by a man who appears to possess some portion of literature, and to have written with good intentions.

> 'Plund'rers abhorr'd! if your dark threats portend
> Another ſeaſon from the poor to rend;
> Ye jobbers vile! or by whatever name
> Ye ſtand recorded on the liſts of ſhame,—
> Ye who ne'er labour on the teeming plain,
> But like dire locuſts, only eat the grain!
> Ye more than ſavage canibals, who feed
> Upon your kind, without the ſavage need,' &c.

This rhapsody, which exhibits every symptom of frenzy, unaccompanied by genius, is continued until the author's imagination becomes exhausted. He then resorts to his favourite appellation of locusts, and commences a new series, with this singular exclamation,

> 'Yes, wanton locuſts of a foodful iſle!'

Such are Mr Pratt's verses, which have been so fortunate as to find admirers; to whom we resign them, without farther commentary. Readers of poetry, of equal discernment, we are informed, were to be found in former times: they therefore reflect no particular discredit on the present age.

> 'Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi,
> Atque idem jungat vulpes et mulgeat hircos.'

ART. XVI. *Anniversary Sermon of the Royal Humane Society.* By W. Langford, D. D. Printed for F. and C. Rivington. 1801. 8vo. 40 pages.

AN accident, which happened to the gentleman engaged in reviewing this Sermon, proves, in the most striking manner, the importance of this charity for restoring to life persons in whom the vital power is suspended. He was discovered, with Dr Langford's discourse lying open before him, in a state of the most profound sleep; from which he could not, by any means, be awakened for a great length of time: By attending, however, to the rules prescribed by the Humane Society, flinging in the smoke of tobacco, applying hot flannels, and carefully removing the discourse itself to a great distance, the critic was restored to his disconsolate brothers.

The only account he could give of himself was, that he remembers reading on, regularly, till he came to the following pathetic description of a drowned tradesman; beyond which, he recollects nothing.

'But to the individual himself, as a man, let us add the interruption to all the temporal business in which his interest was engaged. To him indeed, now apparently lost, the world is as nothing: But it seldom happens, that man can live for himself alone: Society parcels out its concerns in various connexions; and from one head issue waters, which run down in many channels.—The spring being suddenly cut off, what confusion must follow in the streams which have flowed from its source? It may be, that all the expectations reasonably raised of approaching prosperity, to those who have embarked in the same occupation, may at once disappear; and the important interchange of commercial faith be broken off, before it could be brought to any advantageous conclusion.'

This extract will suffice for the style of the sermon. The charity itself is above all praise.

ART. XVII. *Poems.* By Mrs Opie. 12mo. London. 1802.

THE anxiety of a young writer, who yields, with trembling hands, the first production of his genius, to the survey of a world, unknown to him in all but this one fearful circumstance, that the praise, of which he is ambitious, and the neglect or scorn which he dreads, are dependent on its voice, whether of judgment or caprice, is a feeling that requires, for compensation, a large share of the fame, which it is probably never to receive; as, however great the multitude who have shared a-

like the misery of expectation, the happy recompense must belong only to a few. Yet, there is a feeling, perhaps more painful than this first anxiety, when the young writer of a work which has raised him to popularity, submits his powers a second time to criticism, of which he has already exhausted the indulgence, and which now expects to applaud, rather than to forgive. The favour excited by past excellence, is a favour which requires progression in its object; and though, in some, it may be the heedless partiality of friendship, is, in those higher minds that may be considered as representing posterity, more like the interest felt by an upright judge, which, though it allow him to delight in merited acquittal, never induces him to palliate guilt, but rather to consider delinquency as aggravated by the previous character of the culprit. There is, besides, an innocent selfishness, which modifies our opinions by an influence unperceived, and persuades us, that success is more difficult of attainment, because we have ourselves succeeded. It is not so much, however, in this imagined increase of difficulty, as in the actual increase of penalty, that the evil of reputation is felt by the fortunate. It is now no longer a simple, and almost unknown failure, which he has to dread. He has brought a multitude around him by his triumph; and a failure would now have all the disgrace of degradation. There has not been a single voice of applause, that would not add to his remembrance its whole weight of ignominy; and amid the variety of possible sentences, there is thus only one to which he can look with desire, because all those less degrees of praise, which would have satisfied his humbler ambition, must now be accompanied with the mortifying ideas, of disappointment in his readers, and of inferiority in himself.

It was probably with feelings similar to those we have described, that Mrs Opie committed to the world her volume of poems. To a very large number of readers, 'The Father and Daughter' had already made its appearance a promise of much delight. That it has completely satisfied the expectations which her novel had excited *in us*, we will not say. It would be, at best, an ambiguous compliment; and preferring therefore an opinion, which has no reference to the past, we are ready to admit, that her volume of poems has afforded us much pleasure, and that it would have obtained for its author a very considerable reputation, though her former work had been wholly unknown.

But, while we thus express our praise of Mrs Opie's miscellany, we do not wish it to be considered as applicable to the whole, or even to the greater number, of the pieces of which it consists. These are of very various species of composition, and are perhaps still more different, in merit, than in subject. In the tender song of sentiment and pathos, there is uncommon ele-

gance; but, in pieces of greater length, which require dignity, or even terseness of expression, and an easy development of thoughts, which rise complicated in the moment of fancy, there is a dissimilarity of character, in every respect, which contrasts, without relieving, the sweetness of the simpler pictures. Mrs Opie's mind is evidently more adapted to seize situation, than to combine incidents. It can represent, with powerful expression, the solitary portrait, in every attitude of gentler grief; but it cannot bring together a connected assemblage of figures, and represent each in its most striking situation, so as to give, as it were, to the glance of a moment, the events and the feelings of many years. When a series of reflections is to be brought by her to our view, they must all be of that immediate relation, which allows them to be introduced at any part of the poem, or we shall probably see before us a multitude, rather than a group. She is therefore wholly unfit for that poetry, which endeavours to reason, while it pleases; and, powerful as she is in solitary pathos, we do not think that she is well fitted for bringing before us the connected griefs and characters of the drama. She has, indeed, written a novel; and it is one which excites a very high interest: But the merit of that novel does not consist in its action, nor in any varied exhibition of character. Agnes, in all the sad changes of her fortune, is still the same: and the action, if we except a very few *situations* of the highest excitement, is the common history of every seduction in romance. Indeed, we are almost tempted to believe, that the scene in the wood occurred first to the casual conception of the author, and that, in the design of fully displaying it, all the other events of the novel were afterwards imagined.

But Mrs Opie's novel is not under our criticism; and the character of her powers may be sufficiently ascertained, in the variety which her volume before us presents. She has *attempted* the gay anacreontic; and she has only expressed a very common thought, in a very common manner, p. 47. She has *attempted* the song of sportive humour; and, if things unexisting could be stolen, she might almost be suspected of having pilfered one of the futurities of Vauxhall, p. 105. She has *attempted* a long Ovidian epistle in elegiac verse; and in the dull and feeble detail which it presents, she has made us feel doubly the dull solemnity of the measure, p. 15. She has *attempted* blank verse, p. 185; but with the real music of blank verse she is wholly unacquainted: From its uniformity of pause, it is nothing more than the regular couplet, with a perpetual disappointment of rhyme. The regular heroic couplet she has also *attempted*; but a line of ten syllables is too large for the grasp of her delicate fingers; and she spans her way along, with an awkward and feeble weariness,

whenever she lays aside the smaller verse. It is in the smaller verse of eight syllables, which requires no pomp of sound, and in the simple tenderness, or simple grief, to which the artlessness of such numbers is best suited, that the power of Mrs Opie's poetry consists: And, unsparing as our friendly criticism may have appeared, in its censure of trials which it deemed injudicious, we are happy that she has enabled us to make atonement, by our just praise of those pieces which accord better with the character of her imagination. The verses of *feeling* on which she must rely for the establishment of her fame, are certainly among the best in our opuscular poetry. As a specimen, we select the following song, which is scarcely surpassed by any in our language—

'Go, youth beloved, in distant glades,
New friends, new hopes, new joys to find!
Yet sometimes deign, midst fairer maids,
To think on her thou leav'st behind.
Thy love, thy fate, dear youth, to share
Must never be my happy lot;
But thou mayst grant this humble prayer,
Forget me not, forget me not!

Yet, should the thought of my distress
Too painful to thy feelings be,
Heed not the wish I now express,
Nor ever deign to think on me:
But, oh! if grief thy steps attend,
If want, if sickness be thy lot,
And thou require a soothing friend,
Forget me not! forget me not!

The first verse of the second stanza is perhaps too much dilated, in expression, and *rather* too feeble in its syllabic flow. But the simple emphasis of the last line of each stanza, and particularly the thought which introduces it at the conclusion of the whole, have a truth of tenderness which will be acknowledged and loved by the rudest, as well as by the most cultivated apprehension.

Mrs Opie, if she have rightly learned her own powers, will forgive us for illustrating, by specimens of an opposite nature, our unfavourable opinion of her heroic verse. The following is a part of 'An Epistle to a Friend on New-Year's Day.'

'But scorn not thou the sorrows of the muse,
A harmless egotist for once excuse,
And from thy brow the rising frown dispel,
On my own sufferings though I've dar'd to dwell:
For, though my filial sorrow can't impart
A sympathetic feeling to thy heart,

Becauſe thy honoured mother lives to ſhare
Thy fond affection, and thy duteous care,—
Reflect, the time may come when thou ſhalt feel
The deep regrets my mournful lays reveal;
And thy afflicted breaſt may need from me
The kind indulgence which I aſk from thee.
But thou muſt ſcorn the lines that bring to view
The ſelf-reproach thy boſom never knew:
Thou, who each hour haſt by improvement told,
Muſt my confeſſion with contempt behold.' p. 187.

Of the Duke of Bedford she says, that, had Mr Burke lived a few years longer, he would have changed his contemptuous opinion, and joined in lamenting his Grace's death.

'Thy "few and idle years" no longer ſcorn'd,
But as a public loſs thy death be mourn'd.' p. 191.

A very charitable society she thus addresses, with much praise, but with little poetry.

'If Rome to him a civic garland gave,
Who of one citizen the life could ſave,
What ſhould your grateful country give to you?
What to your patriot ſervices is due?
From you, Society true aid derives;
Your timely bounty ſaves unnumbered lives.' p. 168.

That the lines we have just quoted were written by the author of the preceding song, it would not have been easy for us to believe, if we had not known, that the powers of poetry and prose are not more different, than the powers which enable a writer to excel in the two great classes of poetry; and it is probably because Mrs Opie has not succeeded in verses of dignity and reflection, that she has succeeded in the verses of simple feeling. He whose taste has been long habituated to the full majesty of heroic verſification, and to all the rhetorical ornaments of figurative poetry, is, by the very circumstance of the pomp to which he has been accustomed, less fitted for the exhibition of a simple thought in numbers as simple; since the humbleness of phraseology and of sound, which he before despised, is now a perfection, which he must studiously elaborate. Such a thought would be to him, what a Scotish or Irish melody is to a bravura singer: In the execution of the one, we should see poetry rather than pathos; as, in the other, we listen to the voice, rather than to the soul. We own, indeed, that many poets have excelled in both species of verse; but many poets have also excelled in prose. We do not say, that the powers necessary to both species are incompatible; we mean only, that, as in the case of the

volume before us, there may be considerable excellence in the one, with the total want of excellence in the other.

We must not be so partial, however, to the degree of excellence which Mrs Opie has shown, as to say that she has yet attained the full command, even of that style of poetry to which her powers should peculiarly attach her. The true artifice of that poetry, which consists in a happy artlessness, she frequently forgets. There are particularly three great faults; her abuse of *reflection*, of *inversion*, and of *personification*; to which, if she will accept advice, in return for pleasure received, we wish especially to direct her attention.

We remember, that, in 'the Father and Daughter,' we frequently regretted the intrusion of the writer of the tale, when we were wholly occupied with the misfortunes of her heroine. Reflections of anticipation are always injurious to the interest excited, as they diminish curiosity; and reflections on the past are superfluous, and offensive to the reader's vanity, if they state what may naturally be inferred from the circumstances of the tale, and call us away too coldly to reason, when the inference is forced. But, above all, reflection is unnatural, when introduced by a sufferer in the midst of distress. Dear thought! Blest thought! Sad thought! &c. are parentheses which we wish to see banished from poetry. Who pauses, in impassioned soliloquy, to determine the classification of his own feelings?

> 'That guilty child, so long disown'd,
> Can then, blest thought! no more offend.'

A repentant and dying daughter would not have used the interjection.

In forced *inversion*, Mrs Opie is often a delinquent, and particularly in her separation of the agent and the action; or, to talk technically, of the nominative case and the verb which it influences. In every other species of poetry, this is admissible, and even requisite; but, in the simple expression of present feeling, it is generally misplaced, because it violates the usual associations of our language. 'I to thy rays prefer deep gloom,' strikes us immediately as an artificial construction; and the *mourner* as immediately becomes a mere poet.

Personification is an ornament so tempting, that the abuse of it is the most frequent, and the most fatal of all errors, in poetry of feeling. There are few pieces in the volume before us, which it has not affected. Guilt of this kind is, indeed, often to be found, even in the coldest productions of age; and more indulgence, therefore, must be given to a young and inexperienced writer: but, still, it is indulgence, and not praise, which it must demand. 'The Despairing Wanderer,' which is, upon the whole, of

bolder execution than Mrs Opie's usual manner, is altogether vitiated by the excess of this imagined ornament. Pale Terror leading the shadowy scene, and Fancy listening to a sailor's knell, and Thunder rending the ear of Night, and rousing the form of pale Affright, are not the images which pass through the mind of mad Despair. Prosopopœia is more suited to the narrator of such a state, than to the soliloquizer, who will think only of the state of real things, though the things themselves may appear in much brighter colours, or much darker shade. Miserable and happy men, not Misery and Happiness, are the companions of such a mind, even in the wildest of its musings.

Having dwelt so long on the general character of the volume, we have little room for particular criticism; and we must therefore add only a few observations.

It has become a fashion, in modern verse, to make use of the word 'ah!' whenever a syllable is wanting. But 'ah' is not an expletive; it is an interjection of distress; and we see no reason that any one should complain, because, with a pleasure which others have not, he enjoys the moon still more in Winter than in Summer.—p. 2.

In 'the Dying Daughter to her Mother,' with several faults of carelessness, there are many passages of great interest. The lines—

> 'And when thou think'st upon the cause,
> That paleness will have charms for thee.' p. 9.

—presents a very affecting thought, in a very pleasing manner. The phrase, 'in thy good time,' in the last verse, is very objectionable, and must certainly have been introduced for the rhyme's sake. Such a cold reservation might have occurred to a hypocrite, who had been accustomed to repeat, without regard, the phraseology of the pulpit; but it is *immediate* protection for her child, which alone can be present to the wish of a dying mother.

The first of the two pieces, entitled 'the Mourner,' has some real feeling, but more quaintness, particularly in the whole passage about the reverend form of Woe. A mourner is too sad for the fine play of a long metaphor. In the following piece, the situation, at the moment of Henry's death, is too minutely described. It is no *very* great proof of love, to be regardless of thunder without, at such a time. But there is the opposite error, in the representation of herself as tossing away her child *with fury*, which supposes absolute frenzy; and Henry's death was not sudden, as his bloom is said to have *marked* him for the grave. The close, however, is more than atonement—

'When to my heart my child I fold,
She only deepens every sigh;
I think, while I her charms behold,
How she'd have pleased her father's eye.

And while I from her lisping tongue
Soft childhood's artless accents hear,
I think, with vain remembrance wrung,
How she'd have charmed her father's ear.

I think—but O forbear, fond heart!
From vain regrets to duties turn;—
Yes,—I will act a parent's parent's part,—
I'll tear myself from Henry's urn.

In life I still one charm can see,—
One flower adorns that dreary wild,—
That flower for care depends on *me*.—
O precious charge!—'Tis HENRY'S CHILD.' p. 53.

Of 'The Negro Boy's Tale,' from the happiness with which the circumstances of the scene are imagined, much more ought to have been made. His argument on the natural equality of the Negro, and his sarcasms against those who practise not what they preach, are more in the character of the poet, than of the supposed speaker. Even had they been natural, as addressed to any other person, they certainly are not, as addressed to her who had always been his friend.

The song of a Hindustâni girl is interesting, chiefly from the circumstances of the story on which it professes to be founded. It concludes with the following verse—

'Oh! how fast from thee they tear me!
Faster still shall death pursue:
But 'tis well—death will endear me,
And thou'lt mourn THY POOR HINDOO.'

The two last lines are affecting; but nothing can exceed, in unnatural absurdity, the measurement of the comparative velocity of Death.

In the little song, p. 104, Mrs Opie must surely have suffered much from the wretched necessity of a rhyme, before she submitted to the introduction of so formal a word as 'impart' into verses of easy conversation. To *impart*, and to *confess*, are words of very different meaning.

In the 'Stanzas written under Æolus's Harp,' the thought, in the introductory verses, of each woe finding in the varieties of the music its own appropriate plaint, is good; and, if traced out, might have formed an ode worthy of Collins. The stanzas which follow, are merely of the better order of such verses as are usually addressed to Æolian harps.

'The Orphan Boy's Tale,' is, in several passages, affecting, by its simplicity. After stating, that he had asked his mother why she called him *orphan*, it is happily again introduced—

> 'Ah! lady, I have learn'd too well
> What 'tis to be an orphan boy.'

But the sudden death of his mother after the question, is, like all sudden grief-strokes, narrative or dramatic, founded on observations so rare in real nature, that, when adopted as poetic incidents, they strike us as made for the poem, rather than as deduced from truth.

'Symptoms of love,' is almost a paraphrase on Mrs Barbauld's song, 'Come here, fond youth;' or, rather, both are derived from Sir John Suckling's song, 'Honest lover whosoever.' The *symptoms* are so very sickly, that they correspond more with the idle fanciful effeminacy of poetic love, which has descended, in exaggerated description, from bard to bard, than with the manly tenderness of real passion.

In the song, p. 157, the thought of the last verse is put too much in the cold form of a syllogism.

> 'Love as the soul of life I view:
> Then, if the soul immortal be,
> My love must be immortal too.'

How different from the lines of Florian, which it imitates!

> 'Si l'âme est immortelle,
> L'amour ne l'est-il pas?'

The same reasoning is delicately implied, without the formality of a logical demonstration.

Of the song, p. 163, the first stanza is light and elegant. The second is spoiled, by the affectation of something more. The conceit of tones binding the soul in fetters, is ridiculously quaint; and the eyes of an expert coquette are certainly not the best in which to trace every feeling as it rises.

The 'Ode to Twilight' is in lyrical blank verse, a style so unsuitable to our language, that, instead of the usual ornament which versification gives to thought, the greatest excellence of imagery is necessary to give ornament to the verse. It is unfortunate to write in the measure of Collins, on a subject so similar to his own.

In passing under our review the contents of this interesting miscellany, though the praise which we have given has been the praise of our judgment, as well as of our gratitude, we own, that a little selfishness has been mixed with our censure; as, in correcting the misapplication of Mrs Opie's powers, we looked forward to the enjoyment which they must afford us, whenever they are

exerted on their proper objects. By her marriage with a celebrated artist, she may be said to have united, in conjugal rivalry, two of the most elegant of arts: and if, as we trust, she will submit to abandon all idle decoration, and to give her whole fancy to simplicity and tenderness, though the pencil of her competitor should even increase in power, 'ut pictura poesis' will be a compliment, not of flattery, but of truth.

ART. XVIII. *Public Characters of* 1801–1802. Richard Philips, St Paul's. 1 vol. 8vo.

THE design of this book appeared to us so extremely reprehensible, and so capable, even in the hands of a blockhead, of giving pain to families and individuals, that we considered it as a fair object of literary police, and had prepared for it a very severe chastisement. Upon the perusal of the book, however, we were entirely disarmed. It appears to be written by some very innocent scribbler, who feels himself under the necessity of dining, and who preserves, throughout the whole of the work, that degree of good humour, which the terror of indictment by our Lord the King, is so well calculated to inspire. It is of some importance, too, that grown-up country gentlemen should be habituated to read printed books; and such may read a story book about their living friends, who would read nothing else.

We suppose the booksellers have authors at two different prices. Those who do write grammatically, and those who do not; and that they have not thought fit to put any of their best hands upon this work. Whether or not there may be any improvement on this point in the next volume, we request the biographer will at least give us some means of ascertaining when he is comical, and when serious. In the life of Dr Rennell, we find this passage:

'Dr Rennell might well look forward to the higheſt dignities in the Eſtabliſhment; but, if our information be right, and we have no reaſon to queſtion it, this is what he by no means either expects or courts. There is a primitive ſimplicity in this excellent man, which much reſembles that of the firſt prelates of the Chriſtian church, who were with great difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the epiſcopal office.'

ART. XIX. *Essai sur L'Art de rendre les Revolutions utiles.* Par J. E. Bonnet. 2 tom. 8vo. Paris.

FROM the title of this book, we expected nothing but crude and empirical absurdity; and, from the report of its having been published under the auspices of Bonaparte, we certainly looked

for a little republican adulation, and some few suggestions as to the blessings of a military government. Upon the whole, however, we have been agreeably disappointed. The work has evidently been composed with much pains and deliberation. It is written with great candour and impartiality, and contains an animated and succinct account of most of the memorable events that distinguish the French Revolution. The theory and observations, indeed, are for the most part rather dull and insignificant; but they are presented to the reader with a very judicious parsimony; and the subject is so little obtruded on his notice, that it is fortunately very possible to go over the whole work, without ever recollecting that it is an essay on the art of making revolutions useful.

The arrangement of the book is almost as unfortunate as its title. The author has been pleased to distribute it into five sections, of which the four last might very conveniently be spared; and expects his readers to interest themselves in the organization of the Pope's dominions, after having engaged them with the downfal of Louis, and the elevation of Bonaparte. The first section begins with a few trite aphorisms about sovereigns, and old governments, and secretaries of state; and then proceeds to illustrate these *principles* (as they are called) by a rapid and lively sketch of that train of events that brought the revolution in France to a consummation. This review, which is, in reality, the only interesting part of the performance, extends to the middle of the second volume, and makes way for a practical illustration of the preceding doctrines, by the recent disorders and present situation of Rome. This application of revolutionary science, which occupies the remainder of the work, appears to us so strange and injudicious, that we had some difficulty in persuading ourselves that the author had not some concealed meaning, or secret allusion to a more interesting object. What speculator in his senses, indeed, would think of deciding on the merits of any measure of policy, by its effects on a government so anomalous as that of Rome? It has no trade, no army, no navy, no hereditary aristocracy. The allegiance of its subjects depends upon superstition. The sovereign rules in right of St Peter; and all the governors, and most of the governed, are ecclesiastics. The prince is elective; and neither he nor his electors can have any lawful children, or any connexions by affinity. It maintains the rights of an inquisition, and holds out a perpetual encouragement to celibacy and beggary. The idiosyncrasy of such a constitution certainly affords no room for analogical inference, as to any other European government; and to reason from its destiny, as to the utility of revolutions and counter-revolutions, is like judging of the qualities of a drug, by its operation on a para-

lytic, or an idiot. It is a fact, too, that must affect the analogical argument not a little, that Rome has not really experienced either a revolution or a counter-revolution. It has been subjugated and evacuated by an external enemy; but has never undergone that internal fermentation, from which alone revolutionary principles can arise. We leave the example of Rome, therefore, for those who can more clearly perceive the possibility of its application.

'The art of making revolutions useful,' consists, according to M. Bonnet, in a few very simple observances. We are to wait, it appears, till the mischievous and turbulent have pretty nearly exterminated each other; and the people are satiated with innovation, and quieted by terror;—then we are to wrest the power from the hands of declining factions, to address ourselves to old prejudices, and to conduct every thing with the mildest, gentlest, and steadiest wisdom. We are to restore whatever has been improperly taken away; but, at the same time, to take advantage of the general subversion, to get rid of ancient grievances, and introduce new improvements. 'Who' says M. Bonnet, 'would rebuild a Gothic church by the side of the Pantheon?' It will readily be admitted, that there is no great profundity in these remarks; and that M. Bonnet's maxims are at least as simple as they are salutary.

His recipe for *preventing* revolutions, seems to indicate a bolder practice, however, than his system of cure. It is his leading argument upon this subject, that revolutions have always been occasioned, in monarchical governments, by the sovereign's departure from the prerogatives of his office. The philosophy of modern times has infected the throne itself. Kings tacitly recognize the sovereignty of the people; they subject their councils to their censure; they publish *des comptes rendues;* they forget that their authority depends, in a great measure, upon its bold and uninterrupted exercise; they expose all the reasons and motives of their conduct; they are contented with having the virtues, and the wisdom of their subjects. There is some sagacity, unquestionably, in these observations; but they are evidently adapted to an absolute monarchy, and have but little application to a free constitution. The person of the Sovereign should be inviolable; but where his ministers are responsible, though it may sometimes be wise to act without waiting for the public approbation, the account must be rendered at the long-run; and discontents will be aggravated, instead of being repressed, by any attempts to withhold it. M. Bonnet's maxims, we apprehend, will never do in England; but in his own country, they are probably very judicious; and will serve equally well for its old Monarch, or its new Consul.

We cannot enter into the details of M. Bonnet's *coup d'œil sur la revolution Française*; not even undertake to present our readers with an analysis of its contents. The greater part of the facts, of course, are very generally known; though new lights are occasionally thrown upon some of them, that might be important, if the author had specified his authorities: and throughout the whole, we meet with a sagacity of observation, that is not to be discovered in the theoretical parts of this production.

He does ample justice to the virtues of Louis XVI, and seems to have formed a pretty correct estimate of his character. He was ruined, he says, by his philosophy, and by an imprudent attempt to reconcile, with the functions of monarchy, some speculative maxims, as to the sovereignty of the people. He was undecisive, also, and inexperienced; and lost the affection of his aristocratic counsellors, without gaining the confidence of the popular party.

'Louis XVI.,' says M. Bonnet, 'was in reality extremely well informed; but conducted himself so unskilfully, that he was generally considered as both ignorant and stupid. Though constitutionally timid, he was by no means a coward; yet his courage partook more of the resignation of a priest, than the bravery of a King; and his death, accordingly, was like that of a holy martyr.'

These defects in the royal character, however, are as far from obscuring the virtues of his heart and disposition, in the estimation of M. Bonnet, as they are from alleviating, in his eyes, the guilt of his murderers.

'The blow,' says he, 'which should be reserved for the enormities of incorrigible tyranny, was brought down upon him, by the goodness of his disposition, by the love he bore to his people, and the detestation he always expressed for profligacy. He was accused of tyranny, precisely because he possessed that excessive lenity of character, that is frequently a defect in a Sovereign, as it so far obliterates the recollection of necessary severities, that faction is enabled to misrepresent them as proofs of unqualified despotism.'

When we combine this warm vindication of the late monarch, with the praise that is lavished throughout the whole work on Bonaparte, and especially with the passage, where M. Bonnet says, that 'the Consul meets with no opposition, except from those who foolishly expect *that every thing can be re-established at once*,' we are naturally tempted to imagine, that he considers the present system of government as a step to the restoration of the Bourbons. It turns out, however, that this is by no means the case. M. Bonnet has dedicated a whole chapter to the discussion of the chances for such a restoration; and concludes, after a

very cool investigation, that they are now infinitely more desperate than ever. Since the establishment of the republic, a generation has grown up, he says, 'in whose heads the idea of royalty is an *exotic*;' and almost all who lead the armies, or direct the councils of republican France, are interested to resist a restoration that would deprive them of distinction and power. The most zealous partizans of the throne were crushed under its ruins; and the ranks of the noblesse have been thinned in the army of Condé, at Quiberon, and by the various inclemencies of a twelve years exile. The present pretender, too, he observes, was not popular in France; and as he never lived in it with the prospect of reigning, it does not so readily occur, that he should be recalled to reign.

On the other hand, M. Bonnet is most decidedly of opinion, that the executive power should be declared *hereditary* in the family of the First Consul, with a supplementary provision, in case of his having no children. This is a measure, he says, of *absolute necessity* for the concentration of the forces of government, and one which will not only put a stop to hostility, but even to discontent. Of Bonaparte himself, he says, 'that those who know him, must all concur in putting up the most ardent prayers for the undeterminate prolongation of his days,' and 'that fortune has favoured him, throughout, in a manner so remarkable, that it would be flying in the face of Providence, to deny that he was destined by nature for the place he now fills.' This piety and optimism, we verily believe, is perfectly orthodox at the Thuilleries, but will probably be received with some scruples in this country.

Among the passages, in which M. Bonnet pretends to throw new lights on the history of the revolution, one of the most interesting to an English reader, is that in which he makes mention of a project of Danton for saving the life of the King, by the assistance of this country, and of the circumstances that occasioned its miscarriage. We insert the passage at length.

'Soon after the imprisonment of the King, Danton, either wearied of the service of Robespierre, or disgusted with his barbarity, came to the resolution of sacrificing his own popularity, and saving the life of the King, upon certain conditions.

'With this view, he sent a confidential emissary into England, with propositions for the King's deliverance; but they were not listened to. His agent then contrived to communicate his instructions, in a more indirect manner, to a certain French nobleman, whom the King had always considered, with justice, as one of those who were most sincerely attached to him. Those who were to save the king, would, of course, forfeit all influence in France, and be obliged to leave the country. As the price of this double sacrifice, Danton proposed, that a sum of money sufficient to secure the necessary votes, should be deposited in the hands

of a banker in London, payable to the perſons whom he ſhould ſpecify, under this expreſs condition, that no part of it ſhould be exigible till the King was in ſafety in a neutral territory.

'The nobleman to whom this plan was communicated, was bound in honour to give it his countenance and ſupport; and, accordingly, correſponded with ſeveral of his friends, in the view of recommending it to the belligerent powers. All, however, was in vain. The death of the King entered into the plans of invaſion. One party wiſhed the French to cover themſelves with the opprobrium of a regicide and judiciary murder; another pretended that Louis XVI. was himſelf a democrat, and that his preſervation would but injure the cauſe of royalty: Even among the emigrants, there were ſome who received the news of his execution as the harbinger of their own triumph!

'The death of Louis XVI. was undoubtedly more of a national crime than that of Charles I. Has France then ſurpaſſed England in barbarity? She has cauſe, indeed, to bluſh at this memorable act of injuſtice; but the world ought, at the ſame time, to know, that the vindictive ſpirit of Britain, her jealouſy, and her envy, concurred in producing it. England was guilty of the King's death, becauſe ſhe deliberately choſe to let him periſh—becauſe ſhe might have ſaved him, and did not. Thus, all the wickedneſs of France was unequal to the guilt of ſuch a murder, without the cooperation of Britain.'

We certainly put no great faith in this anecdote; but we could wish to see it disavowed, as well as discredited, in this country; and have inserted it in that expectation. At the same time, it is amusing to observe the glaring partiality with which M. Bonnet attempts to apologize for his countrymen at the expense of their neighbours. England, it seems, is guilty of the murder of Louis XVI, because she did not bribe his murderers to let him escape. This is a species of constructive murder, we will acknowledge, of which we never heard before; and Austria, Spain, and Russia, are just as guilty of it as England. Nay, according to the same rule, all those countries, and France herself, were accessory to the death of Charles the First, since their united treasures might probably have made some impression upon the guards of the Royal prison, if not upon the upright members of the High Court of Justice itself. If England was guilty of the death of the King, she was equally guilty of all the murders that signalized the dominion of the terrorists, since a much smaller sum could probably have delivered their victims from the guillotine, and enlightened the minds of their revolutionary judges with a proper conviction of their innocence. Neither Robespierre, nor Tinville, however, seem to have thought of pleading this in their vindication.

M. Bonnet's book, upon the whole, does not seem very likely to attract the same attention, in this country, which we understand it to have obtained in France. As a theory, or speculative

essay, its pretensions to celebrity are certainly extremely slender: As an historical memoir, it has some value, and might have a chance to be remembered for a year or two, if the reader had any means of appreciating the authenticity of what is original in its statements.

ART. XX. *A Thanksgiving for Plenty, and Warning against Avarice.* A Sermon. By the Reverend Robert Nares, Archdeacon of Stafford, and Canon Residentiary of Litchfield. London: Printed for the Author, and sold by Rivingtons, St Paul's Church-yard. 8vo. 24 pages. 1801.

FOR the swarm of ephemeral sermons which issue from the press, we are principally indebted to the vanity of popular preachers, who are puffed up, by female praises, into a belief, that what may be delivered, with great propriety, in a chapel full of visitors and friends, is fit for the deliberate attention of the public, who cannot be influenced by the decency of a clergyman's private life, flattered by the sedulous politeness of his manners, or misled by the fallacious circumstances of voice and action. A clergyman cannot be always considered as reprehensible for preaching an indifferent sermon; because, to the active piety, and correct life, which the profession requires, many an excellent man may not unite talents for that species of composition: But every man who prints, imagines he gives to the world something which they had not before, either in matter or style; that he has brought forth new truths, or adorned old ones; and when, in lieu of novelty and ornament, we can discover nothing but trite imbecility, the law must take its course, and the delinquent suffer that mortification from which vanity can rarely be expected to escape, when it chooses dullness for the minister of its gratifications.

The learned author, after observing, that a large army praying, would be a much finer spectacle than a large army fighting, and after entertaining us with the old anecdote of Xerxes, and the flood of tears, proceeds to express his sentiments on the late scarcity, and the present abundance: then, stating the manner in which the Jews were governed by the immediate interference of God, and informing us, that other people expect not, nor are taught to look for, miraculous interference, to punish or reward them, he proceeds to talk of the visitation of Providence, for the purposes of trial, warning, and correction, as if it were a truth of which he had never doubted.

Still, however, he contends, though the Deity does interfere, it would be presumptuous and impious to pronounce the purposes

for which he interferes; and then adds, that it has pleased God, within these few years, to give us a most awful lesson of the vanity of agriculture and importation without piety, and that he has proved this to the conviction of every thinking mind.

'Though he interpose not (says Mr Nares) by positive miracle, he influences by means unknown to all but himself, and directs the winds, the rain, and glorious beams of heaven, to execute his judgements, or fulfil his merciful designs.'—Now, either the wind, the rain, and the beams, are here represented to act as they do in the ordinary course of nature, or they are not: If they are, how can their operations be considered as a judgement on sins? and if they are not, what are their extraordinary operations, but positive miracles? So that the Archdeacon, after denying that any body knows *when*, *how*, and *why* the Creator works a miracle, proceeds to specify the *time*, *instrument*, and *object* of a miraculous scarcity; and then, assuring us that the elements were employed to execute the judgements of Providence, denies that this is any proof of a positive miracle.

Having given us this specimen of his talents for theological metaphysics, Mr Nares commences his attack upon the farmers; accuses them of cruelty and avarice; raises the old cry of monopoly; and expresses some doubts, in a note, whether the better way would not be, to subject their granaries to the controul of an exciseman; and to levy heavy penalties upon those, in whose possession corn, beyond a certain quantity to be fixed by law, should be found.—This style of reasoning is pardonable enough in those who argue from the belly, rather than the brains; but in a well fed, and well educated clergyman, who has never been disturbed, by hunger, from the free exercise of cultivated talents, it merits the severest reprehension. The farmer has it not in his power to raise the price of corn; he never has fixed, and never can fix it. He is unquestionably justified in receiving any price he can obtain; for it happens, very beautifully, that the effect of his efforts to better his fortune, is as beneficial to the public, as if their motive had not been selfish. The poor are not to be supported, in time of famine, by abatement of price on the part of the farmer, but by the subscription of residentiary canons, archdeacons, and all men rich in public or private property; and to these subscriptions, the farmer should contribute according to the amount of his fortune. To insist that he should take a less price, when he can obtain a greater, is to insist upon laying on that order of men, the whole burden of supporting the poor; a convenient system enough, in the eyes of a rich ecclesiastic; and objectionable only, because it is impracticable, pernicious, and unjust.

The question of the corn trade, has divided society into two parts—those who have any talents for reasoning, and those who have not. We owe an apology to our readers, for taking any notice of errors that have been so frequently, and so unanswerably exposed; but, when they are echoed from the bench and the pulpit, the dignity of the teacher may perhaps communicate some degree of importance to the silliest and most extravagant doctrines.

No reasoning can be more radically erroneous, than that upon which the whole of Mr Nares's sermon is founded. The most benevolent, the most christian, and the most profitable conduct the farmer can pursue, is, to sell his commodities for the highest price he can possibly obtain. This advice, we think, is not in any great danger of being rejected: we wish we were equally sure of success, in counselling the Reverend Mr Nares to attend, in future, to practical, rather than theoretical questions about provisions. He may be a very hospitable archdeacon; but nothing short of a *positive miracle* can make him an acute reasoner.

Art. XXI. *The Journal of Frederick Horneman's Travels*, from Cairo to Mourzouk, the capital of the Kingdom of Fezzan, in Africa, in the years 1797–8. London. Nichols. 1802.

It is known to our readers, that, in the year 1788, several public-spirited individuals formed themselves into an Association for the purpose of promoting discoveries in the interior of Africa. From various unfortunate accidents, and partly, no doubt, from deficiency of funds, little progress was for some time made in the pursuit of this very interesting object. But, at the end of the year 1797, Mr Park returned from exploring the course of the Niger, and the territories situated in its vicinity; and, although he failed in his attempts to reach the great towns which lye on the banks of that river, the information afforded by his narrative is, without doubt, extremely important.

The volume now before us, contains an account of the success which has attended the commencement of another expedition, undertaken under the Society's patronage. Frederick Horneman, a native of Germany, united that strength of constitution and enterprizing spirit, which voyages of discovery so eminently require. At the Society's expense, he received the rudiments of Oriental literature in the University of Gottingen. In 1797, he proceeded to Egypt, through France; where he met with every assistance from that liberal and enlightened spirit which has always directed the scientific circles of Paris. After a residence of near twelve months at Cairo, during which he became ac-

quainted with the language, and, in some degree, habituated to the manners of the Arabs, he was enabled, by the polite attention of Bonaparte, (who was at that time pillaging Egypt, under the treble disguise of a mussulman, a man of science, and a friend of liberty), to join the caravan of merchants and pilgrims on their return, from the East, to the inland kingdoms of Africa. Previous to his departure, he was so fortunate as to engage in his service, Joseph Frendenburg, a countryman of his own, who had, twelve years before, been forced to embrace the Mahometan faith, and had acquired, during that period, from intercourse with the natives, and various journeys to Mecca, a complete knowledge of the language, religion, and customs of the mussulmans in those parts of the East. Assuming the character of a Mahometan merchant, from the northern provinces of the Turkish empire, and accompanied by Frendenburg as his interpreter, Mr Horneman proceeded with the caravan, in a westerly direction, across the great desart which separates Egypt from the rest of Africa; and, after a journey of considerable fatigue, arrived at the Oasis of Siwah; one of those fertile spots, which, situated in the midst of pathless sands, and only approached by the 'ship of the desart,' has presented to the imagination of the Orientals, the resemblance of islands in the ocean. Siwah is a small independent state, nominally in the kingdom of Fezzan, but governed by a number of sheiks, whose contentions are productive of frequent tumult and bloodshed. Dates form the principal part of its produce, and are at once the chief article of exchange with the caravan, and the measure by which all value is regulated in the country: yet money is not unknown among the Siwahans; for we are informed, that 'a large garden is valued at 400 to 600 real-patuacks, or imperial dollars.' p. 15. Something of the same kind is related by Bruce, iv. 406, in his account of Atbara; where, it seems, coarse cloths, of a particular size, manufactured in Zeawa, pass current, although metal coins are also in use.

In Siwah, our traveller did not fail to visit the ruins discovered by Browne, and supposed by Major Rennel to be the remains of the celebrated temple of Jupiter Ammon. But he was prevented from examining this interesting spot, by the jealousy of the natives, who began to suspect that he was an infidel, as soon as they perceived him gratifying his curiosity. Accordingly, his account of the ruins is by no means so accurate or full, as that which has been given by the original discoverer.

After resting in this fruitful territory for some days, the caravan again entered the desart, and proceeded towards Fezzan. But it had not travelled far, when the Siwahans overtook it, for the

becomes a market where merchants meet, in their passage to different quarters of Africa, and lay in a stock of water and dates, almost the only native commodities of the country. The articles which these caravans bring from the interior, are chiefly slaves, feathers, and gold dust. In return for which, they carry back fire-arms, trinkets, and other goods of European workmanship; together with the more costly productions and manufactures of the East.

Such are the leading features of the general sketch which Mr Horneman has given us of this interesting country. Of Mourzouk, the capital, it is rather singular that he gives no description, although he resided there six months. During this time, he and his interpreter Frendenburg were attacked with the country fever, which proved fatal to the latter. Mr Horneman, after his recovery, went to Tripoli; from whence he transmitted his journal; but unfortunately he has neglected to give any narrative of the journey from Mourzouk to the coast, although this tract of country is as little known as that between Cairo and Fezzan, and can scarcely be less interesting. After remaining some time at Tripoli, he returned to Mourzouk; from whence he transmitted various notices respecting the interior of Africa, derived from the information of different natives and travellers with whom he conversed. In his last letter, dated April 1800, he informs the Society, that he is in perfect health, and on the eve of departing with the caravan for Bournu, where he intends to join the great caravan for Cashna; wisely proposing to avoid the manifold dangers that attend a protracted residence in one place.

Besides the journal of Mr Horneman, and his other communications, the volume now before us contains prefatory matter and an appendix, occupying nearly double the space allotted to the tract which forms the occasion of the publication.

It is not very easy to perceive the utility of a long introduction from the pen of Sir William Young, the secretary and editor; as the *preface* contains every thing that is necessary to be detailed respecting the present publication. This 'Introductory Essay' occupies fifteen pages of laboured and pompous panegyric upon the institution; in the course of which, the author recapitulates the services it has rendered to science; and views, with great complacency, the advantages likely to result from its labours.

In the style of a declamation of this sort, we naturally look for qualities which may be dispensed with in more substantial productions. As it is evidently unnecessary, it should at least have been written with elegance. But the first thing that strikes us, in Sir William Young's essay, is a most oppressive stiffness of style, a

perpetual affectation of depth, and ludicrous attempt at abstraction; which seems (according to the Baronet's opinion) to consist in a careful suppression of the articles, and a constant substitution of the singular for the plural number. So accurately is this rule observed, that we should have supposed the author to be desirous only of attaining mercantile conciseness in his composition, if the intense obscurity of passages like the following had not convinced us, that he considers the method just mentioned as a simple receipt for philosophical writing.

'Of the further progress of this accomplished traveller, the editor forbears to intimate design or suggestion. The season of mere expectation and conjecture is gone by. It were idle, indeed, at this period of actual discovery, to hazard surmise for future correction on experiment.' p. 13.

With regard to the matter of this performance, upon farther reflection, it occurs to us, that we have rather been too hasty in describing it as an useless eulogium. Possibly it may contain a great deal more than we were aware of. In the following apothegm, for instance, much valuable truth may be concealed; and we lament our inability to obtain a glimpse of it.

'Knowledge actually acquired, demands, in the future display, merely accuracy and precision, as the guides to further success.' p. 14.

It is true, we cannot imagine by what rule of proportion the successful journey of one adventurer is made to discipline another setting out in a different track, and to render the object of his expedition definite and attainable. Yet the Society appears to be possessed of some such method of computation, if we rightly understand the following passage.

'The Society is confirmed in its purpose, and assured of its objects, and of the means of attainment. Its travellers will not, in future, rush on with zealous, but unadvised curiosity, or hesitate in the dark, and on unfounded apprehensions; but, disciplined and educated, proceed, with a spirit corrected and confirmed by knowledge and precaution, towards certain purposes and ends.' p. 12.

And from another passage we learn, that Major Rennell is an adept in this occult science: for he 'hath corrected the map of Africa, with a learning and sagacity which *hath converted conjecture into knowledge*; and, on experience of those who have explored parts of that great continent, given confidence to each future traveller who may visit its remotest regions.'

The Introduction, after a notice of the expense attending the Society's inquiries, concludes with that species of solicitation, which consists in a dignified refusal to solicit.

'The Society cannot condescend to solicitation; nor is it necessary. It will suffice that, emboldened by success, they suggest to their countrymen, that, under proper patronage, and with the means of extending their researches, *the conclusion will be of advantage to Great Britain, to Africa, and to the world.*' p. 15.

While the Society, instead of leaving its deeds to speak for themselves, continues to sound forth its own praises in studied eulogiums, we must be excused for stopping to examine, a little more nearly, those achievements, to the magnitude of which our attention is thus forcibly turned.

The Secretary is extremely anxious to represent the whole of the Society's proceedings as regular and systematic. All its operations are, according to him, parts of a combined train; and the successful journeys of its agents must be ascribed to the prophetic wisdom of the instructions with which they were furnished. Now, we very much doubt, if any further praise can be allowed to the Association, than that of finding out proper emissaries, and paying their expenses. Nothing can be clearer, than that the present expedition has owed its success entirely to Mr Horneman. We are indeed told, that after Mr Park had designated, what Sir William is pleased to call the 'route of country and of men;' after he had given information of 'the *viaticum* of character and accomplishments necessary to insure the success of future travellers; pointed out the road to districts and cities of greatest interest, and shown the means of securing entrance and hospitable reception:' the Society 'availed itself of this intelligence, and despatched Mr Horneman, who gave the lesson full effect.' But, unhappily, a very obvious anachronism deprives this fine combination of all pretensions to reality; for Mr Park did not return till the very end of December 1797; and Mr Horneman, who had been engaged in the service of the Association early in 1796, left London in July 1797: so that, on Mr Park's arrival, an additional *viaticum* of character and accomplishments must have been despatched after him. But, in fact, there is no reason whatever to believe, that the success of Mr Park's expedition had the slightest connexion with Mr Horneman's, or that the latter gentleman was, in the smallest degree, indebted to the Society's instructions for the progress which he made. His letter of August 31, 1798, contains a full statement of the plan which he had formed, with the reasons which had induced him to adopt it. His arrangements were, indeed, dictated by the situation in which the arrival of the French had placed all Franks in that part of the world. They were influenced by the departure of a caravan for the very regions which he had received general orders to explore. They were recommended, more particular-

ly, by the recent failure of Mr Browne, who had travelled alone, and undisguised.

But, to whomsoever belongs the merit of the success which has hitherto accompanied Mr Horneman, we can scarcely allow, that his discoveries have been so important, as to justify the vaunting style of the Secretary; or that he has hitherto done more, than give a very fair promise of succeeding in the subsequent part of his expedition. Neither are we extremely sanguine in our expectations of the commercial advantages that may result from the part of his labours which is already terminated. It is difficult to see, in what manner he has 'explored a road, which mercantile adventure will and must enter.' The course of the caravans has been known for ages. Mr Horneman has discovered no new productions, which may excite the speculations of traders; nor has he discovered any easier track, by which the interior of Africa may be approached. The commodities which are exchanged in Fezzan, are also brought to Cairo and Tripoli, where European merchants may obtain them upon more advantageous terms than at Mourzouk. Long journies across the desarts, are little adapted to the constitution and habits of Europeans. But the natives of Africa are inured to the climate, and accustomed, by a life of abstinence and hardships, to the various difficulties and privations which attend such expeditions. Among them, too, the business of the caravan has, for ages, assumed a regular shape: it forms a separate profession, in which particular tribes almost exclusively engage. Thus, the trade to Cairo is in the hands of the Angilans; that to Tripoli is carried on by the Lochna; while the Tibbo and Tuarick have engrossed the commerce of the countries to the south of Fezzan. Nay, so regularly is this system established, that Mr Horneman has pointed out the effects of the caravan life, upon the character of those who are engaged in it; and who, from their earliest years, are trained to its artifices and hardships. It is manifest, therefore, that our merchants would make but an unprofiable exchange, were they to quit their present stations, in order to secure 'a priority of factories, and establishments of trade;' or to supplant those tribes, who now have the carrying trade of the interior in their hands. But, admitting that such an object were desireable, neither the discoveries of Mr Park, nor those of Mr Horneman, have done more than show the various insurmountable obstacles to its attainment. Ages of gradual improvement in arts and civilization must elapse, before any abatement can be expected, of that deadly hatred which, all over Africa, appears to inspire the followers of Mahomet, against every thing connected with Christianity. Nor can Europeans hope to see any rapid improvement in the arts of peace, among nations who are

this city is four miles farther from Cairo, than by the accounts of Browne and Ledyard; and twenty-five miles nearer to Cairo, than by the bearings from Mesurata. Our readers will judge, what reliance ought to be placed on the information afforded by Mr Horneman's journal, in a question of such minute variations, when they are aware of the steps which lead Major Rennell to his conclusion. The loss of Mr Horneman's papers, down to the third day after his departure from Siwah, renders the computation of the distance of Siwah, by his journal, so inaccurate, that Major Rennell fixes the situation of this town entirely from Mr Browne's observations. In determining the distance of Angila from Siwah, Major Rennell takes the medium between his computations founded on Mr Horneman's journal, and the distance given by Edrisi: yet it is observed, that the authorities collected by Mr Beaufoy, make this distance greater than Edrisi does; and it should be remembered that Mr Horneman's account of the first twenty-three hours of his journey from Siwah must have been kept from memory, as his papers were not lost until he had travelled nearly three days from Siwah. Lastly, Mr Horneman does not give, in hours, the whole time spent in travelling between Angila and Mourzouk; he inserts nine days in his account: so that a very small error, with respect to the proportion of these days, assumed by Mr Rennell to have been spent in travelling, will produce all the difference in question, of four, or even of twenty-five miles. If, then, the accounts collected by Messrs Browne and Ledyard, render it necessary to place Mourzouk twenty-nine miles to the eastward of its bearing from Mesurata, according to former authorities, it does not appear that any confirmation, and much less any correction of its new position, should be allowed to arise from Mr Horneman's journal. We must again observe, that we entertain the most sanguine hopes of this traveller's success; but, as yet, we have only accompanied him to the point where his course begins; and we regret that the Association has lavished all its expressions of self-gratulation upon the appearance of the blossoms, instead of reserving them in honour of that plentiful harvest of discovery, which the extent of the field, and the singular accomplishments of the labourer, give us every reason to expect.

The last article of the Appendix, is a letter from Mr Marsden to Sir Joseph Banks, on the language of Siwah. From a comparison of the specimen brought home by Mr Horneman, with the language of the Berbers, or Shilha of Mount Atlas, Mr Marsden is led to conclude, that the Siwahan is a mixture of the Berber and Arabic, extending, probably, through the whole breadth of Africa, between the negro dialects on the south, and the Moorish on the Mediterranean. Mr Marsden's inference acquires

still greater force, from the account of the Siwahans given by the Arabian geographers, viz. that they are a mixture of Berbers and Arabs.

This volume concludes with a list of the ladies and gentlemen who compose the African Association, accompanied by a notice of the mode of applying for seats, and the terms of admission.

ART. XXII. *Voyages from Montreal, on the river St Lawrence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans, in the years* 1789 *and* 1793: With a Preliminary Account of the Fur Trade. By Alexander Mackenzie. London. 4to. 1801.

THOUGH this large volume will convey but little important information to the geographer, the naturalist, or the statesman, it will probably be perused with very general interest and satisfaction. There is something in the idea of traversing a vast and unknown continent, that gives an agreeable expansion to our conceptions; and the imagination is insensibly engaged and inflamed by the spirit of adventure, and the perils and the novelties that are implied in a voyage of discovery.

A small band of adventurers, exposed, for months together, in a boat of bark, upon those inhospitable waters, 'which (to use our author's own language) had never before borne any other vessel than the canoe of the savage, and traversing those desarts, where an European had never before presented himself to the eye of its swarthy natives;' exhibit a spectacle that is well calculated to excite our curiosity and attention. They remind us of the romantic expedition of Orellana, and carry back the imagination to those days of enterprize and discovery, when the Genius of Europe broke into all the continents of the world, and performed and discovered wonders, that made the marvellous familiar, and obtained credit even for impossibilities. Though that great harvest, both of invention and discovery, be now over, the gleanings that remain for this later age, are neither few nor inconsiderable; and Mr Mackenzie, who has travelled for them over a large and rugged field, certainly has neither lost his labour nor misemployed it.

He has brought back, indeed, no report of prodigies, either of nature or of art, and has not found, in his way, the materials of those descriptions which animate the narratives of more fortunate travellers. He has discovered, in the wilderness, no traces of ancient civilization, and no indications of surpassing wisdom and virtue among the savages: he has found no pyramids, nor labyrinths, nor deserted cities, nor splendid ruins;

and neither reasoned with the superb philosophers of El Dorado, nor exercised himself, in gallantry and arms, with the nymphs of an Amazonian community. His adventures, however, have all the interest that sober probability will admit of, or that is consistent with his situation. He followed a painful course, through difficulties and dangers, to an unknown termination; and went steadily forward, without knowing where he was to issue, amidst the roaring of cataracts, and the solitude of mountains; exposed to the daily hazard of shipwreck, and famine, and mutiny; and to the danger of treachery or assault from the melancholy savages that roamed across his course, or reluctantly agreed to direct it. His narrative, if sometimes minute and fatiguing, is uniformly distinct and consistent: his observations, though not numerous, are sagacious and unassuming; and the whole work bears an impression of correctness and veracity, that leaves no unpleasant feeling of doubt or suspicion in the mind of the reader.

The work may properly be said to consist of three parts. The first, and perhaps the most interesting of the whole, is a history of the fur trade, with an account of the natives with whom it is carried on, and the route by which the commodities are transmitted. The second contains the journal of a voyage undertaken in 1789, which terminated in the Frozen Ocean, in north latitude 69. west longitude 134. being about 24 degrees to the westward of the point at which Mr Hearne reached the same sea in 1771. The third, and most considerable, is the journal of the voyage which brought Mr Mackenzie to the shores of the Pacific, in latitude 52. 21. north, and longitude 127. west. The nature of our plan will permit us to make but a very few observations on these three articles.

The fur trade of Canada (which is incomparably more active than that which is in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company) carries those who are engaged in it to the astonishing distance of *four thousand miles* to the westward of Montreal. It is carried on by the mediation of fifty clerks, seventy-one interpreters, and one thousand one hundred and twenty canoe men, who are commonly attended with a *cortege* of upwards of seven hundred Indian women and children. This northern caravan embarks, every Spring, in different divisions, in slight canoes of bark, upon rivers newly freed from the ice, and proceeds along its weary voyage, through every sort of difficulty and discomfort. In the course of their progress to the westward, the canoes are unloaded, and towed up more than *two hundred rapids*, while the cargoes are conveyed on mens shoulders by land; and the vessels themselves, with their loading, are transported over no less than *one hundred and thirty carrying places*, from twen-

ty-five paces to thirteen miles in length. The detachment that leaves Montreal in the beginning of May, arrives at the *Grande Portage*, upon Lake Superior, about the middle of June, where they are met by those who had spent the Winter in the remoter establishments, and from whom they receive the furs which had been collected in the course of their Winter traffic. Upwards of twelve hundred men, Mr Mackenzie says, are thus assembled, every Summer, in this remote wilderness, and live together, for a week or two, in a comfortable and convivial manner. After all their accounts are settled, the furs are repacked, and embarked in a part of the canoes for Montreal, where they usually arrive in September; and the remainder proceed, with the articles necessary for carrying on the trade, to the different posts and establishments in the Indian country. At the distance of fifty or sixty miles from Grande Portage, they arrive at the *height of land*, by which the waters that issue into the Atlantic, are separated from those that discharge themselves into Hudson's Bay and the Frozen Ocean. From this point, therefore, the traders proceed to the westward, along with the current; and traverse many a dreary lake, and wind along many a dangerous stream, before they reach their utmost destination at Fort Chepewyan, on the banks of the Lake of the Hills, in longitude 110. W. Little less than seventy pages are dedicated, by Mr Mackenzie, to the description of this route, and the enumeration of the successive lakes, rivers, rapids, and carrying-places, of which it is composed. A distinct map would certainly have conveyed a great deal more information: and a very short memoir, in illustration of it, might have contained all the important intelligence that could not be presented, at once, by the graver, to the eye. There are occasional patches of interesting description, and some characteristic anecdotes of the natives, and the traders who consort with them; but this part of the work is, on the whole, extremely tedious and perplexing, and should have been confined within much narrower limits.

The only stage in all this pilgrimage, which we shall detain our readers with mentioning, is that of Lake Winipic, in longitude 97. west; which seems calculated, from its peculiar situation, to become the grand depot of this traffic, if small-pox and spirituous liquors do not speedily intercept its extension, by the complete extirpation of the Indians. This lake communicates, in a direct and short channel, with the southern shores of Hudson's Bay, by the rivers Severn and Nelson, and is connected with the countries at the head of the Missisippi and Missisouri by the Assiniboin and Red rivers, besides lying in the direct tract from the Saskatchiwine and Athabasca rivers, to Lake Superior and the sources of the St Lawrence. It is by this last channel alone that the North-West

Company have hitherto been able to transmit the commodities they have collected about Lake Winipic; the jealousy of trade having determined the Hudson's Bay Company to refuse them a passage into that sea by the Nelson or Severn rivers.

Of this jealousy on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the disadvantages and obstructions which it is constantly producing to the Canadian adventurers, Mr Mackenzie speaks throughout the whole work in terms of decided reprobation. Mr Mackenzie, however, is a partner of the Canadian Association; and the members of the rival Company have not been heard in the cause. We will not presume, therefore, to give any opinion, in a question that has been but partially stated; though it does occur to us, that the free navigation of the rivers between Lake Winipic and Hudson's Bay would probably tend, in a very little time, to transfer the whole trade to the borders of that sea, or at least very greatly to diminish the share which Canada now enjoys of it. If the greater part of the furs collected in the Indian country could be sent more readily and cheaply to market, by the route of the Hudson's Bay waters, (which seems to be allowed), it must follow, that the commodities with which the trade is carried on, could also be sent *into* the Indian country, by that route, with the greatest advantage. These commodities, however, are almost all brought from England; and the furs are uniformly carried, in the first instance, to that market. If this be the case, it is difficult to see what share the merchants in Montreal could easily retain in such a traffic. The furs could be carried directly from Hudson's Bay to Great Britain; and the necessary goods, to answer them, directly from Great Britain to Hudson's Bay. It is not possible to conceive, that such a trade could long continue in the hands of persons residing in Montreal, or that the materials of it should be carried nearly a thousand miles out of their course, when such a deviation could be effectually prevented, by an establishment at the York or the Churchill Fort. Though it is very probable, therefore, that the fur trade could be carried on with greater profit and facility by the route of Hudson's Bay, than by that of the St Lawrence, it does not seem to be the interest of those who reside upon the latter, to insist upon forcing it into that channel. If the Hudson's Bay Company have neglected the advantages with which their charter invested them, the Canadian traders have made great profit by the omission; and it really seems a little unreasonable in them to contend, that their rivals should be deprived of their charter altogether, as a punishment for not having made that judicious use of it, which would probably have entirely prevented the existence of a Canadian competition. Exclusive pri-

vileges are probably of no great benefit to this trade, or to any other; but the consequence of throwing it quite open, would not be, we imagine, to centre it in the merchants of the St Lawrence.

There is another commercial disadvantage in this trade, however, of which Mr Mackenzie complains with more justice. Almost the whole of the furs collected in America, are ultimately destined, it is generally known, for the consumption of the Chinese; those that are sent by the way of London, however, can only be forwarded by the ships of the East India Company; and such is the delay, the weight of the duty, and the difficulty in getting home the produce, that several experiments have been already made, to send the goods to China, directly through the United States, where no such impediments exist; and Mr Mackenzie gives it as his opinion, that unless some indulgence be shown by the East India Company, the whole trade will infallibly fall into that channel, to the great disadvantage of England, and inconvenience of the Canadian adventurer.

To these arbitrary restrictions upon the trade, there is to be added, it seems, the disadvantage under which it labours, from the unusual length of time that is requisite to bring in its returns; which exceeds the ordinary credit upon the expenditure, it is said, by no less than two or three years. We shall insert Mr Mackenzie's own statement of the proceedings. He takes the example of goods that are *paid for* in 1798.

'The orders for the goods are sent to this country 25th Oct. 1796.
They are shipped from London - - - March 1797.
They arrive in Montreal - - - - June 1797.
They are made up in the course of that Summer and Winter.
They are sent from Montreal - - - - May 1798.
They arrive in the Indian country, and are exchanged for furs the following Winter - - - - 1798–9.
Which furs come to Montreal - - - Sept. 1799.
And are shipped for London, where they are sold in March and April, and paid for in May or June - 1800.'

Notwithstanding all these inconveniences, the trade must still be a profitable one; as it has been constantly increasing for these last twenty years; and is stated by Mr Mackenzie himself, to have '*tripled* its amount in the course of eleven years, with proportionate profits,' &c.

The remainder of this first part of the work is occupied with an account of the native inhabitants, who are divided by Mr Mackenzie into two great families, the *Knisteneaux* and the *Chepewyan*. The former comprehend almost all the tribes that border upon the Atlantic, or upon the colonies of Europe; and are said to be gradually diffusing themselves to the westward,

and making an easy conquest, for the most part, of the hordes with which they encounter: the fire-arms which they have obtained from the colonies, contribute, it is probable, not a little to their success. The Chepewyans, on the contrary, are evidently in a progress *from* the westward; and are not known to have advanced to the east of longitude 108. They have yielded to the Knisteneaux wherever they have met with them; and seem likely to be incorporated with their conquerors. Those two nations speak different languages; and have some usages and superstitions that are peculiar to each. The basis of the character, however, appears to be the same in both; and the similarity of their external appearance, habits and ways of life, points out, with apparent certainty, the identity of their common origin; though Mr Mackenzie is of opinion, that the Chepewyans are of *Asiatic* origin, and are in the course of a progress from Siberia. Those who have read what Charlevoix, Lafiteau, Adair, and Hearne have written upon the character and manners of the North American savage, will derive but little additional information from the narrative of Mr Mackenzie. It is pleasing, however, to find such a concurrence in the reports of persons whose characters and objects were so different.

There is one remark, which, though by no means new, is irresistibly suggested to us by the perusal of these descriptions;—that those nations have made no sensible progress in civilization or improvement, after an intercourse of little less than two hundred years with the industrious and intelligent colonies of Europe. By the partial use of iron and of gunpowder, we have made their wars more sanguinary than formerly, and provided still more largely for their extermination, by the introduction of rum and the small-pox. Their numbers are wasting away, accordingly, by a yearly and visible diminution; and it appears now to be tolerably certain, that the whole race will be extinct before a single tribe has been reclaimed from the misery and disorders of a barbarous life. Even in the immediate neighbourhood of the colonies, and where every exertion has been made for their improvement that religious zeal and interested policy could dictate, no sensible progress has been effected. The children of a whole tribe have even been carefully educated, in vain. The Algonquins, who have an establishment within thirty miles of Montreal, have the Scriptures explained to them in their own language; and are all taught to read and write, in their youth, by the zeal and attention of their pastors. 'But notwithstanding these advantages,' says Mr Mackenzie, 'and though the establishment is nearly coeval with the colonization of

the country, they do not advance towards a state of civilization; but retain their ancient habits, language, and customs, and are becoming every day more depraved, indigent, and insignificant.' In another place, he describes the natives around the remoter establishments, as being 'one half of the year starving, and the other half intoxicated:' and adds, 'that through their slothful and dissolute lives, their numbers are in a very perceptible state of diminution.'

There is something, at first sight, very unaccountable in this obstinate indocility of these people. Nations seem formerly to have caught civilization by contact, and to have started forward in the career of improvement, upon the slightest impulse or suggestion. In those instances, however, the distance probably was not so great between the barbarian and his instructors, as it is in this case; and it is possible, after all, that our method of instruction has not been very judicious or consistent. Reading and writing, and the interpretation of the Scriptures, certainly are not the *first* steps by which a savage community is to be seduced from its wild and disorderly habits; and the whole progress may possibly be impeded by such an inversion of its stages. On the other hand, by our demand for furs, we compel them, in a manner, to adhere to the practice of hunting, and thus give a bounty for the preservation of barbarism, while we affect to be seriously engaged in subduing it, by baptisms, and schoolboy tasks of catechisms and grammars.

As a counterpart to the stubborn indocility of the Indians, who resist all the precept and example of the colonists, it is worth while just to mention the facility with which some of the latter assume the manners and character of the savages. Every one who has travelled in the borders of the Indian country, brings back reports of the multitude of white men that are found incorporated in the tribes of the natives, and voluntarily reduced to the same way of life that is natural to those people. Mr Mackenzie informs us, that 'there were very great numbers, who, after accompanying the Indians for a season or two in their expeditions, became so much attached to their mode of life as to lose all relish for their former habits and native homes.' They were called in Canada, *Coureurs des bois*, and seem to have united all the vices of the civilized and savage character. This is no tperhaps very surprising. The condition of a labourer in the lowest rank of society, (to which it is probable that these renegadoes belonged), is scarcely superior, in most civilized societies, to the ordinary life of a savage. Where the character is fundamentally licentious besides, the mere freedom from controul will make amends for many hardships; and the degree of

favour and consideration in which such a convert would probably be held, would be a new motive for the transition.

Of the second part of this work, which contains Mr Mackenzie's account of his voyage to the Frozen Ocean in 1789, we have but very little to say. It was undertaken in the hope of reaching the Pacific; and it was not till towards its termination, that the author perceived, from the continued northerly course of the river, that it must fall into the ocean in that direction. He set out from Fort Chepewyan on the Lake of the Hills, and passed down the Peace, or Slave River, to the great Slave Lake. This expanse of water he found so much incumbered with ice, in the middle of June, that he was obliged to coast round a great part of it, till he reached its main outlet towards the North-west, in latitude 61. N. The stream on which he was now embarked, carried him forward, for seven and twenty days, with a rapid and safe current, till he was warned of his approach to the sea (in latitude 69. N.) by the action of the tide in the channel and on the shores. The violence of the swell, and the lateness of the season, prevented him from going any farther; and he set out on his return, without having quitted the fresh water, or got clear of the banks of the river.

Neither his adventures nor observations, in this expedition, require much notice. The wind blew violently sometimes, and sometimes the canoe became leaky. The most serious of his perils, however, were from famine; as the subsistence of the whole party depended, almost entirely, upon their daily success in hunting and fishing; and game was not always equally plenty. If their consumption was uniform, indeed, it must have required no ordinary diligence in their purveyors to supply it; for he mentions, incidentally, that the crew, which consisted of ten men and four women, 'despatched two rein-deer, four swans, forty-five geese, and a very considerable quantity of fish, in the course of six days.' The natives with whom he had any intercourse, do not appear to have been different from other savages; they were timorous and turbulent, and full of inconsistency and deceit; skilful and dexterous in snaring game and catching fish, and in the fabrication of their arms, implements and canoes; but ignorant and awkward as to every thing else; and almost totally devoid of curiosity or attention. They are said to have been strangers to the use of tobacco, gun-powder, and spirituous liquors, and to have had no other way of boiling their provisions than by throwing heated stones into baskets containing water. Their language was easily understood by the Indians who accompanied Mr Mackenzie. The tribes that inhabit the lower parts of the river seem to differ little from the rest, except in the hatred they bear towards the Esquimaux, who are always found in possession of the sea-coast, and are accused of be-

ing cruel, treacherous, and pusillanimous. There is one trait which was scarcely to have been expected among a race so erratic and hardy; they were all perfectly ignorant of the nature of the country, or the course of the rivers, a very few days journey beyond their own haunts; and the fables they told of the dangers of the way, are among the most amusing passages that relate to them. When Mr Mackenzie was within six days journey from the sea, they assured him that it would take several years to arrive at it; and that old age would overtake him before he could hope to return. They described the navigation, too, as being interrupted by impassable cataracts at a very short distance; when, in fact, it was only disturbed, during the whole course, by two very manageable rapids.

Mr Mackenzie is not a naturalist, and had no leisure for minute observations. The most remarkable circumstance he mentions as to the country, relates to the excessive cold that must prevail towards the mouth of the river during the greater part of the year. At the time of his visit, it was about three weeks past Midsummer, and the ground was covered with short grass and a variety of flowers; and yet, at the depth of *four inches* from the surface, he uniformly met with a solid body of ice. It is difficult to conceive how vegetation could proceed in such a situation; and, especially, how trees, and other vegetables, that strike a deeper root, could subsist in it. In another place he mentions it, with great justice, as 'a very curious and extraordinary circumstance, that land covered with spruce, pine, and white birch, when laid waste by fire, should subsequently produce nothing but poplars, where none of that species of tree were previously to be found.' Mr Mackenzie must excuse us for not giving implicit faith to this observation.

The failure of this first expedition, satisfied Mr Mackenzie that the route to the Pacific must be sought for in a more southerly direction; and determined him to explore it, by ascending the stream of the *Unjigah*, or Peace River, and endeavouring to cross the mountains among which it was said to have its sources. As his former miscarriage had gone far to ensure his present success, and had also made him sensible of his deficiencies for such an undertaking, he did not scruple to make a winter voyage to Great Britain, for the express purpose of obtaining the necessary books and information, and returned fully qualified to make a scientific survey of the countries he was to traverse, and to fix his geographical positions with accuracy and precision. As the length of the voyage was altogether uncertain, our author determined to have the benefit of the whole Summer for the prosecution of it; and, accordingly, set out from Fort Chepewyan, in the month of October 1792, with the intention of proceed-

ing to the remotest establishment of the Company, before the winter set in, and starting from this advanced post as soon as the navigation was practicable in the Spring. Accordingly, in the month following, he arrived at a new built fort (for so all the trading houses in this country are denominated) upon the same river, in lat. 56. N. long. 117. 35. W.; where he spent the winter among a tribe of Chepewyan Indians, and set out upon his perilous expedition on the 9th of May 1793. In this undertaking, he reached the head of the Unjigah, in lat. 54. N. long. 121. W. with great difficulty, on the 13th June, and embarked on the Tacoutche, or Columbia river, whose course he followed in a southerly direction, and through innumerable obstructions, till the 24th of the same month; when he was induced, by the information of the natives, and the difficulty of the navigation, to leave the canoe, and proceed across the land, in a westerly direction, to the sea. After a fatiguing and dangerous journey of twelve days, he again reached a smaller, and less turbulent stream; and was fortunate enough to arrive on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, in lat. 52. 21. long. 128. 2. immediately to the southward of the islands which Vancouver has distinguished by the name of the Princess-Royal Islands. The season was so far advanced, and the conduct of the natives so suspicious, that he scarcely remained longer on the coast than was necessary to complete his observations. He returned by the same route, with comparative facility; and arrived safely at the station from which he had taken his departure, on the 24th of August 1793.

The narrative of this voyage is, upon the whole, extremely interesting; though the interest which it excites is derived rather from the difficulties and dangers of the way, and the intrepidity by which they were surmounted, than from the importance of the object, or the value of the information that is communicated. The only knowledge of his route which Mr Mackenzie possessed at his outset, was derived from a story that had formerly been told him by an old man (who could not now be found) of his having once been at war, on a large river, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains; and who said, that there was a carrying place, of about a day's march, between the head of the southwest branch of the Unjigah and this western river. Upon this hint, Mr Mackenzie determined to proceed; and the uncertainty of his course may be conjectured, from what he says in another place, 'that it was his intention to land where he thought there was *a chance* of discovering the carrying place, and undertake marches of two or three days, in different directions, in search of the other river; and, if unsuccessful in this attempt, to return to the fork, and try the other

branch in the same manner, with the hope of better fortune.' His constancy was not put to the test; for he accomplished his object without being obliged to return: But he had occasion for all the resolution with which he had armed himself.

The principal difficulties with which Mr Mackenzie had to struggle, arose from the physical situation of the country, and the unmanageable violence of the stream he had undertaken to ascend. For the first ten days, the labour was tolerable, and his progress fully more rapid than he had expected. After he had passed, however, to the westward of long. 120. his course began to be hemmed in among ascending mountains, and the channel to be obstructed by innumerable rapids and cataracts. In surmounting these obstacles, so much toil and danger was to be encountered, as might well have deterred an adventurer of ordinary resolution. At one time, the canoe was towed by men that clambered along the edge of impending precipices, and were forced to pass on the outside of the trees that overhung the torrent: At another, it was pushed forward by the hands of those who tottered upon the lower rocks of the channel, and who were frequently obliged to leap into the vessel, when an impassable precipice prevented their progress by land: On many occasions, the canoe was *carried* along roads, which scarcely any one but a Canadian would have ventured to pass unburdened, and through thickets, where a way had been previously opened by the tedious application of the axe. In one place, it was *warped* up a mountain, by lines fastened successively to the trees with which it was overshadowed: In another, it was hurried down the torrent, and only saved from utter destruction by being broken and entangled among some rocks that formed a shallow on the edge of a fall.

After struggling with these difficulties for upwards of ten days, our adventurers arrived at a part of the river that admitted of their proceeding with the paddles, though the current was still extremely powerful against them; and, at length, on the 1st of June, they reached the last fork of the stream, where one channel presented itself towards the north-west, and another almost directly towards the south. Mr Mackenzie, whose object it was to penetrate to the Western Ocean, acknowledges, that he would certainly have attempted the former, had it not been for the advice he had formerly received from the old warrior, whom we have already mentioned, and who had positively informed him, that the only path across the mountains was in the direction of the southmost branch. This information, by which Mr Mackenzie was then guided, turns out to have been perfectly correct, as the northerly branch has since been accurately surveyed, and is found to terminate in lakes and rapids at

a very short distance from the fork. After proceeding, till the 8th of the month, through a continuation of the same dangers and disasters, they at length came up with a party of the natives. From these people, he received, at first, the evasive and unintelligible answers that savages are accustomed to give: But, after he had conciliated them with flattery and presents, he at length learned, that they were acquainted with a large river that flowed towards the south, a branch of which was at no great distance from the source of that which they had ascended; that there were three small lakes, and as many short carrying-places between them; but that the southern river did not discharge itself into the sea. Mr Mackenzie prudently set down this last piece of intelligence to the ignorance of the reporter; but placed so much reliance on the former, that he instantly engaged the Indian to conduct him to the banks of the river he had mentioned, and proceeded on the day following under his directions. On the second day of the renewed voyage, they arrived at the first lake that had been spoken of by their conductor, and took the canoe out of it on the other side, in Lat. 54. 24. N. Long. 121. W. This Mr Mackenzie considers as the highest and most southerly source of the Unjigah, or Peace River, which he had now traced from its outlet to its fountains; and proceeded along the height of land, by which the waters that issue into the Pacific, are separated from those that fall into the Northern or Atlantic Seas. The first carrying place was only 817 paces in length, and brought them to another small lake, out of which a stream descended to the south: Another carrying-place brought them to a third lake of the same dimensions; and out of this they passed, with some difficulty, into a small, but rapid stream, obstructed by fallen trees, drift wood, and scattered rocks.

Though Mr Mackenzie, and his associates, had no longer to struggle against an opposing torrent, still their situation had experienced but little improvement. After carrying the canoe past some of the obstacles that have just been mentioned, they met with a disaster, which had very nearly proved the termination of all their perils and exertions. As we have made but few extracts from this publication, we shall present our readers with the narrative of this misadventure, in Mr Mackenzie's own words.

'We accordingly pushed off, and had proceeded but a very short way, when the canoe struck; and, notwithstanding all our exertions, the violence of the current was so great, as to drive her sideways down the river, and break her by the first bar, when I instantly jumped into the water, and the men followed my example; but, before we could set her straight, or stop her, we came to deeper water, so that we were obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. One of the men who

was not ſufficiently active, was left to get on ſhore in the beſt manner in his power. We had hardly regained our ſituations, when we drove againſt a rock, which ſhattered the ſtern of the canoe in ſuch a manner, that it held only by the gunwales, ſo that the ſteerſman could no longer keep his place. The violence of this ſtroke drove us to the oppoſite ſide of the river, which is but narrow, when the bow met with the ſame fate as the ſtern. At this moment, the foreman ſeized on ſome branches of a ſmall tree, in the hope of bringing up the canoe; but ſuch was their elaſticity, that, in a manner not eaſily deſcribed, he was jerked on ſhore in an inſtant, and with a degree of violence that threatened his deſtruction. But we had no time to turn from our own ſituation, to inquire what had befallen him; for, in a few moments, we came acroſs a caſcade, which broke ſeveral large holes in the bottom of the canoe, and ſtarted all the bars, except one behind the ſcooping ſeat. If this accident, however, had not happened, the veſſel muſt have been irretrievably overſet. The wreck becoming flat on the water, we all jumped out; while the ſteerſman, who had been compelled to abandon his place, and had not recovered from his fright, called out to his companions to ſave themſelves. My peremptory commands ſuperſeded the effects of his fear, and they all held faſt to the wreck; to which fortunate reſolution we owed our ſafety, as we ſhould otherwiſe have been daſhed againſt the rocks by the force of the water, or driven over the caſcades. In this condition, we were forced ſeveral hundred yards, and every yard on the verge of deſtruction; but, at length, we moſt fortunately arrived in ſhallow water, and a ſmall eddy, where we were enabled to make a ſtand, from the weight of the canoe reſting on the ſtones, rather than from any exertions of our exhauſted ſtrength. For though our efforts were ſhort, they were puſhed to the utmoſt, as life or death depended on them. This alarming ſcene, with all its terrors and dangers, occupied only a few minutes; and in the preſent ſuſpenſion of it, we called to the people on ſhore to come to our aſſiſtance; and they immediately obeyed the ſummons. The foreman, however, was the firſt with us; he had eſcaped unhurt from the extraordinary jerk with which he was thrown out of the boat; and juſt as we were beginning to take our effects out of the water, he appeared to give his aſſiſtance. The Indians, when they ſaw our deplorable ſituation, inſtead of making the leaſt effort to help us, ſat down and gave vent to their tears.'

This disaster disheartened the whole crew so much, that Mr Mackenzie was obliged to make them a speech, to induce them to proceed with him; and they had then to carry the canoe, for upwards of four miles, through a thick wood and a deep morass, when they found themselves, at length, on the banks of a large navigable river, that flowed with a strong current in a southerly direction. Upon this stream they embarked on the 18th of June, in the midst of so thick a fog, that they might have come suddenly upon a rapid, or cascade, before they were

aware.' They met, however, with no accident on that occasion, but very soon found the navigation obstructed by the usual impediments. On the second day of their progress, they came to a deserted wooden house, built in a solid manner, 30 feet in length, and 20 in breadth; 'the first habitation of the kind,' says Mr Mackenzie, 'that I had seen on this side of Mickilimakina.' A little farther on, he fell in with a party of the natives, whom he had some difficulty in conciliating; but was at last enabled to gather from them, that the river runs a great way towards the mid-day sun, and that white people were said to be building houses at its mouth; that the current was uniformly very violent, and in many places absolutely impassable; and that the inhabitants were extremely cruel and malignant. The iron, &c. which they had, they said they obtained by a shorter route, from the westward, where it was brought by white people, in great canoes. These people differed but little from the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, either in language, manners, or appearance. After proceeding a little farther, and holding a variety of consultations with the natives, Mr Mackenzie was convinced that the navigation of the river would be attended with the greatest dangers, and that the course of it would prove, at any rate, so extensive, as to make it absolutely impossible to return from its mouth in the course of the same season: His ammunition and provisions, too, were very nearly exhausted; and he was assured, by the concurring testimony of all the natives, that, by abandoning the river, and striking across the country to the west, he would be enabled to reach the sea he was in search of by a safe and easy expedition. After a good deal of deliberation, he determined to make trial of this route: and accordingly returned up the river, to the spot from which the natives had offered to conduct him to the westward; and there securing the canoe under a shed, and burying a great part of his provisions and ammunition in the neighbourhood, he set off by land, in Long. 123. Lat. 53. 20.

In this journey, where each of the party carried a load of ninety pounds, besides arms, their difficulties and alarms were at times very great, from the repeated desertion of their guides, and the tumult and disturbance which their appearance produced among the natives. By way of securing the guides, Mr Mackenzie, on two occasions, pressed them to *sleep* with him; and 'though the beaver robe that covered them was a nest of vermin, their hair greased with fish oil, and their bodies smeared with red earth,' he declares he passed a very comfortable night in their society. On their way, they crossed several small rivers that ran towards the south, and probably fell into the stream they had left behind them. The ground, for the

most part, was rugged, but not very high; though they crossed one ridge which was covered with snow, and saw before them a chain of lofty mountains, that were said to be perpetually in that state. The houses they passed by, were all built of squared timber, and infinitely more commodious and substantial than any dwellings that are reared by the Indians in the interior of the continent. At last, he arrived on the banks of a small river abounding in salmon, and was hospitably received by the inhabitants of an adjoining village. These people subsist entirely upon fish, and have such an aversion to flesh of every species, that one of their dogs having swallowed a part of a bone, was beaten by his master till he disgorged it: Another of the natives, upon seeing one of Mr Mackenzie's people throw a bone into the river, 'instantly plunged in, and brought it out; and, after burning it, proceeded to wash his polluted hands.' The salmon, which are incredibly numerous, they take by means of a weir, or embankment, constructed with much ingenuity across the river; and they appear, indeed, to be considerably superior to their brethren of the interior, in contrivance and understanding.

From this place, our adventurers again proceeded by water, having procured two canoes from the natives, by several of whom they were paddled and escorted. They remained all night at a village, where they were hospitably entertained; and had occasion to observe the traces of improving art and civilization. These people have not only Summer and Winter houses, like the *Yoorts* and *Balagans* of Kamschatka and Siberia, but appear to have made advances in the arts of painting and sculpture, superior to what might have been expected from the inhabitants of so rude a climate. They had boards painted with hieroglyphics, and figures of animals, with a degree of correctness with which Mr Mackenzie was surprised; and had erected, in the centre of the village, something in the nature of a temple, which he describes in these words.

'The ground-plot of it was fifty feet by forty-five; each end is formed by four stout posts, fixed perpendicularly in the ground. The corner ones are plain, and support a beam of the whole length, having three intermediate props on each side, but of a larger size, and eight or nine feet in height. The two centre posts, at each end, are two feet and an half in diameter, and carved into human figures, supporting two ridge poles on their heads, at twelve feet from the ground. The figures at the upper part of this square represent two persons, with their hands upon their knees, as if they supported the weight with pain and difficulty: the others opposite to them stand at their ease, with their hands resting on their hips. In the area of the

building there were the remains of several fires. The posts, poles, and figures, were painted red and black; but the sculpture of these people is superior to their painting.'

They had among them a great variety of European commodities, especially iron and copper; and several had a quarter-dollar fixed, as an ornament, in the handles of their daggers. From this village, Mr Mackenzie descended the stream to another, from which he had an evening prospect of a narrow arm of the sea, and next day had the happiness of arriving on the beach, in the position that has been already specified. In this situation, he was deserted by his guide and the rest of the natives, and left in a leaky canoe upon this barbarous coast, with scarcely any ammunition, and provisions for no more than four or five days. In the course of the day, he coasted along the Point Menzies of Vancouver, and by the shore of the island named King's Island by that navigator. In this course, they were very much disturbed and alarmed by the conduct of the savages, who followed them in several canoes, and appeared to entertain very serious designs against their property and lives. One, in particular, whom Mr Mackenzie describes as particularly turbulent and insolent, was continually repeating that he had been shot at by a white man, whom he called Macubah, and seemed perfectly disposed to revenge himself upon our adventurer. By a proper mixture of forbearance and resolution, however, Mr Mackenzie escaped this danger; and his persecutors thought proper to withdraw about sunset.

On the 22d of July, Mr Mackenzie completed his observations; and on the day following returned to the mouth of the river; and, after another alarming encounter with the natives, led on by the enemy of *Macubah*, arrived at the village, where they first got sight of the sea, and prepared for their final return. The natives about this salmon river, Mr Mackenzie supposes not to be the permanent inhabitants of its banks, but to repair there for the sake of the summer fishery, and to reside, during the winter, on the sea-coast. They are evidently a stationary people, however, in comparison with the hunting tribes of the interior, and would probably be more easily civilized than any of their brethren; though it is evident enough, from Mr Mackenzie's whole narrative, that they have all the violence, unsteadiness, and inconsistency of the savage character. They seem to acknowledge a higher authority in their chief, than is conceded to him in any other North American community, as he alone appeared to possess, or bestow, the right of fishing at the great weir or embankment, and prevented any one from

building a house in the village, without his permission. Their language is said to be different from that of the adjoining tribes.

After leaving the uppermost village, Mr Mackenzie and his companions found the way perfectly solitary, till they arrived, after a painful march of nine days, on the banks of the Great River, where they had left their canoe upwards of a month before. At this spot, they found a large encampment of the natives, who were very clamourous and riotous at first, and continued to pilfer little articles from them during all the time of their stay. It was very remarkable, however, that they had not touched any part of the stores that had been left unguarded in their vicinity for the space of a whole month. In the remainder of Mr Mackenzie's homeward route, he retraced exactly the course along which we have already pursued him outwards. He surmounted the cataracts of the Tacoutche, without meeting with any disaster; and, after crossing the height of land, descended the waters of the Peace River with so much celerity, that he accomplished, in six days, a voyage, that had occupied no fewer than thirty-four in his outset; and arrived, on the 18th of August, at the fort, from which he had taken his departure on the 9th of May.

We have now accompanied Mr Mackenzie through the whole of his extensive and laborious route, and willingly bear testimony to the diligence and intrepidity, the temper and perseverance, with which he seems to have pursued it, as well as to the perspicuity and apparent fidelity of the narrative which he has submitted to the public. Of the importance of his geographical discoveries, we do not indeed think very highly. The non-existence of any practicable communication by sea, from the eastern to the western shores of North America, we conceive to have been satisfactorily established, before either the expedition of Mr Mackenzie, or the voyage of Vancouver; and the passage which the former has discovered by land, is such as few people could have doubted to exist, and certainly by no means of a nature to indemnify us for the want of the other. Mr Mackenzie himself, indeed, appears to be of opinion, that the route by which he came, would be altogether unfit for the purposes of trade, and rather points at a communication between the Tacoutche or Columbia River, and the head waters of the Saskatchiwine. It is needless to observe, however, that the existence of such a communication must be established by another voyage of discovery; and that the lower course of the Columbia may present obstacles, of a nature even more formidable than those of which Mr Mackenzie's experience and information have already given us warning.

The countries which Mr Mackenzie has brought to our knowledge by these expeditions, are certainly the least interesting of any with which modern enterprize has made us acquainted. The barrenness of the soil, the severity of the climate, the remoteness of their position, and the small number and intractable character of their inhabitants, place them very low indeed in the scale of political importance, and reduce their influence upon the rest of the world to a very humble denomination. The believers in perfectibility, expect, of course, to see the whole universe covered with the miracles of polity and art; but these regions will probably be the last to put off their original barbarity; and philosophy will have native apostles among the Mantchew Tartars and New Hollanders, before any progress has been made in the conversion of the Knisteneaux and the Chepewyans.

Mr Mackenzie makes no pretensions to literary attainments; and the merit of his work certainly is not to be estimated by the elegance of its composition. His style is, in general, sufficiently perspicuous; and we willingly pass over its deficiencies in harmony or correctness. There are some expressions, however, which provoke a smile, from their ludicrous simplicity, or strange affectation of refinement. In the introduction, we hear of a trader, 'who eased himself of the importunities of a native;' and are assured, that the Americans are never cannibals, except in those cases of extreme necessity, 'which have been known to impel the most civilized people to eat each other.' In order to inform us, that the Indians, who make no use of combs, are given to scratch their heads, he is pleased to say, 'that they have a small stick hanging by a string,' which they occasionally employ 'to alleviate any itching or irritation in the head.'

Art. XXIII. *The Elements of Optics,* designed for the use of Students in the University. By James Wood, B. D. Second Edition. Cambridge, 1801. Burges. pp. 251.

About five years ago, Mr Vince, the Plumian Professor, and Mr Wood of St Johns, undertook to draw up a series of elementary works, which should comprise the substance of the lectures usually read at Cambridge, upon Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. The volume now before us, forms the sixth and last of this useful course of publications.

Our philosophical readers are acquainted with the two great branches into which the science of Optics is divided; those laws of vision, and properties of light, which are to be investigated by

experiment, and those that can be deduced, by mathematical reasoning, from the principles which induction has enabled us to establish. Our author has confined himself almost wholly to the mathematical view of the subject; and we are inclined to think, that he has composed this treatise, rather with a view to assist the student of astronomy, than to furnish a complete exposition of all the discoveries which have been made upon the nature of light, and the laws of its action, considered as a separate branch of science. His propositions are chiefly drawn from the 'Lectiones Opticæ' of Sir Isaac Newton; and a very meagre account is given of the wonderful truths unfolded by that philosopher in his 'Optics.'

Of this plan, we cannot entirely approve. Many of the most important discoveries in the theory of light and colours, depend altogether on experiment; and, by the assistance of calculation and geometrical reasoning, lead to other theorems, as well deserving of attention as those which form the subject of the present volume, and resting upon evidence precisely of the same nature. Why, then, should a treatise upon Optics have been confined almost entirely to those topics, where the assistance of mathematical demonstration is required, and the most simple only of the positions founded upon induction are assumed? The truths explained in the second and third books of the 'Optics,' are established by the very same species of proof with that upon which the very first principles of the science are built; and, to undervalue those doctrines which do not require a constant display of mathematical reasoning, is surely to disregard the example, and slight some of the noblest discoveries of that illustrious philosopher, who carried mathematical demonstration farther into the regions of physical science, than any of those that have studied the laws of nature.

Admitting, however, that the plan of this treatise is adapted to teach the most important parts of optical science, we cannot withhold our approbation from the execution. The parts are digested and arranged with great perspicuity; the order in which they succeed each other is, for the most part, natural and easy; the demonstrations are sufficiently neat and concise; and yet the steps of the reasoning are given with such fullness, that any learner may readily follow them, provided he is prepared by a previous acquaintance with the elements of mathematics. In some parts the author has fallen into considerable inaccuracies; chiefly where a reference was necessary to the merely experimental branch of the science. A few of these we shall mention as we go along.

The first section contains a general account of the nature of light, and of those fundamental laws of reflection and refraction,

which we discover by experience. In considering the Newtonian hypothesis, that light consists of particles of matter, our author says (p. 2.) that the motions of the rays in different mediums, are the same with those of small particles of matter attracted towards, or repelled from, the bodies upon which they are incident. But this presumes, unfairly, the very point in which light differs from all bodies, viz. its refraction *towards* the perpendicular, when it passes from a rarer into a denser medium. Besides, nothing can be produced in the mutual actions of other bodies, similar to the opposite refraction which light undergoes in emerging from a denser into a rarer medium; its inflection and deflection; and that singular property which it exhibits, in passing through several sorts of spar, particularly the Iceland chrystal. There is nothing in the 14th sect. B. 2. of the Principia, which explains this marked difference between the two cases.

The definition of a ray is obscure and inaccurate—'The least portion of light which may be stopped alone, or propagated alone, or do or suffer any thing which the rest of the light doth not, or suffers not.' p. 3.

The second section contains the propositions relating to reflection from plane and spherical surfaces; and these are deduced mathematically from the principles laid down in the first section. The fourth section contains a similar deduction of the refractions of rays by plane and spherical surfaces. The third and fifth sections give the theory of images formed by reflection and refraction, respectively.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that a great part of those sections which concern the refraction of light, is purely theoretical; and, from the impossibility of finding any pencil or beam of equally refrangible rays, many of the propositions demonstrated upon the hypothesis that the rays are homogeneal, must, in every instance of their application to the substance which we call *light*, as it exists in nature, deviate more or less from truth. Such theorems, are, in fact, demonstrated, not with regard to light, but to an ideal substance.

Section sixth lays down the theory of vision. Section seventh contains an ample detail of the mathematical principles which regulate the construction of optical instruments; and it is on account of this branch of the subject, that the only account which the author gives of the Newtonian theory of light and colours is introduced, as a sort of appendix to the doctrine of Telescopes. The eighth section is devoted, therefore, to the aberrations produced by unequal refrangibility, and by the spherical form of reflecting and refracting surfaces. The leading discovery of Newton is here given; but the decisive experiment

on which it rests, is omitted, and another inserted, which very imperfectly proves the position. It is the 5th, not the 3d Exp. B. 1. part 1. of the 'Optics,' which is justly esteemed the *experimentum crucis*. Our author, however, adds an experiment, which we are very well assured he never found in the 'Optics.' After quoting the 3d Exp. at length, he says—'By an experiment similar to the former, it may be shown, that common daylight consists of rays which differ in colour and refrangibility; for, if the round hole in the shutter receive only light from the clouds, its image formed by the prism will be oblong and coloured as in the former case:' p. 200. One so averse to induction, and so fond of mathematical reasoning as our author, might have inferred, that the sun's light, reflected from the clouds, or transmitted through them, (which we presume is all that he can mean by the vulgar phrase of *common day-light*), has the same properties with the light transmitted directly from the luminous body. But if he demands experimental proof of this, we can assure him, that when he shall have adjusted his prism at the hole in his window-shutter in a cloudy day, he will look in vain for an oblong and coloured image of the hole: his chart will only present to him the partially coloured images of the clouds, and the spires of the neighbouring colleges, in a distorted camera obscura.

Without entering any farther, than the theory of the construction of glasses requires, into the doctrine of refrangibility and colours, or the resolution and composition of heterogeneous light by refraction; and without touching at all upon the various interesting speculations of Newton and his followers, respecting the attractions of light towards thin and thick plates; our author immediately returns to the continuation of the subject, on account of which alone the theory of colours seems to have been hinted at: and the eighth section concludes with the remainder of the theory of Glasses.

Hitherto, whatever fault we may have found with our author's plan, as materially deficient in parts strictly belonging to the science of which he professes to treat, we have had no objections to urge against his consistency in executing it. But we can scarcely imagine how the whole of the ninth section should be devoted to the explanation of a single phenomenon, belonging to the head of Chromatics—the rainbow. The deduction of the propositions relating to this subject, is no doubt very clear and satisfactory. But one is inclined to ask, how they came here? Why should a whole division of the work be occupied by the explanation of one particular phenomenon, when the theory, of whose synthetical application this doctrine forms a very small part, has been despatched in two propositions, introduced for their subserviency to a totally distinct branch of

the science? Why, among all the applications of the Newtonian theory, is this the only one that he will admit to deserve a place? Not to mention the second book of the Optics, the majority of the propositions, in the second part of the first book, are employed in applying the brilliant discoveries detailed in the preceding part, to the explanation of natural phenomena. But our author selects one of these; and this one he expands into a whole section, although the theory itself has scarcely been touched upon.

The tenth and last section contains a particular application of the doctrine laid down in the earlier parts of the work, to the theory of Caustics by reflection; and two propositions introductory to the theory of Caustics by refraction, which the author has thought proper to omit. It appears that this section ought to have been incorporated partly with the second or third, and partly with the fourth or fifth sections.

Such are the general outlines of this treatise; such the objections to which, in our apprehension, its plan is liable; and such a few exceptions to the detail, in point of strict consistency with what appears to be the arrangement of the whole.

As this work is written for the perusal of learners, we beg leave to add a single remark upon the inaccuracy with which our author has stated, or rather alluded to some passages of Sir Isaac Newton's Optics, in which the theory of Vibrations is mentioned. No part of that great man's writings has been so generally perverted by ignorant theorists, who, on the supposed authority of his name, have built the most extravagant hypotheses. In p. 13. our author completely mistakes Sir Isaac Newton's meaning. Newton does not *conclude*, from the phenomena of reflection and refraction, that these effects are produced by some power or *medium*, diffused over their surface: he only says, with the modesty peculiar to himself, that the problem is scarce to be solved, otherwise than by supposing that the reflection is produced by some *power of the body* evenly diffused all over its surface, and by which it acts upon the ray *without* immediate contact.—Optics, B. 2. part 3. prop. 8. He then goes on to illustrate this idea, by the analogy of gravitation, inflection, &c.; but never once, in this whole proposition, does he hint at any *medium*. On the contrary, he refers all to those powers of attraction and repulsion; to explain which, the hypothesis of a medium is called in. Again, in page 236. note, our author, after mentioning the Newtonian theory of fits, (which he is pleased to call a supposition, although it is clearly a method of expressing a fact), adds, that Sir Isaac Newton *accounts* for them in the following manner; and then quotes that part of Query 29. in which Sir Isaac alludes to the theory of Vibrations. But nothing can be more evident, than that he is there only giving a vague hypothesis, agreeing with the facts,

but founded on no induction, and as likely to be false as true. Accordingly, it should be observed, that in the 12th prop. of B. 2. part 3. where the idea is first stated, the philosopher expressly describes it as an hypothesis to which he attached no belief—'What kind of action or disposition this is, whether it consists in a circulating or a vibratory motion of the ray, or of the medium, or something else, I do not here inquire. *Those that are averse from assenting to any new discoveries, but such as they can explain by an hypothesis*, may for the present suppose,' &c. And afterwards—'But whether this hypothesis be true or false, I do not here consider.' The whole hypothesis of a separate ætherial medium is contained in seven of the Queries, (18.–24.) It is given as a mere conjecture, kept carefully by itself, and separated from the rest of a work, whose basis is the strictest induction. We have thought it necessary to detail these things, as a caution against confounding matters so perfectly distinct in themselves: a caution, which the author of the treatise now before us seems not to have kept steadily in view; and the neglect of which, in other writers, has given birth to the most deformed and noxious productions of speculative imagination.

Art. XXIV. *Travels through Sweden, Finland, and Lapland, to the North Cape*, in the years 1798–9. By Joseph Acerbi. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 776. London. Mawman. 1802.

Books of travels are interesting, either from the information which they afford concerning distant countries, or from the picture which they exhibit of the traveller's mind, and of the impressions made upon it by the scenes through which he passed. While some authors in this department of literature, as Volney and Savary, have confined themselves entirely to the former of those subjects—and others, as Southey and Mrs Woolstoncroft, have chiefly turned their reader's attention to the latter—the traveller, whose volumes now lye before us, chooses a middle course; and endeavours to combine a description of the countries which he saw, with the narrative of his own adventures, and the delineation of his feelings. Accounts of this kind are, of all others, the most engaging: it is from such a mixture of incident and discussion, and facts, that the works of Brydone and Moore derive their charms and their value: and, although far inferior in every respect to either of those excellent writers, Mr Acerbi has, by adopting their plan, given to his book an interest, which neither the extent and novelty of his information, nor the profundity of his remarks, nor the elegance and liveliness of his style, could have bestowed.

and travels. Talking of an admiral, he tells us, that, when stationed at Carlscrona, he used to draw caricatures of all who came to visit him.

In treating of different public characters, he seems extremely eager to pick up every little sarcasm and tale which has been ferreted out by silly curiosity, or invented by malice. In writing a serious work, like the one before us, an author should not too easily give credit and place to the stories which he hears in private circles. When Mr Acerbi thinks it worthy of his page to inform the world, that a financier was punished for his opposition to the distilleries, by having a drunken wife; that a minister of state was persuaded he should in a short time be taken up into heaven, like Elijah, without passing through death; that a bishop (preceptor to his Swedish Majesty) is a man of no learning, but ready to make any sacrifice to his private interest; and that another prelate, high in favour and influence, is a believer *ex officio*, a superstitious zealot, or a hypocrite—we are inclined to think that such reports may have been rashly taken up from the enemies of the persons in question; and to wish that Mr Acerbi had not unnecessarily admitted them into his book. But, when he tells us, seriously, that a man of talents, at the end of the 18th century, has published a demonstration of the existence of the devil in the human body—a classification of devils, and recipes for putting those personages to flight—the hairy devil, for instance, by means of St John's wort—that the ceremony of exorcism was performed at the baptism of the present Prince Royal—that a gentleman of great abilities, accomplishments, and virtue, (to whom, by the way, our author lay under many obligations), firmly believes, that, by the influence of mesmerism, he can transport himself into heaven, hold converse with his deceased relatives, and distinctly perceive their souls clothed in white jackets, (vol. i. cap. 19.);—truly, we are more than half inclined to suspect Mr Acerbi of using *all* the privileges of a traveller; and only regret, that his inventive powers are not of a more amiable or amusing cast. Indeed, he has, in one passage, shown us clearly upon what light grounds he is willing to receive all satirical or malignant stories against men of high station, either in the political or literary world. The silly anecdote which he thinks proper to insert in page 102. vol. i. refers to the worthy President of the Royal Society of London, and is an exaggerated edition of a falsehood contained in the dull writings of a contemptible satirist, whose profligacy of character (the want of genius is not his own fault) should have prevented Mr Acerbi from believing a much less improbable tale upon his authority.

We have dwelt, perhaps, longer than our readers may think necessary, on this topic: But it must be remembered, that although the names of those persons whom Mr Acerbi has vilified, are quickly forgotten by us, who see them now for the first time brought forward, yet this book must immediately find its way to the circles where the subjects of its sarcasms move; and we know that this imprudence in former travellers, has frequently been productive of very unpleasant consequences, both to the parties themselves, and to succeeding visitors.

In Mr Acerbi's invectives against the government and academies of Sweden, we can neither discover much reason nor consistency. We are told, in p. 86, vol. i. that Gustavus III, so far from supporting the sciences, treated them with neglect, if not contempt: But, in p. 101, the zeal of that monarch for literature and science is admitted; though our author explains it, by saying that it was affected and unnatural. In p. 102, he remarks, that Government directs the academies, and the academies the people; yet, in p. 107, he applies to those bodies the sarcasm of Rousseau—that while the academicians think they are leading the public opinion, three fourths of the kingdom are ignorant of their existence. For our parts, we can scarcely imagine how Mr Acerbi's dislike to the constitution of 1772 can have arisen; when we consider that he cannot be ignorant of the history of Sweden from the death of Charles XII. to the accession of Gustavus III. He calls the Government, during that period, a limited monarchy. We are unwilling to quarrel about a word; but, according to the same nomenclature, the constitution of Venice must be ranged in the same class with that of Great Britain. He tells us, that absolute governments are unfriendly to the growth of genius; but we can scarcely refuse this character to the writers of the Augustan ages either of Rome, or France, or England. He extols the tendency of the Swedish aristocracy to produce great orators, whose talents (he adds) were called forth by the encouragements which the opportunities of selling themselves to foreign powers presented. In the same manner might he praise the very worst governments of Italy or Asia, for their tendency to excite ingenuity in the preparations of poisons, stilettos, and bow-strings. The foreign and domestic events in the Swedish story, during the Seven-years war, may reconcile to the present constitution any one who does not labour under a nervous horror of the mere name of King: And, were we even to admit all that the enemies of Gustavus have alleged, (and his enemies were only to be found in the Senate), we might still approve of the change which he wrought; inasmuch as the worst form of domestic tyranny, is vastly more tolerable than the mildest foreign yoke.

Our author devotes the remaining part of his first volume to his journey through Finland; a country in many respects extremely interesting, and hitherto little visited by travellers. In this part of his progress, we have followed him with great pleasure. His narrative, though clumsy and monotonous in the style, is sufficiently amusing; and his information, though neither so full as we could have wished, nor so original as might have been expected, is nevertheless of considerable value. We were surprised however to find, that he does not enter into the question, of the very singular affinity which has been remarked between the Finnish and Hungarian languages; and we regret that he has given no account of the system of agriculture practised in the cultivated parts of that extensive territory, and admirably adapted to its humid climate.

Although we can venture to recommend this part of the work to the attention of our readers, we must, at the same time, warn them not to expect greater profundity of observation, than that which distinguishes the remarks on Sweden. We beg leave also to inform them, that Mr Acerbi is afflicted with an antipathy to priests, which, however excuseable in Italy, is extremely ridiculous (to say no more of it) in Scandinavia, where the purity of the clerical character is proportioned to the frugality of the ecclesiastical establishment. Thus, in p. 191, vol. i. he is pleased to insert the anti-clerical remarks of a peasant with whom he conversed, and who turned the clergy into ridicule, says Mr Acerbi, with a very happy vein of humour. If we may judge of the man's humour by the specimen here given, it must have been of a different family from that humour which is allied to mirth. Our author is also subject to very whimsical fits of benevolence. He bewails the poverty of a Finlander who happened to live near a handsome church; and, as a parallel case, he quotes a fact observed by him in Ireland, of a miserable hovel founded (if we rightly comprehend him) upon a dunghill, and supported on one side, by 'the wall, ten feet high, of his Honour's park,' p. 386, vol. i. It is not easy to perceive, how, in the one case, the demolition of the church, for which our author sighs, would improve the fortune of the peasant, unless, indeed, the operation were performed after the French fashion; and it is very obvious, that the Irish cotter would have lost one side of his house, had the landlord chosen to throw down the wall of 'his Honour's park.' But our traveller's benevolence is somewhat more universal than the philanthropy of other men. He is not content with whining over the ills of his own species—hear how he mourns the woes of brutes, p. 281, vol. i.

'This species of sport had not the same attraction for me, as the shooting of other birds. We were obliged to pass the whole night in

the woods; to listen to the signing of the bird, with the invidious ear of a spy; to skulk and suppress our very breath, in order the better to catch the sound of his voice: and when at last we heard him, it was necessary we should employ all the craft and artifice of a traitor; take advantage even of the sentiment of love in this poor creature; and all this for the base purpose of killing him by surprise. In the chase, as in every thing else, I love plain-dealing; I love to make the birds fly before me; to pursue them, and to declare war before I fire upon them. One single bird killed upon the wing, is worth ten assassinated on the branch of a tree.'

There is something particularly melancholy in the inconsistency which distinguishes the doctrines of a certain class of modern writers. Our readers will observe, that Mr Acerbi has no manner of objection to the cruelty of murdering the defenceless bird; but then, it is treacherous to take it by surprise. He loves to declare war, before he commences hostilities; but he loves also to attack a defenceless enemy. And the reader, who, from the tenor of the preceding passage, should conclude that Mr Acerbi only kills when forced to it by some overruling necessity, would commit a very great mistake; for that gentleman, in the expedition which he has narrated, was the ornithologist and entomologist of the party.

There is one kind of sport which we cannot help thinking as cruel and treacherous as that of shooting by surprise, although men only, and not birds, are its objects. It consists in gaining admittance into literary and private circles; receiving all manner of assistance and polite attention; passing whole nights in such society; listening to the unrestrained converse of the social hours, with the invidious ears of a spy; suppressing the breath of censure, in order to hear the more; taking advantage even of the sentiments of friendship and hospitality: and all this for the base purpose of publishing what has been incautiously told, or taken by surprise. In travelling and in book-making, as in every thing else, we love plaindealing. One single joke or anecdote, that hurts no friend, and turns no virtue into ridicule, is worth ten obtained by indelicacy or ingratitude.

Such being our sentiments, we cannot approve of the manner in which Mr Acerbi has spoken of Baron Silfverhielm * (vol. i. p. 272.), who, although contaminated by the stain of nobility, is a man of talents and virtue, and laid our traveller under many obligations (p. 268-9.) As it is possible to unfrock a parson in Sweden, as well as in Italy, we wish our author had omitted the various anecdotes which he has related

* Mr A. always calls the Baron *Silfverhielm*. There is no such name.

of the poor priest of Muonionisca (vol. ii. p. 21.); guilty, indeed of being a clergyman, but liberal, hospitable, and well informed (p. 17.); and, though possessed of theological books, yet, according to his own declaration, addicted as little as possible to the vice of reading them (ibid.) Nor should we have been disposed to blame him for indiscriminate praise, had he treated with less asperity and petulance Professor Thunberg and others (vol. i. p. 121.); to whose assistance, academicians though they be, he afterwards informs us (vol. ii. p. 142.) his work is indebted for most of the natural history which it contains.

The third part contains Mr Acerbi's travels from Torneâ across the isthmus of Scandinavia, to Alten Gaard on the Frozen Ocean, and thence to the North Cape. This is the part of his journey in which our traveller endured the greatest hardships, and passed through scenes least explored by strangers. But, from the barren nature of the subject; the uninteresting character of the natives; the perpetual recurrence of the same difficulties and toils—the narrative is less amusing, and the information less valuable and diversified than that which the more beaten track of the Bothnian coast offered in the first volume. As the objects which present themselves become less varied and attractive, it is not to be expected that our author's talent for observation or reflection should improve. Yet, let not the reader stop in disgust, when he meets with such copious disquisitions upon nothing, as that contained in p. 51. vol. ii. After mentioning, at great length, the inconvenience suffered during his dinner, from the attacks of musquitoes, he pauses to meditate and inquire; and gives vent to the ideas that fill his mind, in the following soliloquy.

'I cannot, at this moment, account to myself, why we did not think of setting up our tent, under which we certainly should have enjoyed greater comfort, and have been less tormented by the insects. Perhaps it was, that we did not expect to remain long in this place, and because the erection of our tent always took up some time; or it might be too carefully packed up—or perhaps we had not the means at hand of erecting it. It often happens, that a person does things for which he afterwards can assign no direct reason, though, at the time, he may have had satisfactory grounds for his proceedings.'

The constant occurrence of the musquitoes becomes almost as troublesome and fatiguing to the reader, as they were to the travellers. We have them in every chapter; almost in every page. They meet us in all forms: sometimes in the meat; sometimes as subjects of dissertation; frequently in allegory, as enemies in battle array.

As our author approaches the great end of his toils, he rises to a sublimer tone; but sometimes he sinks a little too suddenly;

as, for instance, in the following passage, where, after describing the solitary dwelling of a merchant at Havesund, he exclaims,

'Dreadful place to live at! The only attraction in these abodes, is fishing, and the love of gain. The nearer one approaches the North Cape, the more nature seems to frown; vegetation dies, and leaves behind it nothing but naked rocks.'—Vol. ii. p. 110.

We must, however, except from the general censure which we have been obliged to pass on the style of our author's reflections, the following very fine passage, describing the feelings with which he surveyed the scenery of the North Cape, where he arrived exactly at midnight.

'Here every thing is solitary, every thing is sterile, every thing sad and despondent. The shadowy forest no longer adorns the brow of the mountain. The singing of the birds, which enlivened even the woods of Lapland, is no longer heard in this scene of desolation. The ruggedness of the dark grey rock is not covered by a single shrub. The only music is the hoarse murmuring of the waves, ever and anon renewing their assaults on the huge masses that oppose them. The northern sun, creeping, at midnight, at the distance of five diameters, along the horizon, and the immeasurable ocean in apparent contact with the skies, form the grand outlines in the sublime picture presented to the astonished spectator. The incessant cares and pursuits of anxious mortals, are recollected as a dream; the various forms and energies of animated nature are forgotten; the earth is contemplated only in its elements, and as constituting a part of the solar system.'—Vol. ii. p. 111.

This is, at once, fine and bold; we believe it to be, also, a just painting of scenery, and a natural transcript of sentiment.

The travels conclude with a brief account of the journey homewards to Uleâborg. Upon the whole, we have little objection to that part of the narrative which properly belongs to Mr Acerbi himself; for it is now fair to observe, that we by no means believe him to be the author of the work, as it appears before the English public. We can discover, in various parts, errors and inaccuracies, which are to be accounted for only upon the supposition, that the traveller has done little more than furnish the materials for these volumes; and that he has been unfortunate in his choice of a redacteur. The errors in the orthography of many proper names—the silliness of various reflections—the indelicacy of many anecdotes and jests (considering that the book is addressed to a father, as a specimen of his son's improvement)—the ignorance of local circumstances in various trifling particulars, which, however, the traveller himself must have known, as in the note of *p.* 8. *Vol. I.*;—these, and other considerations, induce us to divide the censures we have bestowed, between Mr Acerbi and his editor, whose name does not

appear. At the same time, we must express our unqualified disapprobation of the practice, now so prevalent among travellers, of devolving upon professed authors the important task of speaking for them to the public; a practice, destructive of accurate description, not very favourable to fidelity of narration, and altogether inimical to the interest with which we delight to read the accounts, however unpolished, of actors and eyewitnesses. We had almost forgotten to mention the doggrel English rhymes, with which the editor, taking advantage of Mr Acerbi's ignorance of the language, has thought proper to fill his pages. Nothing in the name of verse was ever presented, with fewer pretensions to merit of any kind.

Besides the travels, the volumes now before us contain a treatise on Lapland, drawn up, chiefly, from the account published by the missionary, Leems, in 1767, Danish and Latin. Indeed, with the exception of a little jesting, at the missionary's expense, and some additional remarks, chiefly on the natural history of the country, this treatise is a translation from Leems. It occupies the greater part of the second volume, and follows the original, section by section. This is the less necessary, since that work is by no means so rare as Mr Acerbi supposes: We believe there is scarcely a library in Europe without a copy of it.

The plates, which accompany Mr Acerbi's travels, are in general good: the winter scene in Stockholm, and the two views in the woods of Finland, strike us as the best. The map prefixed to vol. ii. is very indifferent. The entry upon the gulph of Bothnia at Grislehamn, is wretched; and the Finlandish bath has nothing to recommend it, but the naked accuracy of the representation. The figures of the insects, in vol. ii., are excellent.

The work concludes with specimens of Finnish and Norwegian music, and our author's Itinerary.

Art. XXV. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Paper Credit of Great Britain.* By Henry Thornton Esq. M. P. London, 1802. pp. 320.

The progress of commercial philosophy has been much accelerated by the writings of practical men of business. In that, as well as in the other departments of civil knowledge, it is only from the actual course of affairs that the statesman can derive his maxims of policy, or the speculative inquirer deduce the conclusions of his science: but the habits of both are incompatible with a personal knowledge of detail. It is necessary that the labour of accumulating particular facts, should be separated from the more liberal

task of generalizing these into principles; and that they, who are qualified to combine larger views, should be furnished, by the minute accuracy of others, with descriptions in which they may confide. In England, which is the native-country of political œconomy, the works, contributed by professional men, form a large deposite of authenticated facts. For these we are primarily indebted to that diffused literature, which multiplies the demand for varied information, and has already liberalized the practitioners in almost every walk of industry. But the greater number of these publications have been suggested by such occasional events, in the fluctuation of our commercial prosperity, as rouse a general interest, and direct the curiosity of the public to that quarter of the great machine, in which the derangement is supposed to have taken place. It is in this manner, that every period of dearth has contributed in some degree to alleviate subsequent years of scarcity, by the instruction which it yielded against popular prejudice. Those numerous tracts, in which alone the detailed history of our foreign commerce can be traced, at least during its earlier progress, appear to have been prompted by the frequent disturbance, which the balance of exchanges suffered, from the alternations of war and peace. The immediate consequences of the South Sea scheme, and of the many wild projects which about the same time excited such a pernicious rage, were somewhat compensated by the more distinct knowledge, which they ultimately furnished, with respect to the bounds of commercial adventure. It was in a similar manner, from the embarrassments, that were occasioned in the reign of King William by the reformation of the coin, that our politicians first derived a clear and steady light on the subject of metallic circulation. And that curious system, by the operation of which the use of precious coin is now almost superseded, had remained in a great measure unknown to all but the bankers and traders of London, until the suspension of cash payments at the Bank of England produced that copious information, which, in various forms, has been communicated to the public.

Of all the publications, which that momentous event has occasioned, the most valuable unquestionably is this of Mr Thornton. With no ostentatious professions, and with no admixture of superfluous matter, it contains the largest portion of new information that has for a long time been offered to those, who, either for the pleasures of speculation, or with a view to public life, are engaged in the researches of political economy. The instruction, however, which may be derived from the work, is not to be obtained by a cursory or passive perusal. The author has so little management in the disposition of his materials, and is frequently so much embarrassed in the explanation of arguments, that his

reader must undertake the trouble of reducing these to a more precise statement, as well as of digesting the general subject in a more distinct form. Even in point of accuracy, his reasonings are not to be trusted with the same confidence to which his information is entitled; for, if examined with care, they will sometimes be found defective: nor can it excite any surprise, that the same opportunities, by which a person has been eminently instructed in the facts of such a subject, should have proved unfavourable to those speculative habits, which exercise the powers of accurate and comprehensive inference. At the same time, from our own experience, we may caution the reader of Mr Thornton, that he should not too hastily consider as an erroneous deduction, what he may find to be only the confused statement of a just argument. For the work indicates, throughout, an author unpractised in composition. In most of the details separately taken, there is that degree of perspicuity and ease, which shows him to have been fully possessed of the subject; though he rarely attains precision and distinctness of expression. But the various discussions are so unskilfully arranged, that they throw no light on each other, and we can never seize a full view of the plan: so imperfectly is the order of investigation defined, that sometimes an inquiry is prematurely anticipated, sometimes inconveniently postponed; and the author has been frequently constrained, by his consciousness of this imperfection, to repeat the same disquisition in different places. These defects appear to have arisen, in some measure, from his having varied his design, after he was engaged in the execution of the work; for he tells us that his first intention

—'was merely to expose some popular errors which related chiefly to the suspension of the cash payments of the Bank of England, and to the influence of our paper currency on the price of provisions. But in pursuing his purpose, many questions occurred which it seemed important to discuss, partly on account of their having some bearing on the topics under consideration, and partly because they appeared to be of general importance, and had either been left unexplained, or had been inaccurately stated by those English writers who have treated of paper credit. This work has therefore assumed, in some degree, the character of a general treatise.'—*Introd.*

It is to be regretted that it did not receive in every respect the form, as it contains the valuable substance, of a general treatise. Most of the prolixity, and some of the obscurity, which oppress the reader in its present shape, would have been avoided, if the temporary topics, which formed his original object, had been sunk into a subordinate digression, instead of being suffered to interweave themselves with more general inquiries through the whole train of the discourse. Adhering to this distinction, we

shall attempt an abstract of its principal contents: and that we may observe an order which will both afford a clear view of his doctrine, and admit of such remarks being introduced as we think necessary, we shall consider, *first*, The principles which he has adopted on the general theory of paper credit; *secondly*, His account of that system of credit and of paper-money which is established in this country; *thirdly*, His explanation of the difficulties to which the Bank of England was subjected in 1797; and *fourthly*, His opinion with regard to the influence of our present paper currency upon the present state of prices.

I. Although some general truths, respecting the operations of paper money, have been ascertained, the analysis of that very intricate subject is far from being complete. Even the fundamental principles are still involved in some degree of obscurity, and writers of equal authority have thus been led to vary in many of their deductions. It may be useful, therefore, to present a full view of the opinions which are professed by Mr Thornton. In this, we shall not entirely confine ourselves to the three preliminary chapters, in which he has attempted to arrange his general doctrine; because several of the most important principles are not developed in that sketch, but receive an incidental explanation in the course of his subsequent reasonings.

1. The origin, and the solid foundation of every system of paper-money, Mr Thornton has correctly placed in that credit, which subsists among commercial men with regard to their mercantile transactions. By this mutual trust, they are brought under pecuniary engagements to each other; and it is the expression of these engagements in writing, that creates the first and largest portion of circulating paper. By reducing them to a written form, the insecurity, that attends verbal obligations, is avoided by the creditor; and an advantage is obtained, on the other hand, by the debtor, in having that confidence, which is entertained both of his funds and of his prudence, expressed in a regular and transmissible document. Promissory notes and bills of exchange, as such documents have been called, were soon discovered to be susceptible of a more extended use, than that of recovering debts to the original creditor. They admitted, like other instruments of debt, and more easily than most others, of being transferred; and, in consequence of this facility, they came gradually to circulate as a representative of value, that is, as an effective medium of exchange, in almosst all payments of a large amount. After their utility in this function had been ascertained, it was an obvious improvement to adapt them, by a small change of their form, to those ordinary payments in which the precious metals had always been employed; and to substitute, by this simple contrivance, a very cheap in-

strument of commerce in the place of a very expensive one. The promissory notes of bankers, which are payable on demand, have accordingly for a long time past performed, in this country, the ordinary purposes of exchange in almost all transactions of a small amount, as well as in settling the small balances of larger transactions.

This description of circulating paper differs, in one material circumstance, from the opinion of Mr Boyd, who, in his recent publication, has expressly denied that bills of exchange, or any other negotiable paper, form a part of the circulating medium. 'The latter (Mr Boyd has said) is the circulator; the former are merely objects of circulation.' This verbal antithesis, it may be remarked, is calculated to suggest a very erroneous principle; for, even in theory, no definite boundary can be marked between the circulating medium and the commodities of which it facilitates the exchange. The language of Mr Thornton is more consistent with a just view of the subject. All negotiable paper is, by its form, the representative of value; and is therefore qualified, more or less perfectly, according to its varieties of form, to serve the purposes of money. It is convertible into cash; and on the faith of this convertibility it passes immediately as cash. The precious metals themselves do not pass as money, except on the faith of their convertibility into commodities. Paper-money, in one form, may circulate less quickly than in another, and may not be so readily convertible into specie; but its essential character is the same. Not to mention those bills drawn upon London, by which all the great payments of our foreign and domestic commerce are effected; a vast number of smaller bills circulate among the traders of the country, who successively indorse them to each other. While some of these are from day to day withdrawn, they are continually replaced by others; and the average number of such bills, floating in the general market at once, forms unquestionably a portion of the circulating medium. By omitting them, we should leave ourselves a very imperfect idea both of the extent, and of the consequential operations, of our paper system.

2. In common with all other writers, Mr Thornton appears to admit, that the convertibility of paper into specie is the basis upon which that system must be founded. He is not indeed quite explicit; and there is much reason to regret, that he has not been at more pains to elucidate this principle, and the limitations with which the statement of it may be qualified. That the immediate convertibility of paper into gold is an indispensable condition of its credit, as we are taught by the language of system, has been disproved by the recent history of the Bank of England; which has happily quieted the apprehensions, to which

our best informed politicians yielded, on account of the event of 1797. The maintenance of credit during a short interval of suspended payments, was a case, indeed, which might have been foreseen from theory, and was not wholly unknown to our previous experience. But that a restriction of this kind should have been continued for more than five years, without any depreciation of the paper from a failure of confidence, is a fact which has falsified all reasonable prediction, and forms an exception to the most confident maxims of all former economists. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to consider how far we are required to limit, by the result of this experiment, a principle which had been generalized prematurely. In this, we receive slight assistance from Mr Thornton. *

The convertibility of paper into specie, without delay and without loss, may be necessary in two respects: to maintain the credit of the paper, by precluding that depreciation which proceeds from a failure of confidence; and to preserve the value of the paper from that depreciation, which originates in an excess of circulating medium. The necessity of immediate access to gold, for the credit of the paper, may be superseded, it appears, by a full persuasion on the part of the public that the paper is secured by ample funds. But this can have no effect in restricting the quantity, which is, on the contrary, encouraged by this very confidence of the public. Mr Thornton, accordingly, expresses his opinion, that gold coin is the standard by which the value of all paper money must be regulated; and that, in order to maintain an uniformity between them, there should always be a considerable fund of bullion in the country, and a certain degree of interchange of the paper for precious coin. This principle is so implicated with all the investigations of his treatise, and is of itself so important, that we are sorry he did not think of illustrating it more fully, and of reducing it, if possible, to more specific terms.

8. He has explained, however, with great clearness, another part of the theory of money; the different effects of a quick or a slow circulation. Such of our readers, as have attended to the history of opinions in political science, will recollect that a consideration, which now seems quite obvious, was long overlooked by the most acute and profound inquirers. Montesquieu and Hume fell into several mistakes, from not adverting to the degree in which the representative power of money is augmented, by a more rapid transmission; and although the principle may be alluded to, in a few passages of Smith's work, he appears to have been unaware of its extent. We doubt if even the writers,

* Pp. 70. 187. 258. 279.

by whom it has been more recently urged, have traced all the effects of its operation.

The quantity of money, necessary for performing a certain number of exchanges in a certain time, may be considered as nearly in the inverse ratio of its velocity of circulation. Whatever, therefore, tends to accelerate the general rate, contributes, so long as the number of exchanges remains unaugmented, to economize the necessary quantity. And if, by the operation of any cause, its movement be retarded, the want of an additional quantity will be felt. From the same proposition it likewise follows, that, if one kind of money is susceptible of a more rapid circulation than another, a smaller quantity will be required of the former than of the latter, to carry on a given number of exchanges in a given time.

Mr Thornton has justly observed, * that, in a commercial country, whatever the circulating medium consists of, it is apt to vary in its rate of circulation. A high and prosperous state of mercantile confidence quickens it; and it is apt to be retarded, during the intervals of distrust and alarm. Every merchant, who lies under pecuniary engagements, must not only arrange the punctual fulfilment of these, but must reserve a farther provision against contingencies. During an interval of alarm, he of course makes this reserve rather greater than in ordinary times; and at a period of great confidence, he ventures to keep it rather less. We shall perceive, in the sequel, what application Mr Thornton has made of these deductions.

He has likewise observed, † with regard to paper money in particular, that some kinds of paper circulate more slowly than others. Bills of exchange, for example, bear interest, and become daily more valuable to the holder. Bank notes, on the contrary, like guineas, occasion a daily loss to the possessor, because no interest accrues. There is thus a reason for detaining the one, and for parting with the other as soon as possible. Commercial people will endeavour to keep their necessary provision for future payments, rather in bills, than in bank notes.

4. The most important, perhaps, of all questions respecting the operations of paper money, relates to its effect upon the price of commodities. Mr Thornton admits, in the most explicit manner, that, in this particular, there is no difference between a currency of paper and one consisting of the precious metals; and that in both cases, if the quantity of circulating medium is permanently augmented, without a corresponding augmentation of internal trade, a rise will unavoidably take place in the price of exchangeable articles. Indeed this is a principle, upon which

* P. 47. † P. 41.

all the writers on commerce, both practical and speculative, are agreed: they have thought it so undeniable, as to require no particular illustration; and have rather assumed it as an obvious truth, than as a proposition which depended on inference. On this idea is founded Mr Hume's well-known argument against banks; and it is equally implied in Smith's satisfactory confutation of that objection: it forms the foundation of those presumptions, from which Mr Boyd has lately inferred an improper increase of Bank of England paper; and it is implicitly admitted likewise by Mr Thornton, one great object of whose book is to persuade the public that there has been no such increase.

Dr Smith, our readers will recollect, has refuted Mr Hume's notion, that paper-money raises prices, by referring to what he considers as a general fact in the theory of circulation; that every addition of paper to the currency displaces an equivalent quantity of gold. From different parts of Mr Thornton's work a few remarks may be collected, which place this principle in a more correct point of view. The language, in which Smith has described the displacement of gold, is not calculated to convey a very distinct conception of the manner in which it really takes place. The quantity of goods in the market (he says) being precisely the same after the paper is issued as before, the same quantity of money will be sufficient to circulate them: the channel of circulation remaining precisely the same, whatever is poured into it beyond the sum that is sufficient to fill it, cannot run in it, but must overflow: the sum that overflows is too valuable to lie unemployed at home; it will therefore be sent abroad, and, as the paper cannot go abroad, the gold will be exported. * If this statement be literally understood, it involves a statement which is contrary to historical fact; for, by what process did the discovery of the American mines operate upon prices, except by causing a much greater quantity of money to run in the channel of circulation, than had previously been sufficient to circulate the same quantity of goods? Mr Thornton has justly remarked, that the channel of circulation can never be said to be full, because employment is still afforded to a larger quantity of circulating medium by means of an advanced price of goods. 'This advanced price of goods is the same thing as a reduced price of coin: the coin, therefore, in consequence of its reduced price, is carried out of the country for the sake of obtaining for it a better market.' † Thus, the immediate effect of an additition to the paper currency, is a rise of prices, which leads to an exportation of gold. The gold is not immediately displaced, because the circulating medium admits of no aug-

* Wealth of Nations, I. p. 436. † P. 211.

mentation; nor thrown out of the channel of circulation, because that can hold no more; nor sent abroad, because it would otherwise have been altogether unemployed at home. Dr Smith, it is evident, overlooked the intermediate event; and, because the real explanation did not suggest itself, had recourse to the exceptionable style of metaphorical description.—Mr Thornton has another remark, * which suggests a just correction of that general position, by which we exclude altogether any permanent operation of paper money in raising prices, while there is gold in circulation that may be displaced. The same exportation of gold, which remedies the temporary rise that takes place in the particular country where paper has been issued, has a tendency to increase the supply of precious metal in the general market of the world, and thus to occasion a general rise of prices in which that particular country must participate. The whole quantity of bullion, of which Great Britain has spared the use by adopting a different medium of domestic exchange, is added to the general stock of the mercantile commonwealth, as much as if an equal quantity had been brought additionally from America; and the saving of that annual loss, which would have been occasioned by the waste of British coin, is equivalent to an increase in the annual produce of the mines.—But, on the other hand, it must be remembered, that the use of paper money tends, in some degree, to *lower* the price of commodities. In proportion as the instruments of commerce, or the machinery of manufactures, are of a less expensive construction, the articles, which they contribute to produce, may be afforded at a lower rate. To employ paper money instead of gold, is to substitute a very cheap instrument of commerce in the room of a very expensive one. That system of credit, also, of which the limits are greatly extended by the use of paper, tends, as Mr Thornton has observed, † to reduce prices, both by enlarging competition, and by saving the trouble and expense of weighing, counting, and transporting money. The larger transactions of commerce are, by these means, greatly facilitated; and in this instance, as in every other, it is the true interest of the consumer that merchants should be permitted to adopt their own plans of economy.

Although, with these modifications, he admits the position of Dr Smith, that successive additions of paper to the currency will successively displace equivalent portions of gold, this must evidently cease to be true when the circulating medium already consists almost entirely of paper. In such circumstances the successive augmentations that may take place, are not compensated by any corresponding diminution in another part of the circula-

* P. 304. † P. 315. and p. 17.

tion; and the rise of prices, that immediately ensues, is not reduced by a subsequent exportation of gold. While the currency remains in this augmented state, without an increase of trade to absorb the excess, prices will remain high; and if the quantity of paper should still be continually increased, the prices of commodities will continue to rise. The price of bullion must be affected in the same manner, as that of every other article. And in a country, where a system of paper currency has gradually supplanted an ancient system of gold coin, the market price of gold bullion may thus come to exceed that price which was adopted, under the ancient system, by the regulations of the mint.

We perfectly agree with Mr Thornton, that, in a country where gold constitutes an indefinitely small portion of the circulating medium, an excessive issue of paper will raise the market price of gold above its mint price. But the manner, in which he has described the process by which this is effected, appears to us so erroneous, that we shall lay before our readers the passage in which he has explained his opinion. It is rather long for an extract: But it forms a detached dissertation complete in itself; and we could not easily have selected a shorter passage, that would have afforded so just a specimen of the author's general manner. It is unnecessary to point out to our readers, by particular references, the familiar perspicuity with which the facts are separately stated, and the perplexity with which they are combined into a train of reasoning.

'I proceed, in the next place, to show in what manner a general rise in the cost of commodities, whether proceeding from an extravagant issue of paper, or from any other circumstance, contributes to produce an excess of the market price above the mint price of gold.

'It is obvious, that, in proportion as goods are rendered dear in Great Britain, the foreigner becomes unwilling to buy them, the commodities of other countries, which come into competition with ours, obtaining a preference in the foreign market; and, therefore, that, in consequence of a diminution of orders from abroad, our exports will be diminished; unless we assume, as we shall find it necessary to do, that some compensation in the exchange is given to the foreigner for the disadvantage attending the purchase of our articles. But, not only will our exports lessen, in the case supposed; our imports also will increase: for the high British price of goods, will tempt foreign commodities to come in, nearly in the same degree in which it will discourage British articles from going out. I mean only, that these two effects (that of a diminished export, and that of an increased import) will follow, provided that we suppose, what is not supposable, namely, that, at the time when the price of goods is greatly raised in Great Britain, the course of exchange suffers no alteration. For the following reason, I have said, that this is not supposable. Under

the circumstances which have been described, of a diminished export, and an increased import, the balance of trade must unavoidably turn against us; the consequence of which must be, that the drawers of bills on Great Britain, in foreign countries, will become more in number than the persons having occasion to remit bills. This disparity between the number of individuals wanting to draw, and of those wanting to remit, as was remarked in a former chapter, must produce a fall in the price at which the overabundant bills on England fell in the foreign market. The fall in the selling price, abroad, of bills payable here, will operate as an advantage to the foreign buyer of our commodities, in the computation of the exchangeable value of that circulating medium of his own country, with which he discharges the debt in Britain contracted by his purchase. It will thus obviate the dearness of our articles: it will serve as a compensation to the foreigner, for the loss which he would otherwise sustain by buying in our market. The fall of our exchange, will therefore promote exportation, and encourage importation. It will, in a great degree, prevent the high price of goods in Great Britain from producing that unfavourable balance of trade, which, for the sake of illustrating the subject, was supposed to exist.

'The compensation thus made to the foreigner, for the high British price of all articles, is necessary, as an inducement to him to take them; somewhat in the same manner as a drawback, or bounty on exportation, is the necessary inducement to take those particular goods, which have been rendered too dear for the foreign market, by taxes laid on them in this country. In each case, the British consumer pays the high price, and the foreigner is spared, because otherwise he will not accept our commodities.

'The fall in our exchange was just now defined to be an advantage gained in the computation of the exchangeable value of that foreign circulating medium with which the foreigner discharges his debt in Great Britain, a debt paid in the circulating medium of this country. It implies, therefore, a high valuation of his circulating medium, and a low valuation of ours; a low valuation, that is to say, both of our paper and of the coin which is interchanged with it.

'Now, when coin is thus rendered cheap, it by no means follows, that bullion is rendered cheap also. Coin is rendered cheap through its constituting a part of our circulating medium; but bullion does not constitute a part of it. Bullion is a commodity, and nothing but a commodity; and it rises and falls in value, on the same principle as all other commodities. It becomes, like them, dear, in proportion as the circulating medium for which it is exchanged is rendered cheap; and cheap, in proportion as the circulating medium is rendered dear.

'In the case, therefore, which has now been supposed, we are to consider coin as sinking below its proper and intrinsic worth, while bullion maintains its natural and accustomed price. Hence there arises that temptation, which was formerly noticed, either to convert back into bullion, and then to export; or, which is the same thing, to export, and then convert back into bullion; or, which is also the

same thing, to convert back into bullion, and then sell to the Bank, at the price which would be gained by exportation, that gold which the Bank has purchased, and has converted from bullion into coin.

'In this manner, an increase of paper, supposing it to be such as to raise the price of commodities in Britain above the price at which, unless there is some allowance afforded in the course of exchange, they will be received in foreign countries, contributes to produce an excess of the market price above the mint price of gold, and to prevent, therefore, the introduction of a proper supply of it into the Bank of England, as well as to draw out of its coffers, that coin which the directors of the Bank would wish to keep in them.' p. 200.*

Although the whole of this long passage is professedly employed, to explain in what manner an increase of paper produces an excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, a sufficient explanation of that fact is distinctly given in a single sentence of the fifth paragraph: Bullion, like all other commodities, becomes dear in proportion as the circulating medium, for which it is exchanged, is rendered cheap. No other account of the fact can be given; and no farther explanation will be required. Our author, however, has intermingled with this the statement of another very different fact; that fall of the foreign exchange, which might be expected to follow an excessive increase of our paper-money, and of which he seems to have formed an erroneous conception. The mistakes, which are involved in the preceding disquisition, appear to have arisen from his overlooking the distinction, of which in other parts of the work he is aware, between the bullion or general price of goods, and their local price in paper-currency. When the bullion price of our goods rises, that oscillation of the commercial balance, which Mr Thornton has imperfectly described, will certainly be produced, by the tendency of an unfavourable exchange to encourage exports, and by the reciprocal tendency of an increased exportation to restore the equilibrium of exchanges. But it is not the bullion price of goods that is raised by an increase of

* In a subsequent passage, the doctrine is thus summed up—'Let the manner in which an extravagant issue of notes operates, in producing the excess, be recollected. It raises, and probably by slow degrees, the cost of British goods. It thus obstructs the export of them, unless a compensation for the high price is afforded to the foreign buyer, in the rate of exchange; and the variation in our exchange produces a low valuation of our coin, compared with that of bullion. The state of the exchange, then, is the immediate cause of the evil in question.' p. 242. The reader, who may wish to verify our criticisms by examining the original work, will find the same doctrine urged, pp. 271 & 281.

paper-money; which only occasions a rise in the *paper* or *currency* price, and occasions that sort of rise in the price of bullion as well as in that of all other commodities. The bullion price of these will remain, therefore, precisely the same; and although our goods acquire at home a nominal increase of value, they are not rendered dearer to the foreign merchant, who pays for them ultimately in that bullion which is the common measure of his currency and ours. In this point of view, the increase of paper-money appears to have no effect on the balance of exports and imports. There can be no doubt, however, that it will, notwithstanding, have a considerable effect on the apparent course of exchange. By that increase, our currency sinks in its bullion value, and a given sum of it will no longer purchase the same quantity of bullion: but the foreign currency, which is not supposed to have undergone a change, preserves its own bullion value; and a given sum of that will still purchase the same quantity of bullion as before. The proportion, therefore, of the bullion value of our currency to the bullion value of foreign currency, is altered; and, in order to preserve the same apparent rate of exchange, there ought to be a corresponding alteration of the numerical tables in which that rate is expressed. As long as the ancient mode of computation remains still in use, the apparent or computed rate of exchange will be different from the real one; and, whatever may be the actual state of credit or debt, the exchange will always be calculated so much less in our favour, or so much more against us, in proportion to the depreciation which has taken place in the bullion value of our currency. Our general exchanges might thus appear unprosperous, at the very time that the balance of trade was greatly in our favour; and if the issue of paper continued to increase, the exchange would appear to become more and more unfavourable, although the balance of exports and imports had remained unaltered. The difference, therefore, between the two cases, which Mr Thornton appears to have confounded, is very distinct. When the local rise of the price of goods consists in an actual increase of their bullion price, a real fall of the foreign exchange will generally take place, and will *occasion*, by the demand for bullion to be exported, a fluctuating excess of the market price above the mint price of gold. But when an excessive issue of paper money produces a nominal rise of prices, a nominal fall of the foreign exchange will always take place, and is a *consequence* of that steady excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, which originated immediately in the excessive issue of paper. The importance of the error, into which we imagine Mr Thornton to have fallen, will justify the length of these observations; to which we shall only add, that the operation of an excessive paper-cur-

rency, upon prices and upon the course of exchange, must be the same as that of a debasement of the coin, either by waste, or by the recent fraud of government *.

5. We shall conclude this first part of our abstract with some criticisms on another passage, in which Mr Thornton has not given a very satisfactory confutation of a popular prejudice, which however prevails so much, that the real fallacy of it ought to be explained.

'Some persons are of opinion, that, when the custom of buying on credit is pushed very far, and a great quantity of individual dealings is in consequence carried on by persons having comparatively little property, the national commerce is to be considered as unsupported by a proper capital; and that a nation, under such circumstances, whatever may be its ostensible riches, exhibits the delusive appearance of wealth.

'It must, however, be remembered, that the practice of buying on credit, in the internal commerce of the country, supposes the habit of selling on credit also to subsist; and to prevail, on the whole, in an exactly equal degree. In respect to the foreign trade of a country, the practice of dealing on credit indicates poverty or riches, in proportion as the credit generally taken is longer or shorter than the credit given. The custom which tradesmen have of selling to the consumers on credit, is also an indication of wealth in the commercial world: the traders must possess a surplus of wealth, either their own or borrowed, which bears an exact proportion to the amount of debts due to them by the consumers. Thus, that practice of trading on credit which prevails among us, so far as it subsists between trader and trader, is an indication neither of wealth nor of poverty in the mercantile body; so far as it respects our transactions with foreign countries, it is an indication of extraordinary wealth belonging to the merchants of Great Britain; and so far as it respects the trade between the retailer and the consumer, implies a deficiency of wealth in the consumers, and a proportionate surplus of it among commercial men. The existing customs imply, that, on the whole, there is among our traders a great abundance of wealth.' p. 18.

This passage has all the formality of analytical reasoning, but furnishes no answer to the objection which the author professes to obviate; for no inference, against that objection, can be derived from the distinctions which he has marshalled in such methodical order. Overlooking, in his attempt to dispel a popular error, the real misconception from which it proceeds, he has unwarily assumed another principle no less fallacious. The credit, which this country gives to foreigners, is unquestionably the consequence of accumulated capital; but we have no proof of the assertion, that the credits of our home trade are equalized; and we are quite unable to understand his inference, that the credit, which traders

* See the Wealth of Nations, II. p. 215.

allow to the consumers, implies in the latter a deficiency of wealth. But it is unnecessary to examine these positions more closely, because we have no doubt, that the balance of credits would be found, as a measure of national wealth, no less erroneous, and still more unmanageable, than that estimate of the precious metals which was long ago abandoned. At any rate, a more direct mode must be sought of correcting the very false opinion, that a nation, in which the system of commercial credit is established, 'exhibits only a delusive appearance of wealth.'

It is the operation of credit, not directly to augment the national capital, but to distribute it among those who undertake to employ it productively. The actual state of credit, therefore, does not indicate the amount of that capital, but the manner in which it is distributed. At different times, a part of the national capital may be entrusted in the hands of traders more or less qualified to employ it prudently, and in that respect it may occasionally be exposed to a less or greater degree of hazard. During a period of excessive confidence, therefore, instead of considering 'the national commerce as unsupported by a proper capital,' we are to consider a part of the national capital as injudiciously employed. The imprudent investiture of loans, however, is evidently a very different thing from the creation of fictitious capital. The latter cannot be effected by mercantile credit; and the former is an evil, which, though the system is occasionally liable to it, can never be of very long duration. That system is reared up, by the necessities of commerce, for the most effective employment of capital; and those necessities adjust it, with tolerable exactness, between the limits of enterprise and caution. Wherever it has long been established to a great extent, there cannot be a more unequivocal proof, both of the solidity of the national capital, and of the prudence as well as skill with which it is employed.

II. Such, unquestionably, must be the conviction of every person, who puts himself in possession of the information that is contained in Mr Thornton's book, with respect to the present circumstances of our own country. It is upon this branch of the subject, that his communications are most satisfactory. The details might indeed have been rendered still more minute, without violating the consistency of his plan; but students of political philosophy will highly value the sketch, rude as it is, which he has drawn of our established system. While nothing can more immediately contribute, than the publicity of that system, in all its operations, to extend and strengthen the confidence on which it is solidly built: such dissected exhibitions of our commercial economy prepare, with necessary knowledge, those more active citizens who undertake the discussion of the

national counsels. And the speculative politician, in receiving the legitimate materials of his science, may applaud the diligence that secures, while the original is yet entire, a delineation of that structure, which, after the revolutions of trade, will be seen only in the records of history. We shall attempt no more than a superficial outline of the description that might be formed out of Mr Thornton's materials.

The Bank of England may be considered as the main-spring of that complicated mechanism, by which the commercial payments of this country are transacted; and by which that comparatively small sum of money, with which they are performed, is kept in perpetual and regular circulation. The subordinate parts of this machine consist of about 70 private banking houses in London, and about 386 banks dispersed over the country. By the joint operation of these various money-dealers, almost all large payments, founded on commercial bargains, are ultimately settled in London, with the money which issues from the bank of England. This money consists, in ordinary times, partly of precious coin, partly of bank notes. From its large capital and extended issue of paper, that Bank indirectly supplies the whole kingdom with as much gold as is required for circulation. Its notes are issued in loans, granted either for the accommodation of the public treasury, or for that of merchants by discount of their bills; and in consequence of a common agreement among the bankers, no notes of any private house are current in London. All the large payments of that metropolis are, in this manner, effected by the paper of the Bank of England; and they are chiefly transacted by the private bankers, who, according to a conjectural estimate, make daily payments to the amount of four or five millions, and have probably in their hands a very large proportion of the whole of the notes circulating in the metropolis. *

The commerce of London itself is immense, not only as a seat of populous and luxurious consumption, but as a station of manufactures, and an emporium of maritime trade. The number of payments, occasioned by such various transactions, is farther increased by the dividends which the national creditors receive on the great sum of our public debt. But in addition to all these payments, originating within the capital itself, bills are drawn upon London, and remittances are sent there to provide for them, from all quarters of the kingdom. Even foreign drafts, on account of merchants in the country, are, with scarcely any exceptions, made payable in London. And thus a great proportion of the pecuniary engagements, to which the

* Pp. 60. 74. 154.

whole commerce of the kingdom gives birth, are ultimately settled there. †

This transference of the country payments to London, has, in some degree, subsisted for a long time; the practice, once begun, was likely, from its great advantages, to be gradually extended; and of late years it seems to have been reduced to a regular and very commodious system. It was much facilitated by the multiplication of country banks, during that period of high prosperity and confidence which immediately preceded the late war. The formation of these, all over the country, was actively encouraged by the private bankers of London; and indeed the existence of a great national bank, which, like that of England, must provide a constant reservoir of gold, naturally suggests the creation of smaller establishments. Upon the formation of such banks in the country, many traders of all descriptions, who had formerly maintained a direct correspondence with merchants in London, fell into the practice of transacting their business with the metropolis, through the banker in their own neighbourhood, with whom they kept their cash. On their account, he drew largely upon a banker in London; who agreed to execute the extensive country business he had thus acquired, at a much lower commission, than what had formerly been paid by the several country traders to their separate correspondents. The rate of commission was reduced, in consequence of the diminished trouble as well as risk: the labour of keeping accounts, writing letters, receiving and paying bills, was now transferred to one house, which had before been divided among many; and a new security was afforded to the transactions between the metropolis and the country, by the interposed credit of wealthy and respectable country banks. *

The establishment of such a system of banks, and the transference of ultimate payments to one particular place, are in the natural course of that progressive subdivision of labour, which extends itself over an opulent and industrious country. The receipt and payment of money, instead of being conducted at home, are transferred, by every trader, to his banker; who devises means both of abridging his own labour, and of economizing the use of money, especially of that costly part of it which consists of specie. By his skill and success in attaining these objects, he manages an important part of trade, at an expense far inferior to what the merchants themselves must have incurred, had they continued to conduct it separately by their own clerks. In proportion, likewise, as the amount and number of payments and receipts is augmented in one particular place, the business of pay-

† P. 59. * Pp. 60. 155. 160.

ing and receiving is more easily and cheaply transacted: the guineas or bank notes required, though more upon the whole, are fewer in proportion to the sums paid and received. So complete, accordingly, and so systematic is that economy in the use of notes, which long experience has introduced among the London bankers, that the present payments of that metropolis could scarcely be transacted, with due regularity, if the quantity of notes were to suffer any considerable diminution. In this, they are assisted by the fitness of bills of exchange and government securities to supply the place of bank notes: for the interest, that grows on such negotiable paper while it is detained, saves all the loss which the banker would undergo from the detention of coin or notes; and there is a certain sort and quantity of bills, on the conversion of which into money, he may rely almost as confidently as on the changing of a note into guineas, or of a guinea into silver. The ingenuity of these money-dealers, in sparing the circulating medium, is aptly illustrated by a custom which prevails among the city bankers. Each of them sends a clerk, at an appointed hour in the afternoon, to a room provided for their use. Each clerk there exchanges the drafts on other bankers received at his own house, for the drafts on his own house received at the houses of other bankers. The balances of the several bankers are transferred from one to another, in a manner which it is unnecessary to explain in detail, and the several balances are finally wound up by each clerk into one balance. The difference between the whole sum which each banker has to pay to all other city bankers, and the whole sum which he has to receive from all other city bankers, is, therefore, all that is discharged in bank notes or money; a difference, evidently, much less in its amount than that to which the several differences would be equal. *

But the economized use of circulating medium is by no means the only collateral advantage, that arises from this system of banks, connected in subordination to each other, with the great national Bank at their head. Although a very few of the country establishments have occasionally subjected themselves to the charge of encouraging rash speculation, the system, in its complex operation, has a real tendency to strengthen as well as to enlarge the basis of credit. Bankers possess, from their situation, very superior means of distinguishing the careful trader from the improvident. The bill transactions of the neighbourhood pass under their inspection; and by this information they are enabled to measure out confidence very nearly in a just proportion. In fact, it is considered as a regular branch of their professional experi-

* Pp. 28. 39. 55. *note.* 60. 75. 164.

ence, that they should appretiate the credit of the various traders within their district of circulation; and this sort of practical sagacity they are understood to cultivate with great assiduity. It is said to be the general practice of banks, to communicate such intelligence for their mutual advantage. Each of them endeavours to limit, not only the sum which any one trader shall obtain from themselves, but the total amount also, so far as they are able, of the sum which the same person shall borrow in different places. They endeavour, above all, to discourage bills of accommodation. While the transactions of country traders are thus surveyed by the banks of their respective districts, those of the country banks themselves are subject to the view of the London bankers, their correspondents; and these, again, are in some degree controuled by the Bank of England, which restricts, according to its own discretion, the credit with which they are accommodated. A series of checks is thus maintained, which, though far from establishing a complete security against all injurious speculation, presents a powerful obstacle to its progress. *

But the Bank of England retains another check, of a highly important nature, over the banks in the country. The issue of its own notes is restricted, in ordinary times, by the obligation to convert them into specie. The quantity of country paper, even during the present times, is limited by its accustomed convertibility into the notes of the Bank of England. This is the opinion of Mr Boyd† as well as of Mr Thornton; but the latter has more minutely explained the manner, in which he conceives the effect to be produced. If a particular country banker is imprudent enough to issue an extraordinary quantity of paper, while that of the Bank of England does not exceed the demands of London circulation, a local rise of prices will be produced within the district of that country paper, but prices in London will remain as before. In this situation, the holders of country paper, in order that they may purchase goods where they are cheaper, will return that paper to the banker, demanding in return Bank of England notes, or at least bills upon London. The excess of his notes will thus be continually returned upon the country banker, and he will at length find himself under the necessity of limiting his issue to that quantity, which the circulation of his own district can absorb. The quantity of Bank of England paper may thus be said to regulate the quantity of that which is issued by the country banks. It is not, that one uniform ratio is maintained between these two quantities; but that both are in the same proportion to the demand that is created

* P. 165. † Letter to Mr Pitt, p. 20. 2d *edit.*

for each, by the trade which it is destined to circulate. Whenever the Bank of England paper happens to exceed what is required for the purposes of London circulation, the country paper may become excessive in the same degree. And such an excess of Bank of England paper may be produced, either by a diminution in the number of payments, while that of notes remains undiminished; or by whatever has a tendency, while the number of payments remains unaugmented, to augment the number or the effective power of the notes in circulation. *

Having taken this general survey of our system of credit and circulation in its ordinary state, while its movements are regular, we shall now direct our attention to the disorders of which it is occasionally susceptible, either from external accident, or from inherent defects. In consequence of the mutual connexion that subsists among its parts, and the subordination of all to the Bank of England, those disorders sometimes pervade the whole system, and embarrass the operations even of the great establishment at the head. It is of national importance, that that body should be ready to adopt, under the pressure of such circumstances, an enlightened and salutary policy.

How solidly soever the foundations of mercantile credit may be laid, both in public confidence and in the real security of responsible funds, it is apt to be shaken by that consternation which is apt to spread, after a succession of commercial bankruptcies, or during the alarms of war. At such a period, it has been particularly found, that the notes of country banks, which chiefly circulate among consumers and petty dealers, have fallen into distrust with that large portion of the people. If one bank should fail, a run upon all those in the neighbourhood immediately takes place, and diffuses general distress. Such of the country bankers, as are most prudent, adopt a preventive caution, by limiting, of their own accord, the issue of their notes; and all of them are forced to enlarge that fund of cash, with which they may be prepared to answer demands. In consequence of these operations, an additional quantity of gold and of Bank of England notes must be carried down from London into the country, both to supply that void in the channel of circulation from which the discredited country notes have been thrown out, and to form that additional reserve which the bankers must keep in their coffers. But the money-dealers and traders of the capital will, in some degree, participate that consternation to which the whole country has given way: it will appear to them also a necessary precaution, that they should enlarge

* p. 216, &c.

their fund against contingencies, and keep a larger supply of Bank of England notes than they find necessary in ordinary times. By these multiplied hoards, as well as by the quantity of cash sent into the country, the circulating money of the metropolis must suffer a very great diminution. But it was previously no more than sufficient to effect the necessary payments; and on the punctual discharge of these, the whole commercial credit of the kingdom depends. Unless the Bank of England, therefore, which is the source of circulating medium, shall, in these circumstances, consent to enlarge its issue of paper, a general subversion and ruin of that credit may take place; but if it adopts such a measure seasonably, and in the proportion which the new demands of the circulation require, the mischief may cease after a slight and temporary inconvenience. Beside this remedial policy, which can only be adopted after the evil has been felt to some extent, that body, in order to be prepared against such an event, ought to keep at all times in its treasury such an additional quantity of gold, as may be sufficient to meet this extraordinary demand, and to supply the place of those country notes that are liable to be extinguished. But although such appears to be the real policy of that institution, we can scarcely be surprised if it has not always very clearly understood it to be so, and has sometimes evinced a reluctance to pursue this line of conduct. The task of supplying gold to all the country banks, under the expense with which the collection of it is frequently attended, may be considered indeed as imposed upon the Bank of England by that monopoly, which compensates this hardship by other advantages. But to enlarge the issue of their paper, at the very time that their fund of gold is diminishing, is a measure, which would confessedly be imprudent in every inferior establishment, and which on that account the directors of the great bank have not always perceived that they were warranted, by the peculiarity of their situation, to adopt, as the real means of checking the drain of their gold. Some of the circumstances, which distinguished the memorable year 1793, illustrate at once the soundness of the policy which is here described, and the very recent period at which the bank still showed itself insufficiently aware of it. In the distress of that year, the Bank of England was unwilling to extend its aid to the country banks, or to augment the issue of its own paper. Several opulent houses, that applied for assistance, were refused discounts, because they did not offer London securities; but the important failures, which immediately ensued, proved that the relief of the country was necessary to the solvency of the metropolis. The pressure originated in an extraordinary demand for guineas in the country; but the want of bank notes in London soon became the principal evil. The notes, previously

in circulation, were not below the usual number; but that was rendered, by a slower circulation, insufficient for the necessary payments. As the Bank of England did not think proper to enlarge the quantity of its paper, a remedy of exactly the same kind was administered by Parliament. A loan of Exchequer bills was directed to be made, to as many mercantile persons, giving proper security, as should apply; and it is a most interesting fact, that credit began to recover itself some time before those bills were actually delivered. The very expectation of this supply of an article, which almost any trader might obtain, and then convert it into bank notes and guineas, diffused an idea of general solvency. The punctuality of the London payments being restored, the distress of the whole country was gradually removed. Of the five millions, which the Exchequer had been authorized by Parliament to advance, not one half was taken, and no part was lost; on the contrary, a profit resulted to Government, from the small compensation of additional interest, which was paid by the borrowers. This seasonable measure was not understood at the time, and was opposed on some grounds of constitutional jealousy; but the result of its operation has cast a steady light on our actual system of circulation, and on the true policy of the national bank. In future seasons of alarm, it may reasonably be expected, that the directors of that body will prove less timid; as it is to be hoped, that experience has taught the country banks to enlarge their usual provision of convertible funds. *

The most serious danger, to which the Bank of England itself is exposed, is that of being drained of its specie. It may be subjected to such a drain, as is intimated in the preceding observations, in consequence of that alarm which occasions a great demand for guineas, either to be hoarded, or to supply the place of paper thrown out of circulation. Indeed, if the alarm is of long continuance, and the Bank maintains in circulation no more than its usual quantity of notes, it may be altogether exhausted of its guineas, however small that quantity of notes may be; because if these are always re-issued in loans upon the discount of bills, they may be perpetually returned upon the Bank in demand for more specie. Let the alarm be great enough, and of sufficient duration; and the Bank, by maintaining only a million of notes in circulation, may, by the continual return of these, be exhausted of fifty millions of guineas. But, in general, a more permanent cause of a run upon the Bank of England for specie, is the excess of the market price of gold above its mint price. In former times, this was occasioned by the debased state of gold currency; and the Bank was obliged to submit to the accumulated and provoking expense of coining

* Pp. 49. 71—96. 172—187.

new guineas, which were immediately melted down, that the bullion might be sold to the Bank itself at the high market price. Since the gold currency was reformed, a temporary excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, has been produced by a temporary disadvantage in the balance of foreign trade; that having been occasioned sometimes by the large importations of grain after a deficient harvest, and more frequently by unproductive exportations to defray the expenses of war, or the subsidies to foreign allies. In whatever manner the high price of gold is produced, immediate demands are made upon the Bank for guineas, in order to export them. These it endeavours to replace, though gold cannot be purchased without a considerable loss. A most unequal competition will thus be established, between the Bank, on the one hand, which buys and coins at a great loss, and the clandestine dealers, on the other hand, who melt and sell at a great profit. It will no longer be necessary for the latter to export more gold, than what is above the immediate demand of the Bank: the operation will now be confined to London; the melters and coiners living upon the same spot, and affording constant employment to each other. If the unfavourable balance of trade, which has caused this high price of bullion, were not of a temporary nature, the Bank of England, by this continued accumulation of unproductive expense, might ultimately be reduced to very great distress. And if an unfavourable balance, originating in the expenses of foreign warfare or alliance, should at any time be loaded with the additional payments of a larger importation of grain, while the embarrassments of the national Bank were still farther aggravated by domestic alarm and a general disorder of mercantile credit; under such a combination of inauspicious circumstances, the usual means of prudence and the rules of ordinary policy might be expected to fail, and necessity would be left to justify those desperate measures which it might suggest. *

But this excess of the market price of gold above its mint price, may likewise be produced, as we formerly explained, by too great a quantity of paper-money. The Bank indeed, as it has also been shown, has the power of restricting the country paper, by limiting its own notes to those which are actually needed for the purposes of circulation. It has, therefore, the power in a great degree of preventing that high price of gold, and the consequent drain of its own guineas, which proceed from an excessive circulation of paper. So long as the Bank is liable to payments in specie, it has thus an evident interest to prevent its own paper, as well as that of the whole country, from being so excessive, as to occasion a rise in the price of commodities. To understand this

* Pp. 90. 115—153.

clearly, and to attend carefully to its operation, forms a very important branch of the policy of the Bank of England. As its notes are issued in loans to the merchants, it can only limit the extent of that issue, by restricting the amount of the loans. Hence it appears, that the Bank ought to regulate the total amount of its loans, with a view to the quantity of circulating medium, independent altogether of the solvency and opulence of those who wish to become borrowers, and of the character of the bills that are offered for discount. There may be a disposition among very rich traders, to borrow a sum far exceeding what it would be proper for the Bank to lend, although it entertained no doubt of punctual repayment. But, by the laws that confine the rate of interest, and which still remain in force after every competent judge has been long convinced of their uselessness and inconvenience, the Bank of England is deprived of the most natural and simple means of restricting the amount of its loans. It is prohibited, even in time of war, from demanding an interest of more than five *per cent.*, which is the rate at which it discounts during peace. This has generally been found sufficient, during peace, to limit the demand upon the Bank for loans; because mercantile profits are then low, from the abundance of capital, and the activity of competition. The applications for discounts have often, during such a period, fallen short of what the Bank was really disposed to afford. But in time of war, the rate of mercantile profit, from the scarcity of capital, is extremely high. There is an irresistible temptation, therefore, to borrow from the Bank at a cheap rate, that the great profits may be gained upon a commercial employment of the money. Accordingly, in time of war, and especially during the last years of it, the directors have often been subjected to very earnest and clamorous solicitations for discount. Were they permitted to raise their rate of interest, it would follow that of mercantile profit, and the demand upon the Bank for loans, would at all times be accompanied by an effectual principle of limitation. But under the existing prohibitions of law, the directors are forced to have recourse to the expedient of specifying, according to their discretion, the total sum which they will at any one time venture to lend to the merchants. According to a recent determination of their court, this sum is specified weekly, in order that they may have a frequent opportunity of varying it, according to the fluctuation of circumstances. *

To limit the total amount of paper issued, and to resort, whenever the temptation of borrowing is strong, to some effectual principle of restriction; never to diminish greatly the sum in circulation, but to let it vibrate only within certain limits; to afford

* Pp. 147. 246. 283.

a slow and cautious extension of it, as the general trade of the country is enlarged; and to permit a temporary increase during an extraordinary period of difficulty or alarm: this, in the language of Mr Thornton, is the true policy of the directors of an institution, placed in the circumstances of the Bank of England. *

We have thus collected, from various passages of Mr Thornton's discourse, the general lineaments of that system of credit and circulation, which is at present established; refraining from the insertion of any criticisms that might have interrupted the description. Some parts of his account are not sufficiently dilated, to convey precise information; and others, in which some reasoning is implicated with the statements of fact, cannot be admitted without hesitation. But we are not confident enough in our knowledge of the subject, to enter into these minute corrections. One general remark, however, which was strongly impressed upon ourselves by the facts of the preceding narrative, we cannot forbear to express, although it does not lie within the scope of Mr Thornton's discussions. If the Bank of England must now be considered as a national establishment, not merely influencing, by the superior magnitude of its capital, the state of commercial circulation, but guiding its movements according to views of public policy, an important revolution has taken place since the first erection of that corporation as a banking establishment. That power of issuing the medium of exchange, with the opportunities it implies of varying its quantity and value, which, while precious coin was in use, was exercised under the immediate prerogative of the Crown, is now virtually invested in the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England. In the official character of that Board, some of the functions of sovereignty are united to those of a trader; and the opportunities of banking profits are blended with a trust and charge of the public interest. It will be pleasing, if these shall prove more happily compatible, than they have been found in other instances. The organization of this establishment, possessed of such means to control the operations of commerce, as well as to facilitate the advance of financial supplies, may, into our political constitution already so complicated, introduce a new principle of action, the effect of which cannot be clearly discerned. Perhaps, an unbounded field will be opened for the extension of ministerial influence. Perhaps, an unexpected control may be gained to the people, over the views and measures of the executive.

III. In the foregoing view of the dangers to which the Bank is occasionally exposed, our readers must have already perceived

* P. 295.

the account which Mr Thornton gives of the embarrassments, that led to the memorable order of Council in February 1797. The suspension of cash payments was an event, in his opinion, to which the national Bank was liable from its very nature; the probability of which has been too studiously concealed; and to the recurrence of which we may look forward. * The gold, in the coffers of the Bank, had been much reduced by the effect of an unfavourable balance of trade. The alarms of invasion had led to the failure of some country banks in the North of England; this occasioned a farther demand for guineas from the Bank, and a diminution in the circulating notes of London. The Directors aggravated the distress, and augmented the demand for guineas, by unadvisedly suppressing some of their notes, instead of enlarging the quantity. †

We cannot entertain a doubt, that these were the principal causes of embarrassment; but that other circumstances at the same time co-operated, which Mr Thornton has rather too anxiously avoided to mention. Under the unfavourable balance of trade, which he notices by this general expression, we must include the effect of foreign subsidies. And we suspect that that diminution in the quantity of notes, which the merchants could command, was not altogether owing to an ignorance, on the part of the Directors, of the proper remedy for the existing evil. Mr Thornton indeed employs several elaborate pages, ‡ to relieve the Bank from every degree of blame, on account of its loans to Government. But this appears quite ineffectual against the evidence which was laid before Parliament, of the sentiments which the Directors themselves entertained. In various resolutions of their Court, and in letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they stated the serious apprehensions, as well as the actual embarrassment, which they felt from their unprecedented advances on Treasury bills; and, in their memorial to the Cabinet, they described it as an unconstitutional mode of raising money, to which they were not warranted by their charter to consent. After this, it is vain for any advocate of the Bank, now to maintain, that those loans were altogether free from imprudence or culpability. At the same time we are ready to acknowledge, what was not very distinctly perceived in the first discussions of this event, that the loans to Government had no *direct* tendency to produce the particular distress, which was relieved by the restriction of payments. That consisted, unquestionably, in the progressive drain of specie; which those loans neither occasioned nor increased, because they were paid into the Exchequer in notes. This run upon the Bank for specie, was chiefly occasioned by the deficient quantity of money in circulation; which

* Pp. 146. 247. † Pp. 72. 95. ‡ P. 96—111.

the advances to Government, in their direct operation, rather contributed to repair, because the notes were of course issued from the Exchequer almost immediately into the market. But at the same time it must be remarked, though Mr Thornton seems studiously to have kept this out of view, that, by their indirect and unavoidable operation, these loans of the Bank to Government contributed to aggravate that distress of the circulation, which was mainly produced by other causes. For some time prior to the suspension of payments, the Bank of England had limited its discount of commercial paper. To this hurtful measure it was undoubtedly obliged to have recourse, in consequence of having granted a much greater accommodation to Government than it was warranted to give, which imposed the prudential necessity of giving less accommodation to the merchants than it had been accustomed to afford. Such a diminution of discounts could not occur at any period, without producing a certain degree of mercantile distress, both by the disappointment of payments actually promised, and by interrupting the usual course of pecuniary arrangements. But at that particular juncture, a great distress already subsisted, which the conduct of the Bank towards the merchants had a necessary tendency to aggravate. A similar diminution of the Bank discounts, by narrowing the facilities of credit, would at any time render the existing quantity of circulating medium less adequate, than before, to the necessities of the market. At that particular juncture, money was already deficient, from the operation of other causes; and became still more inadequate to its necessary purposes, when a restriction of credit took place, which both rendered a greater quantity of money requisite to drive the same trade, and retarded the circulation of that already in the market. While we agree with Mr Thornton, therefore, that the loans to Government could not tend to diminish the sum of notes in circulation; we must contend against him, that they did tend to distress the circulation, by rendering that sum of notes less adequate to the wants of commerce, than if they had flowed into the market through the usual channel of discounts. He asserts, on the contrary, that 'it is the total quantity of circulating notes, and not the manner in which they come into circulation, that is the material point:' but nothing can be more unsatisfactory and cumbrous, than the illustrations by which he labours to expound this very fallacious position. It is indeed inconsistent with the fundamental principles, which are elucidated by all the reasonings and tenor of his book.

The suspension of payments in specie was properly continued, according to Mr Thornton, from the permanence of those circumstances which rendered it originally necessary: an unfavourable

exchange, produced partly by our heavy expenditures, but chiefly aggravated by vast importations of corn; and the prevalence, till the eve of peace, of alarms about hostile invasions. * It is not altogether superfluous to remark, that the restriction of payments, until after the cessation of hostilities, was provided for by law, long before those deficient harvests had been felt, to which so great a portion of this necessity is ascribed. And the continuance of the suspension was officially justified in Parliament, upon the alleged, but not very intelligible, ground of resisting certain designs of the enemy to ruin our public credit. The whole circumstances of the measure, both in the first event and in its subsequent renewal, in the arguments that were publicly urged to prove its necessity, and in the explanation which Mr Thornton has given of its nature, conspire to prove that it originated in the direct consequences of the war itself; although this view of the subject was most earnestly discountenanced at the time.

IV. In the first part of our abstract, we explained Mr Thornton's opinion, that an extravagant issue of paper will raise the price of commodities, and depreciate the currency in its bullion value. He has therefore admitted the general principles, from which Mr Boyd and others have inferred that the Bank of England has, within the last few years, issued an excessive quantity of paper. Against the validity of that inference, however, he contends that, in point of fact, the Bank of England has not extended the number of its notes, since the suspension of its cash payments; and that the rise of prices and depreciation of currency, from which that enlargement has been presumed, may arise from other causes. Among such causes, he mentions the necessary influence of war, of accumulated taxes, and of a scarcity continued for two years, in raising the price of all commodities; and the effect of an immense importation of corn in turning the exchange against us, and thus raising the market price of gold. That all of these circumstances have cooperated in raising prices, we have no doubt; but we are by no means satisfied that they are adequate to explain the whole effect. War, it must be observed, and taxes, and a scarcity of provisions in its direct operation, increase the real or bullion price of goods, and have no tendency to produce an excess of the market above the mint price of gold. The importation of grain, by turning the balance of trade against us, does tend to produce that excess; but the excess, which we have lately witnessed, has been perhaps both too great and too permanent to be explained wholly in this manner. We doubt extremely, if it could have been produced without that depreciation of our currency, which originates in excessive quantity.

* P. 143.

Mr. Thornton, however, has endeavoured to show †, that the circulating paper of the Bank of England does not in fact amount now to a greater sum than, upon an average of years, was in circulation before the suspension of cash payments. Upon an average of three years, ending in December 1795, their amount, according to the evidence laid before Parliament, was 11,975,573*l.* By a subsequent statement presented to the House of Commons, they amounted in December 1800, to 15,450,970*l.* From the difference between these two sums, however, Mr Thornton insists that we ought to deduct the amount of two millions, consisting of one and two pound notes, which have displaced, he alleges, in the circulation, an equal sum of guineas. After this deduction, there still remains the sum of 1,475,397*l.*, by which the Bank paper exceeded, in 1800, its average amount before the suspension of cash payments. But in the spring of 1801, the Governor of the Bank stated to the House of Commons, that the Company had reduced its notes to a sum less, by about a million and a half, than their amount in the preceding December. Whether this evidence, under all the assumptions which it involves, may be considered as completely satisfactory, in opposition to the presumptions that are warranted by the general argument, we shall not venture to pronounce. We may suggest, however, to our readers, the propriety of adding to the foregoing statement, a fact of which we are apprised by Mr Thornton ‡, that the enumeration of *country banks* taken in 1800, differed from that taken in 1797, by the excess of 386 above 353. And to those who recollect that Mr Boyd's pamphlet was published on 31st December 1800, it will not fail to occur as a circumstance which that gentleman might plausibly urge as a confirmation of his reasonings, that in the course of the three months immediately ensuing, the Bank thought it expedient to call in a million and a half of its notes.

We have expressed ourselves with unaffected doubt, with regard to this alleged dependence of the present rate of prices on the present state of paper currency, because it appears to us a problem, of which a satisfactory solution has not yet been offered. According to that view of the question, indeed, which seems to us the most correct as well as the most simple, a sufficient answer will be assigned, if the excess of the market price of gold above its mint price shall be found to continue, notwithstanding the permanent restoration of the balance of trade to its accustomed preponderancy in our favour. In the mean time, we should be glad to see the fact itself, of which the origin and cause are thus anxiously sought, perspicuously stated under its most necessary distinctions and limitations. It may perhaps be

† P. 225. ‡ P. 155.

in the power of those, who have paid attention to such minute but valuable details, to date the first appearances of this recent increase of prices, and to trace its progressive diffusion over all the relations of internal exchange. In such a statement, it would be necessary, likewise, to specify in what proportion this rise is locally confined to our own island, or common to us with the Continent of Europe; and to distinguish in what proportion that local rise consists of a real increase in the bullion price, and of a nominal increase only in the currency price.

ART. XXVI. *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.* By John Playfair, F. R. S. Edinburgh, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1802. pp. 528.

No species of physical research, perhaps, is involved in greater intricacy, or productive of greater ambiguity of deduction, than that which respects the constitution and history of our globe. So boundless is the number, and so diversified is the nature of the facts necessary to the prosecution of such an inquiry; and to so short a distance are we yet removed from the period when mineralogical phenomena first derived explication from chemistry, that attempts to form a theory of the earth may be considered rather as exercises for fanciful and speculative minds, than as sources of improvement to useful science. It cannot be denied, however, that observations accumulate but slowly when unassisted by the influence of system. The observer never proceeds with more ardour than when he theorizes; and every effort to verify, or disprove particular speculations, necessarily leads to the evolution of new facts, and to the extension of the limits of real knowledge. Hence, it seems to be the business of philosophy, rather to point out the imperfections, to detect the errors, to restrain the presumptuousness of the theorist, than to extinguish altogether a spirit, which, however incomplete and insufficient may be the materials on which it has to work, must at least facilitate generalization, and render the approach to truth less tedious.

The Huttonian theory of the earth, which it is the object of the volume before us to explain and support, is not referable to either of those classes into which geological treatises have been commonly divided. Its author cannot be considered either as a *Vulcanist* purely, or a *Neptunist*, since he has asserted the agency both of fire and water, in his system. That system supposes the materials which compose our globe to have once existed in an elementary or unmixed state, and to have acquired their present arrangement in consequence of the continued action of wa-

ter on former continents, of which they are the ruins. The consolidation of these compound substances is asserted to have been effected by subterraneous heat; and we are to imagine the expansive power of the same irresistible agent to have since elevated the *strata* from the bottom of the sea, and to have given them the various inclinations to the horizon which they now exhibit. Those substances which are unstratified, (as metallic veins, granite, whinstone, &c.) owe their origin to perfect fusion; whereas, the stratified bodies have been, in general, only softened by heat, or penetrated by melted matter. In the same manner as the present continents were formed from the disintegration and corrosion of prior rocks, so are they supposed to be gradually giving back their materials to the sea, from which new continents are hereafter to emerge, manifesting a series of changes similar to the past.

Grand, simple, and original as is the view which this system presents, it cannot boast of being exempt from many forcible objections. It has, accordingly, drawn forth formidable opponents; and De Luc, Kirwan, Werner, with other eminent mineralogists, have headed the sect of the *Neptunists*, and proposed an hypothesis wholly at variance with the leading positions both of the *Vulcanists*, and of the *Huttonians*. Let us see with what success Mr Playfair vindicates the doctrines of the latter.

The very basis of this theory depends upon a postulate, that might well be supposed to startle a sober inquirer, viz. the supposition of a perpetual central heat, capable of melting limestone by its intensity, and of elevating continents by its expansion. Now, this heat, Mr Playfair confesses, cannot be maintained, either by combustion, by friction, by the absorption of the solar rays, or by any of the other causes from which heat is known to be derived: but of heat in such circumstances we have no experience; and it seems to be an evident violation of the first rules of philosophizing, to assume its existence for the explication of any phenomena. Heat, generated and supported without combustion, and at a distance from all the other sources from which heat is found to proceed, is a substance with which we have no acquaintance, and which we cannot admit to exist, merely because such a supposition would enable us to account for certain appearances. There would be nothing so easy, as to find an adequate cause for any phenomenon whatsoever, if we were only permitted to prove its existence by that of the phenomenon in question; and, if we are allowed to suppose an inexhaustible heat, in a situation where our experience tells us that no heat could be either generated or maintained, it will not be easy to show why we should refuse to believe, that a dragon eats up the moon in an eclipse, or that the tides are occasioned by the gills of a leviathan at the pole.

Mr Playfair struggles very hard to get the better of these objections; and endeavours to elude them, by some very ingenious observations on the undefined and unknown nature of heat; and to obviate them altogether, by contending, that volcanoes and hot-springs should be admitted as direct and explicit proofs of its actual existence at the centre. It is needless to say, that neither of these topics affords him any very solid support.

But even if the general postulate be conceded, and the existence of a central heat allowed, there are many difficulties, it appears to us, in its application to the present theory. In the first place, it seems to follow, from the very conditions of its existence, that such a heat, if not constantly decreasing, must at least be uniform in its force and intensity, as it is impossible to conceive any cause for its increment. The theory of Dr Hutton, however, necessarily supposes a great number of fluctuations, and some very capricious peculiarities of operation. The heat which elevated the continents, for instance, must have been withdrawn when they were allowed to subside; and the force which raised an enormous mass of stratified matter to an altitude superior to that of the Andes, must have been dormant when the unloaded basis, upon which they were deposited, was able to keep its place at the bottom of the ocean. The most unaccountable peculiarity, however, in the operation of the Huttonian heat, is its limitation to the bottom of the ocean. The *whole* of the present land, it is positively asserted, was raised from the bosom of the waters, and is destined again to be covered with them. This heat, therefore, which heaved up our continents at first to an elevation incomparably superior to that of the highest mountains that now remain upon the earth, is not to interpose at all to prevent their complete degradation; nay, when they are worn down almost to the level of the waters, it is not upon any account to reinstate them in their former elevation: the whole of its expansive power is to be confined to those parts that are covered with the sea; and these it is to delay lifting up, till a vast accumulation of substances, heavier than water, has made their movement more difficult and laborious. It is difficult to conceive any thing more fantastic and improbable, than those laws of action; and yet, without supposing that the central heat is subjected to them, Dr Hutton can never make out his leading proprosition, that the whole of the present land has been formed out of the ruins of that which has disappeared, and that the next generation of continents will be preceded by the submersion of the present. *

* It is no doubt true, that Mr Playfair, in his 21st Note, endeavours to show, that the dry land is acted upon by this expansive power, as

When the very foundation of a theory is liable to such insurmountable objections, it is of less consequence to enlarge upon the inconsistencies that are involved in its details. We shall specify but two instances, in which the primary assumptions of Dr Hutton appear to be at variance with the fact. If it were true, in the first place, that the continents are crumbling fast into the sea, and that their spoils are forming vast strata, over a bottom which is rising at any rate by the expansion of a central heat, it would follow, that the level of the sea must be uniformly and considerably elevated by the combination of these two causes. In all the northern seas, however, it is admitted, that the waters have been subsiding for many centuries back; and Mr Playfair himself endeavours to explain away the few opposite appearances that may be quoted, by supposing that there has been, in those places, an actual subsidence of the land. It seems evident, however, that for every foot of sand or mud that the rivers spread over the bottom of the sea, its surface must receive a foot of elevation, and that the expansive power that is to push these strata up into new continents, must first raise the incumbent water on the shores of the old.

In the second place, it appears to us to follow, as a necessary conclusion, from the theory of Dr Hutton, that the diameter, and the whole dimensions of the globe, must be in a state of constant increase; and that, if the processes he describes are to go on, as he alleges, for ever, the earth will continue to distend till it come into contact with the moon, and derange the system of the universe. The continents are raised by an expansive force, that lifts the strata from the bottom of the sea to a height greater than that of the highest mountains; and though they are worn down nearly to the new level of the waters, it is not pretended, that there is any actual subsidence of their basis to an extent equal to its elevation. The expansive force which is supposed to have occasioned the elevation, must present an effectual

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well as the bottom of the ocean. But this is said, we believe, without any warrant from the writings of Dr Hutton; and, in fact, either overturns the theory altogether, or leaves the objection, in point of principle, as formidable as ever. For it is very evident, that if the expansive power act *equally* upon the land and the strata at the bottom of the sea, the latter can never rise up into new continents, nor the former ever be submerged; and if it be said that the expanding heat, though it act in some degree upon both, yet acts *most powerfully* upon the submarine strata, it is equally plain, that there is here that very gratuitous supposition of *partial* operation, the unreasonableness of which we have endeavoured to expose above.

obstacle to any tendency which the land may have to subside after its weight and quantity has been thus dimished. Thus, every inch which the heated matter gains by its expansion, it is sure to retain for ever: the elevated basis is kept up by the same power that originally raised it; and though some part of the incumbent matter may change its place, and be rolled down into depths and hollows of the external crust; still the crust itself has been permanently distended, and no part of the room gained by the expansive matter of the centre is ever lost or resigned. Every new continent, therefore, is formed upon a circumference more extensive than that which had preceded it; and if these changes are to follow each other in an infinite succession, a provision must also be made for the infinite dilatation of the globe. Upon this conclusion, we need only observe, at present, that without supposing, most gratuitously, a proportionate increase in the intensity of the heat, its expansive power must be gradually weakened by the repetition of its expansions; and that this dilatation of the earth's diameter, by protruding matter from the axis to the circumference, must induce a retardation in its diurnal motion, and diminish the number of days in its solar revolution. It is time, however, to leave those general observations, and consider in what manner Mr Playfair pursues the details of his theory.

Our author first proceeds to consider the *materials*, *consolidation*, and *position* of STRATIFIED bodies. In addúcing proofs of their being composed of the remains of more ancient rocks, he thus defends Dr Hutton from the charge of having maintained calcareous matter to be originally of animal formation.

'He has indeed nowhere treated of the *first origin* of any of the earths, or of any substance whatsoever, but only of the transformations which bodies have undergone since the present laws of nature were established. He considered this last as all that a science, built on experiment and observation, can possibly extend to; and willingly left, to more presumptuous inquirers, the task of carrying their reasonings beyond the boundaries of nature, and of unfolding the properties of the chaotic fluid, with as much minuteness of detail, as if they were describing the circumstances of a chemical process which they had actually witnessed.

'The idea of calcareous matter, which really belongs to the Huttonian Theory, is, that in all the changes which the terraqueous globe has undergone in past ages, this matter existed, as it does now, either in the form of limestone and marble, or in the composition of other stones, or in the state of corals, shells, and bones of animals. It may be true, that there is no particle of calcareous matter, at present existing on the surface of the earth, that has not, at some time, made a part of an animal body; but of this we can have no certainty, nor is it of any impor-

The tenuity and fineness of the mud, which allowed the lead to sink so deep into it, must have resulted from a deposition of the lighter kinds of earth; which being suspended in the water, had been carried to a great distance, and were now, without doubt, forming a regular stratum at the bottom of the sea.'

Currents are considered by our author, as important agents in the diffusion of the *detritus* of the land, and as being much connected with the trade winds, the figure of our continents, the temperature of the seas, and, perhaps, with some inequalities in the structure of the globe. He argues, on these points, perspicuously and ingeniously: but there are others (to which we shall now proceed) that are much more difficult of explication, and on which, we fear, Mr Playfair will not be found to approach so near to the success of demonstration. By far the most objectionable parts of the Huttonian hypothesis, are those which regard the *separation*, *consolidation*, and *disturbance* of the *strata*.

Upon the first of those subjects, which appears to us to suggest a most formidable objection to the theory of Dr Hutton, we were surprised to find, that Mr Playfair has made no observation. The difficulty, however, is very obvious, and we confess, in our opinion, insuperable. Dr Hutton alleges, that all the strata of the present continents were formed at the bottom of the sea, out of the ruins of more ancient land, crumbled and broken down by the action of the winds and the rain, and deposited mechanically in the bed of the ocean, by the continued action of rivers, tides, and currents. Now, if this were the true history of the formation of the present strata, it is natural to suppose, that they should all be composed of those heterogencous and mixed materials, that are found to constitute the mud and the gravel, in the channels, and at the mouths of rivers, and that we should never find in the same place a succession of deposites, entirely different from each other in substance and arrangement. A river rolls down materials from every part of its channel, and delivers into the ocean a miscellaneous assemblage of specimens from every mass it has visited. The strata, however, which are said to be formed from its contributions, are generally of an homogeneous and uniform structure. The substances of which they are composed, are frequently but few in number; and the transition from one stratum to another, is always quite sudden and distinct. The bed of the ocean, in short, according to Dr Hutton, is covered over with a chaotic collection of flinty sand, and aluminous and magnesian mud, and fragments of quartz, marble, schistus, and granite; and all these, and many other substances, are broken into minute portions, and mingled together, without order or arrangement. They are consolidated there, by the action of heat and pressure, and elevated at last

into the state which we behold. These strata, however, are found, upon examination, to exhibit no traces of that confused and arbitrary mixture from which they are said to have arisen. They consist generally of distinct and separate substances, and are found in contact with others, to which they bear no resemblance, either in quality or appearance. Beds of schistus, sandstone, lime, coal, clay, &c. are found alternated with each other, in large and distinct masses; and no consolidated stratum, we believe, is made up of that medley of materials, which the Huttonian theory would lead us to look for in them all. It may well be demanded of its advocates, therefore, upon what principles they account for the separation and assemblage of these substances—by what power they suppose the mingled mass of mud and gravel, brought down by the rivers, to have been sorted and arranged into distinct strata—and how, upon the same spot, those strata should be so numerous, so different, and often so uniformly alternated? The system of Dr Hutton, which admits no other origin of the strata, but the *mechanical diffusion* of the detritus from former continents, and excludes, of course, all idea of chemical affinity or precipitation, does not appear to us to afford any satisfactory answer to those questions.

In defence of Dr Hutton's idea of the means by which *consolidation* was effected, Mr Playfair begins with pointing out the insufficiency of the Neptunian hypothesis. His objections to the supposition of water being the agent, are not new; but they are fairly and very forcibly stated. He then goes on to remark, that,

'15. In order to judge whether objections of equal weight can be opposed to the hypothesis of igneous consolidation, we must attend to a very important remark, first made by Dr Hutton, and applied with wonderful success to explain the most mysterious phenomena of the mineral kingdom.

'It is certain, that the effects of fire on bodies vary with the circumstances under which it is applied to them, and therefore a considerable allowance must be made, if we would compare the operation of that element when it consolidated the strata, with the results of our daily experience. The materials of the strata were disposed, as we have already seen, loose and unconnected at the bottom of the sea; that is, even on the most moderate estimation, at the depth of several miles under its surface. At this depth, and under the pressure of a column of water of so great a height, the action of heat would differ much from that which we observe here upon the surface; and, though our experience does not enable us to compute with accuracy the amount of this difference, it nevertheless points out the direction in which it must lye, and even marks certain limits to which it would probably extend.

'The tendency of an increased pressure on the bodies to which heat is applied, is to restrain the volatility of those parts which otherwise

would make their escape, and to force them to endure a more intense action of heat. At a certain depth under the surface of the sea, the power even of a very intense heat might therefore be unable to drive off the oily or bituminous parts from the inflammable matter there deposited; so that, when the heat was withdrawn, these principles might be found still united to the earthy and carbonic parts, forming a substance very unlike the residuum obtained after combustion under a pressure no greater than the weight of the atmosphere. It is in like manner reasonable to believe, that, on the application of heat to calcareous bodies under great compression, the carbonic gas would be forced to remain; the generation of quicklime would be prevented, and the whole might be softened, or even completely melted; which last effect, though not directly deducible from any experiment yet made, is rendered very probable, from the analogy of certain chemical phenomena.

'16. An analogy of this kind, derived from a property of the barytic earth, was suggested by that excellent chemist and philosopher, the late Dr Black. The barytic earth, as is well known, has a stronger attraction for fixed air than common calcareous earth has, so that the carbonate of barytes is able to endure a great degree of heat before its fixed air is expelled. Accordingly, when exposed to an increasing heat, at a certain temperature, it is brought into fusion, the fixed air still remaining united to it: if the heat be further increased, the air is driven off, the earth loses its fluidity, and appears in a caustic state. Here, it is plain, that the barytic earth, which is infusible, or very refractory, *per se*, as well as the calcareous, owes its fusibility to the presence of the fixed air; and it is therefore probable, that the same thing would happen to the calcareous earth, if by any means the fixed air were prevented from escaping when great heat is applied to it. This escape of the fixed air is exactly what the compression in the subterraneous regions is calculated to prevent; and therefore we are not to wonder if, among the calcareous strata, we find marks of actual fusion having taken place.

'17. These effects of pressure to resist the decomposition, and augment the fusibility of bodies, being once supposed, we shall find little difficulty in conceiving the consolidation of the strata by heat, since the intervals between the loose materials of which they originally consisted may have been closed, either by the softening of those materials, or by the introduction of foreign matter among them, in the state of a fluid, or of an elastic vapour. No objection to this hypothesis can arise from the considerations stated in the preceding case: the solvent here employed would want no pores to lodge in after its work was completed, nor would it find any difficulty in making its retreat through the densest and most solid substances in the mineral kingdom. Neither can its incapacity to dissolve the bodies submitted to its action be alleged. Heat is the most powerful, and most general of all solvents; and though some bodies, such as the calcareous, are able to resist its force on the surface of the earth, yet, as has just been shown, it is perfectly agreeable to analogy to suppose, that, under great pressure, the carbonic state of the

lime being preserved, the purest limestone or marble might be softened, or even melted. With respect to other substances, less doubt of their fusibility is entertained; and though, in our experiments, the refractory nature of siliceous earth has not been completely subdued, a degree of softness, and an incipient fusion, have nevertheless been induced.

'Thus it appears, in general, that the same difficulties do not press against the two theories of aqueous and of igneous consolidation; and that the latter employs an agent incomparably more powerful than the former, of more general activity, and, what is of infinite importance in a philosophical theory, vastly more definite in the laws of its operation.'

It is evident from the preceding extract, that the author means to make his great stand, in defence of this part of the Huttonian system, on the assumption, that bodies may be made, by pressure, to endure extreme heat without a dissipation of their parts, or, in other words, without evaporation or combustion; and that compound bodies, the fixed parts of which are infusible when separated from the volatile, may admit of being fused when a separation is prevented by compression. Allowing this speculation to be reasonable, (and it is one without which, Mr Playfair must be well aware, the Huttonian theory cannot support itself for an instant), there are still many difficulties which it cannot solve, and which our author does not appear to have adverted to. If fusion were the cause of consolidation, why do we find soft, incompact clay, under *strata* of limestone?—a fact witnessed in most limestone countries, but particularly evident in the promontory of Portland, in Dorsetshire. Mr Playfair himself describes the existence of very fine sand interposed between layers of talc and mica. He must admit also, that rocks of sandstone and breccia are incumbent on beds of loose sand, in many parts of the world. How is the defect of consolidation in the lower materials to be accounted for, when the consolidating cause must have acted there more vigorously than on the upper?

It may be observed also, that, in taking it for granted that all the stratified bodies in the universe have been *softened* by heat, without being reduced into actual fusion, Dr Hutton has assumed a position that cannot be very easily conceded. The greater part of known substances pass, by the action of heat, from a hard and solid to a fluid state, very suddenly and directly. There are but a few that are capable of remaining for a considerable time in an intermediate condition of softness and tenacity; and even these require the heat which is to produce this effect upon them, to be managed with great nicety and precaution. That so great a proportion of the substances that compose our globe, should have been subjected to a heat so critically tempered, and curiously limited in its intensity, appears, at first sight, ex-

tremely improbable, and certainly does not become more conceivable, by recollecting, that this regulated heat heaved up the whole mass of the strata, and reduced to fusion a multitude of the most obdurate and refractory substances.

The phenomena of metallic veins are regarded by our author as favourable to the supposition which constitutes another leading maxim of the Huttonian school, namely, that the *elevation* of the *strata* was also caused by subterraneous heat. But, if the expansive power of this heat was sufficient for rending the great external crust of the earth, and forcing up liquid metal into the narrowest ramifications of fissures on the surface, is it not probable that it would have been more than sufficient for overcoming that compression which impeded the extrication of volatile matter from the fixed? The actual position of the *strata*, on which the author lays so much stress, appears to us to be a circumstance of a very ambiguous kind, and reconcileable with the notion of subsidence, as well as of elevation: at any rate, it is not necessarily connected with the hypothesis of subterraneous heat. There is much more force in the argument drawn from the circumstances of some granitic veins. Dr Hutton himself first discovered veins of granite proceeding upwards from continuous beds of that substance, into superincumbent *schistus*—a fact very curious and important in its nature, and scarcely susceptible of any other explication than that which is proposed by this theory. But, on the other hand, we cannot acknowledge the justness of the inferences drawn from the phenomena of chalk hills, and of the concomitant *nodules* of flint. Dr Hutton expressed himself, on this subject, concisely and obscurely. Mr Playfair, so far from dilating on the Doctor's positions, or attempting to render them more intelligible, contents himself with the following short remark, viz.

'20. The round nodules of flint that are found in chalk, quite insulated and separate from one another, afford an argument of the same kind; since the flinty matter, if it had been carried into the chalk by any solvent, must have been deposited with a certain degree of uniformity, and would not now appear collected into separate masses, without any trace of its existence in the intermediate parts. On the other hand, if we conceive the melted flint to have been forcibly injected among the chalk, and to have penetrated it, somewhat as mercury may, by pressure, be made to penetrate through the pores of wood, it might, on cooling, exhibit the same appearances that the chalk-beds of England do actually present us with.'

The disciples of Dr Hutton do not condescend to account for the regular stratification of flint, which is so often seen in the chalk hills of our island; nor for the general approach of these *strata* to an horizontal position. Neither do they inform us, why the supposed projecting power was regularly intermittent;

why the smallest nodules are found in the same level with the largest; or how the animal and vegetable *exuviæ* preserved their structure entire, in the midst of such a violent process? Until these difficulties are solved, we must be permitted to consider the phenomena of flint as more favourable to the theory of precipitation, than to that of forcible injection.

After having discussed the subject of stratified bodies, our author adverts to the conclusions deducible from the appearances of the UNSTRATIFIED, and also from those which are common to both classes. He enters into an ample detail of facts, and contends, very confidently, for the igneous origin, both of granite and basaltes. We wish we could say, that Mr Playfair has succeeded in removing all the objections urged against this hypothesis.

The subject is far too extensive to be considered in this place: yet, we may observe, that we were very much struck with an objection which Mr Playfair quotes from Mr Jamieson, and to which he seems to us to have made rather a triumphant, than a satisfactory answer. Mr Jamieson had asked, how it happened that the granite, if projected in a fluid state from below, did not overflow the country, as soon as it had penetrated the schistus above it, and how such a theory could consist with the existence of Mont Blanc, and other granite mountains?—Mr Playfair has answered, that the schistus was not penetrated; that it was bent merely, and raised up; and that the granite was formed and cooled within it, as in a mould, and only appeared when the injuries of the weather had worn off this external coating. Now, we confess, that these appear to us to be very gratuitous, and very improbable assertions. Almost all the lofty mountains in the world are composed of naked granite at the summit. The schistus, by which they are frequently surrounded, is commonly in a position almost vertical, and can scarcely be presumed therefore to have ever *covered* their ridges; and there is no one instance, we believe, where granite can be traced in an eruption, where it can be shown to have burst through, or run over the edges of the including schistus, and flooded the country below. That the incumbent strata should *sometimes* have had strength and tenacity enough to resist the distending force of the melted granite within, and to be moved along with it in unbroken continuity, may reasonably be admitted; but that, in *every* instance of violent and great elevation, these substances should have preserved their integrity in this manner, and never permitted any part of the included fluid to escape, appears altogether inconceivable. It would be easy indeed to show, that without supposing in those containing strata, not merely a great strength and perfect flexibility, but an incredible elasticity and power of distension, it would have been impossible for the lowest of the granite moun-

tains to have been elevated, without rending its schistose covering, and diffusing itself over it, like the lava of an ordinary volcano.

Our extracts must be terminated with the following retrospect of the Huttonian geology, which the author has adorned with very eloquent language, and which is well calculated to fascinate the imagination, by the novelty and sublimity of the conceptions.

'114. Such, according to Dr Hutton's theory, are the changes which the daily operations of waste have produced on the surface of the globe. These operations, inconsiderable if taken separately, become great, by conspiring all to the same end, never counteracting one another, but proceeding, through a period of indefinite extent, continually in the same direction. Thus, every thing descends, nothing returns upward; the hard and solid bodies every where dissolve, and the loose and soft nowhere consolidate. The powers which tend to preserve, and those which tend to change the condition of the earth's surface, are never *in equilibrio:* the latter are, in all cases, the most powerful, and, in respect of the former, are like *living* in comparison of *dead* forces. Hence the law of decay is one which suffers no exception: The elements of all bodies were once loose and unconnected, and to the same state nature has appointed that they should all return.

'115. It affords no presumption against the reality of this progress, that, in respect of man, it is too slow to be immediately perceived: The utmost portion of it, to which our experience can extend, is evanescent, in comparison with the whole, and must be regarded as the momentary increment of a vast progression, circumscribed by no other limits than the duration of the world. TIME performs the office of *integrating* the infinitesimal parts of which this progression is made up; it collects them into one sum, and produces from them an amount greater than any that can be assigned.

'116. While on the surface of the earth so much is every where going to decay, no new production of mineral substances is found in any region accessible to man. The instances of what are called petrifactions, or the formation of stony substances by means of water, which we sometimes observe, whether they be ferruginous concretions, or calcareous, or, as happens in some rare cases, siliceous stalactites, are too few in number, and too inconsiderable in extent, to be deemed material exceptions to this general rule. The bodies thus generated, also, are no sooner formed, than they become subject to waste and dissolution, like all the other hard substances in nature; so that they but retard for a while the progress by which they are all resolved into dust, and sooner or later committed to the bosom of the deep.

'117. We are not, however, to imagine, that there is nowhere any means of repairing this waste; for, on comparing the conclusion at which we are now arrived, viz. that the present continents are all going to decay, and their materials descending into the ocean, with the proposition first laid down, that these same continents are composed

of materials which must have been collected from the decay of former rocks, it is impossible not to recognize two corresponding steps of the same progress; of a progress, by which mineral substances are subjected to the same series of changes, and alternately wasted away and renovated. In the same manner, as the present mineral substances derive their origin from substances similar to themselves; so, from the land now going to decay, the sand and gravel forming on the sea-shore, or in the beds of rivers; from the shells and corals which in such enormous quantities are every day accumulated in the bosom of the sea; from the drift wood, and the multitude of vegetable and animal remains continually deposited in the ocean: From all these we cannot doubt, that strata are now forming in those regions, to which nature seems to have confined the powers of mineral reproduction; from which, after being consolidated, they are again destined to emerge, and to exhibit a series of changes similar to the past.

'118. How often these vicissitudes of decay and renovation have been repeated, is not for us to determine: they constitute a series, of which, as the author of this theory has remarked, we neither see the beginning nor the end; a circumstance that accords well with what is known concerning other parts of the economy of the world. In the continuation of the different species of animals and vegetables that inhabit the earth, we discern neither a beginning nor an end; and, in the planetary motions, where geometry has carried the eye so far both into the future and the past, we discover no mark, either of the commencement or the termination of the present order. It is unreasonable, indeed, to suppose, that such marks should anywhere exist. The Author of nature has not given laws to the universe, which, like the institutions of men, carry in themselves the elements of their own destruction. He has not permitted, in his works, any symptom of infancy or of old age, or any sign by which we may estimate either their future or their past duration. He may put an end, as he no doubt gave a beginning, to the present system, at some determinate period; but we may safely conclude, that this great *catastrophe* will not be brought about by any of the laws now existing, and that it is not indicated by any thing which we perceive.'

Notwithstanding the ability and ingenuity of this illustration of the system of Dr Hutton, its author, we think, is far from having established that system on an immoveable basis. It is a system, indeed, built on postulates so bold, and involving operations so prodigious, so capricious, and so incapable of exemplification from actual experience, that we do not conceive it susceptible of any complete or satisfactory defence. We are compelled, nevertheless, to give Mr Playfair great credit for his industry of research, and diligence of investigation. He has brought together many useful and important facts; his arguments are often forcible, and always ingenious; his language is perspicuous

and elegant; and, how deficient soever in solid support he may have left his own hypothesis, he has successfully exposed the insufficiency and difficulties of others.

The ability with which he has combined the complicated materials of his subject, and the correct and luminous order he has observed in the statement of a loose and analogical argument, have given a precision and scientific unity to the system of Dr Hutton, in which it was formerly deficient. The task, therefore, both of its advocates and its adversaries, will be hereafter comparatively easy; since it is scarcely possible for any question to remain, either as to the tenets it maintains, or the arguments by which they are to be supported.

The work is therefore highly worthy of perusal, and deserves to be considered as by far the most able elucidation and vindication of the Huttonian theory, that has yet been presented to the public.

ART. XXVII. *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies;* or, An Inquiry into the Objects and probable Effects of the French Expedition to the West Indies, and their Connexion with the Colonial Interests of the British Empire: To which are subjoined, Sketches of a Plan for settling the Vacant Lands of Trinidada. In Four Letters to the Right Honourable Henry Addington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. London. Hatchard. Pp. 222. 1802.

SINCE the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the minds of men, engrossed for the last twelve years by objects more immediately interesting, have been anxiously turned towards the situation of America, where a catastrophe has been justly apprehended, of a nature still more unexampled in the history of the species, than any of those mighty changes which have shaken the foundations of society in the old world.

Immediately after the signature of the preliminaries, which led to the congress of Amiens, the French Usurper despatched a formidable armament to the West Indian possessions of the republic;—where, in consequence of the confusion produced by various revolutionary tumults, a Negro chief had obtained the supreme command by his distinguished talents, and supported his pretensions by much the same means that enabled the Corsican chief to hold the sceptre of the mother country.

The lamentable events which had taken place in St Domingo, were not important to France alone. Similarity of situation rendered the republican colonies in the West Indies a spectacle highly interesting to all the powers who possess territories cultivated

by negro slaves; and they viewed the new effort that was now to decide the fate of the revolted islands, with the same anxiety which the struggles of social order and anarchy had excited in the European commonwealth.

At this interesting juncture, the work now before us was hastily composed. It is addressed, in four letters, to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. It contains a spirited, though not very elaborate, picture of the important crisis which the Slave trade appears to have produced; a few ingenious and plausible speculations on the destination and probable result of the French expedition; and an attempt to appreciate the comparative consequences of its success or failure to the interests of the British islands; and to point out the line of colonial policy which we ought now to pursue, both towards France and our own possessions.

These letters were written some weeks before the news of Leclerc's arrival had reached Europe, and they were published on the day after the first despatches of the General were known in England; so that the author has a fair claim to the praise of sagacity, in so far as he may appear to have anticipated the events with which it has since pleased the Consular government to make the public acquainted.

However much we may be inclined to differ with our author in most of his deductions, we willingly acknowledge the pleasure we have received from a very attentive perusal of his work. He appears to be intimately acquainted with the complicated relations of the subject; and speaks on many points from personal observation. His mode of reasoning, though diffuse, is often striking and ingenious. If his arguments are sometimes incumbered with declamation, they are, however, fully and honestly laid before the reader; and, on a subject so momentous in every view, involving the highest questions of policy, as well as the discussions most interesting to humanity, it would be difficult, perhaps not very commendable, to write without some degree of warmth and animation. The style of our author is flowing and copious; sometimes distinguished by force and energy, but seldom remarkable for elegance or correctness; frequently loaded with clumsy, or vulgar, or gaudy ornaments—with metaphors which perplex and fatigue—comparisons which do not illustrate, or but feebly apply—and similes in which all resemblance is lost. Although the remark may appear rather hypercritical, we cannot withhold our disapprobation from that inattention to the just division of labour, which throws upon a title page the duty usually performed by a table of contents: Such displays are adapted only to the readers who acquire their knowledge of books from peripatetic study at the windows of booksellers shops.

Of the various parts of this composition, which display a false taste—a predilection for circuitous modes of expression—and an unchaste propensity to adopt tinsel imagery, we may select the following description of the difference between the industry of the free man, and the drudgery of the slave.

'When we bow to the golden sceptre of reason, obedience has many facilities, and its pains many mitigations. Nature is not thwarted more rudely than the rational purpose demands; and the mind, while it urges on the material frame, cheers it in return with refreshing and invigorating cordials.

'Look at the most laborious peasant in Europe, and, if you please, the most oppressed: he is toiling, it is true, from painful necessity; but it is necessity of a moral kind, acting upon his rational nature; and from which brutal coercion differs as widely as a nauseous drench in the mouth of an infant, from the medicated milk of its mother.

'Is the impelling motive, fear of want, or dread of a master's displeasure? yet he sees, on the other hand, the approbation and reward attainable by exertions, whereof the degree, at least, is, for the moment, spontaneous: Self-complacency alleviates his toil, and hope presents to his view, the hearty well earned meal, the evening fireside, and perhaps the gratifications of the husband, or the father, in promoting the well-being of those dearest to his heart. Is his work fatiguing? he is at liberty, at least, to introduce some little varieties in the mode, or breaks in the continuity of it, which give him sensible relief: He can rest on his spade, or stay the plough a moment in the furrow; can gaze at a passing object, or stop a brother villager to spend a brief interval in talk.' P. 49. 50.

Sometimes our author labours to express more than his own fertility, or the limited powers of language allow. He then stalks forth upon stilts; and either hides himself in the thick-darkness of metaphysics, or strains at a quotation, or flies to the last resource of the wretched—a case in point. Take the following specimens.

'It might be admitted, even without danger to the argument, though I am sorry to say, not without doing violence to truth, as well as probability, that this coarse actuation of the physical powers of the human frame by an external mind interested in their effect, was in general not pushed to excess; but was an impulse as leniently and wisely regulated, as that of reason, when guided by the sympathies of the soul with the body to which nature has allied it.' P. 51. 52.

In p. 176. after a long invective on the criminality of extending the slave trade to our new possessions, he sums up all, by supposing the other nations to address Great Britain, with some little variation, in the words of our own poet—

'O Britain! infamous for *avarice*,
An island in thy morals more depraved,
Than the whole world of rationals beside:
In ambient waves plunge thy polluted head,
Wash the dire stain, nor shock the Continent.'

We have many objections to our author's style; but the view of such doggrel as this (happily we know not to whom it belongs) reconciles us to any thing. Contrasting the wild Indian with the enfranchised Negro, in point of industry, he says—

'The one is a wild, but vigorous youth, who will not easily submit to the drill; the other a rickety *infant*, in whom, from unnatural restraint, the muscles of voluntary motion are contracted. The former may revolt from the yoke of discipline, but the latter must be taught to walk.' P. 54.

The resemblance here, is perplexed by so many cross analogies opposing each other, that no definite idea of likeness remains. A written style may employ interrogatory, exclamation, and even imprecation; but we can scarcely tolerate prayer within prayer, unless in the most violent effusions of extemporaneous eloquence.

'Forbid it that sentiment to which may Englishmen never become insensible! forbid it the sense of national dignity and virtue!' P. 175.

One who is always running after flowers will sometimes make a false step. In order to convey the idea of a white man's inferiority to a negro, in the warfare of the West Indies, our author compares the contest to that of an aeronaut with an eagle, p. 69. A lover of comparisons, who wished to maintain the very opposite doctrine, would probably use this figure to pourtray the superiority of discipline and art over natural advantages.

As our author cannot resist the temptation of gaudy ornaments, and far-fetched illustrations; so neither does he always make that proper selection of epithets, which is essential to a nervous and manly style. Thus, he tells us, in p. 171, that the echo of the loud clamour of the national conscience of this commercial country was heard, &c. And this national conscience has an eye, as well as a tongue; for, in p. 109, we are informed, that the frightful aspect of the deformed monster (the Slave Trade) has been laid bare before the eye, &c. But nothing, in these pages, is more unpleasant, than the aid which the writer constantly seeks from *marks of admiration* (!): When he wishes to eke out his phalanx of indignant or contemptuous expressions, he brings up the rear of his periods with those auxiliaries, sometimes in double rank, and sometimes three abreast, according to the strength of the position which he purposes to attack. For

our parts, we declare ourselves impregnable to all such offensive operations. They belong not to the author, but the printer. Stratagems like these remind us of the emphatic marks, which females, who are given to composition, make under every other word; or the italics that stud each page, when their works are permitted for a season to visit the world.

After all, we find, even in the ornamental part of the 'Crisis,' many passages sufficiently splendid to redeem the faults which we have taken the liberty of pointing out. The comparison of the French armament to the Trojan horse, is finely conceived.

'Like the Trojans, who, sallying from their gates to enjoy their sudden and unhoped-for peace, were soon arrested by the sight of the stupendous horse, we gaze with wonder on this great effort of our recent enemy, the posthumous birth of war, and, as in their case,

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

While many are loud in expressing their rash approbation, and even exhort us to assist in fixing this portentous force in the colonial citadel, others suspiciously exclaim

——in nostros fabricata est machina muros;
Inspectura domos, venturaque desuper urbi.' P. 5.

The imagery, in the following passage, is bold, and appropriate to the tropical scenery of the West Indies.

'From the delusions of these wizard scenes, let the considerations here set before you be your safeguard; for, if they have any force, those gaudy prospects have no more reality, than the verdant fields which tempt the feverish patient in a calenture to plunge into the ocean.' P. 153.

And the indignant eloquence of the passage, where he tears to pieces the fancied resistance of the colonial legislatures, would be almost perfect, were those adventitious marks of force lopped off which come from the printer—

'The objection was not less extraordinary, than a threat or insinuation, with which it was said to have been accompanied, that of resistance by the white colonists *(risum teneatis?)*—resistance against the Mother Country, whose protection, bestowed at an immense expense, not only of treasure but blood, alone can save them a single day, not only from foreign enemies, but from the continual dangers of that wretched interior system which they so pertinaciously defend!!!—The palsied bed-ridden patient might as rationally threaten violence to his nurse, for putting sustenance into his mouth!' P. 128-9.

We have premised these remarks upon the style of this very interesting performance, that we might remove, in the first instance, all obstructions, and be able to proceed without inter-

ruption, in considering the matter of which it consists. We shall accordingly lay before our readers, a short and general analysis of the doctrines which our author maintains; and shall examine, at the same time, the foundation upon which they rest.

I. The first letter begins with several congratulations to the Minister upon his successful career since his unaccountable elevation to office; and some high compliments to his moderation and wisdom, in bringing about that event, which one set of politicians have termed a truce, and others have dignified with the '*dulce nomen pacis.*' Our author then proceeds to the first object of his inquiries—the probable views of Bonaparte in the West Indian expedition. After describing the state of negro labour under the old system, he concludes, that the instantaneous, and, as it were, physical impulse of the cart-whip, is the only incentive to work which the Africans in the islands can feel, unless when they are divided and employed in solitary occupations; and, even then, the terror of the lash is only a little less immediate. We must here stop to correct a mistatement in this part of our author's reasonings. He observes, that the task, which he calls *grass-hunting* (commonly known by the name of *grass-picking*), occasions more punishments in the English islands than all the other offences put together, p. 12, 13. Grass-picking is only known in the Windward Islands. In Jamaica, and, we believe, in St Domingo also, the abundance of several very luxuriant kinds of grass, as Scots grass, Guinea grass, &c. in the provision grounds, renders the odious duty, now alluded to, wholly unnecessary.

Our author proceeds to demonstrate, at considerable, perhaps unnecessary length, that the milder, and far less efficacious system of military law, has succeeded to the proprietary dominion of the master, abolished in St Domingo by insurrection, and in Guadaloupe and Cayenne by the frantic acts of the French revolutionary Government. We have said that so much argument to prove the subversion of the master's authority in these islands, appeared to us scarcely necessary. After adducing a variety of reasons to prove this position, from p. 15. to p. 25, he brings forward, p. 35, an official document, published by the French government, in which the matter is stated explicitly. We should have thought the citation of an express authority, in every view so unexceptionable upon a point like this, sufficient evidence of what every man, who has attended to the history of West Indian affairs during the last twelve years, must have been perfectly prepared to believe. The restoration of the ancient slavery of the negroes, our author conceives, is the grand object of the present expedition to the colonies; dictated alike by the peculiar genius of the First Consul, the pressing exigencies of

the republic, and the interests of a powerful body of individuals in the mother country.

In this conclusion, we entirely agree with him. Although above six months have elapsed since the publication of his work, the French government has thought proper to communicate so very little to the world, either of its plans, or of the operations carried on in St Domingo and the Windward islands, that the nature of its intentions, and the success of its attempts, are still left, in a great measure, to be gathered from circumstantial evidence. With the exception of a few meagre details taken out of the despatches of that officer whom Bonaparte has spared from his military embassies for the West India service, we as yet are in possession of no information beyond what the author of the Crisis had to build upon; and although his conclusions have received some additional solidity from the little that has transpired, in the main they still rest on the foundations which he was enabled to lay.

II. In the second letter, our author examines the probability of the expedition succeeding in that attempt, which he had shown to be the most likely object of its destination. It is by no means impossible, he admits, that a nominal dominion may be obtained over St Domingo, by fomenting divisions among the Negro leaders, gaining over some of them to the Republican cause, and taking possession of the chief places on the coast. But the natural indolence of the negroes, a ten years experience of freedom, and the horror of reflecting on their former bondage, at once render their labour in a free condition unavailing, and rivet their aversion to resume the yoke. The number of these men trained to war; the constant failure of the French Government to seduce any considerable bodies of them from the common cause; the adaptation of their constitution to tropical labour, always fatal to Europeans; their intimate acquaintance with the nature of the country, full of woods, and broken by scars and steeps; their superior agility and skill in surmounting such difficulties; their power of subsisting on the most trifling quantity of provisions the most easily procured, besides the ruinous expense of all military operations carried on in that distant quarter:—all these circumstances conspire to render the complete conquest of the negroes in the field extremely difficult. But, even after they shall have been reduced to subjection, the most arduous task remains. That undefined and nameless terror of the negro for the white man, which constituted the principal security of the master, has now disappeared. The spell is broken, which, more than principle, or reason, or inferiority of powers, kept the most numerous obedient to the smallest class of the community. To restore it, is impossible; and the idea of

re-establishing that domestic slavery, of which it was the foundation, is chimerical and absurd. Our author therefore concludes, that, in its grand object, the expedition will certainly fail.

And here, we find ourselves under the necessity of differing very widely from him. That the task which the policy and the necessities of the French government have imposed upon the army of St Domingo, is full of difficulty, and even of danger, we will readily allow. But we remember how pregnant with difficulty and danger of every sort, the service confided to Hoche was; how sanguine the royalists and their abettors were, for years, in their expectations of its failure; by how many perils the republic was then beset, which diverted its force to every side; and by how changeful a domestic government its resources were directed.—We see La Vendée restored; the remains of the Chouans pacified; the hopes of the Royalists in that quarter extinguished; and we are forced to acknowledge, that it is not merely situations of uncommon risk and difficulty, which can baffle the perseverance, and overcome the fortunes of France. We recollect the history of the Peruvian revolt, and of the servile wars in Campania and Sicily; and consider that insurrections of colonies and provinces, as well as domestic rebellions, may be quelled. But, above all, when we cast our eyes over the very scene where the great drama that we are contemplating is displayed; we find various facts which, more strongly than a thousand fine-spun reasonings, clearly evince the possibility of reducing to their cane-pieces, coffee-grounds, and spice-walks, the most fierce and licentious of the African rebels.

In the celebrated rebellion of 1772, the Brazilians were joined by the negroes, and carried on a kind of regular warfare against the Portuguese. Something of the same sort took place in the Spanish colonies of South America, nearly at the same time. The constant state of warfare in which the maroons of Dutch Guyana have remained with the whites for above a century, has caused the colony to be surrounded with a regular cordon of troops, and a chain of military posts. Various insurrections have disturbed the peace of the settlements. Sometimes the negroes have been completely successful, as in the year 1768, when the colony of Berbice was wholly in their possession, until, weary of a state of unbridled licentiousness, unnatural even to the most savage tribes, and satiated with the possession of an independence foreign to their habits, they submitted voluntarily to their old masters, and quietly returned to their former labours. The formidable rebellion of the Jamaica slaves, in 1762, is well known; and in almost every island in the Archipelago have repeated insurrections broken out, sometimes the result of plans laid with the utmost secrecy, and very widely extended; always accomplished

by the horrors of African warfare, and unfortaly quelled after a short struggle, in which the discipline and the policy of Europeans overcame the vast numbers and ferocious strength of a savage people, and reduced them to their accustomed habits of fear and labour. In those instances of rebellion, indeed, the evil had neither spread so far, nor taken so deep a root, as it unhappily has done in St Domingo. But, then, the affairs of that island have attracted a degree of attention from the government of France, proportioned to their vast importance; and the negroes are opposed by a force suited to the difficulty and hazard of the service.

It is in vain, that our author paints to us the instinctive dread of the slaves as a peculiar principle, a mysterious charm, which, if once broken, cannot be restored. We believe it to be the same kind of spell which keeps men in obedience to absolute governments; which is latent in the magic rod of a Prussian or Austrian officer; which may, indeed, be suspended by accidental occurrences; but, if arising from the relative situation and peculiar circumstances of the rulers and the governed, will speedily be replaced, and regain its powerful influence.

But, admitting that the negro's feelings towards his master, are of the peculiar and mystical description which our author has given of them—that they are reducible to no principles, and unconnected with the rational nature of man: Can they, we would ask, be more anomalous and capricious than the emotions of the maniac, who trembles at the nod of his keeper, from some strange, ideal, and inexplicable dread—then, in a paroxysm of his disease, shakes off this unaccountable obedience—but soon, exhausted by the effort, returns to passive submission? Nay, were the charm as easily dissolved as the pressure of an incubus, we should be inclined to expect a relapse, even after some sudden movement had relieved it, if the constitution remained in that predisposing state which first induced the disease. In short, of whatever nature that principle may be, which keeps the African labourers in subordination to the white inhabitants—whether, as our author describes it, of a peculiar nature—*sui generis*—or, as we are rather disposed to believe, arising from the influence of superior policy, and closer union among the masters, we have adduced examples of its being suspended, and to all appearance destroyed. Its restoration, in all those cases, is no less certain, than utterly inconsistent with our author's opinion; and we conclude, that the powerful means employed by the French Government, may again bring about the same event, and defer, for some years, that fate to which the West Indian colonies seem to be doomed, by the thoughtless avarice, and impolitic cruelty, of those who have planted and peopled them.

III. Although, in the foregoing part of his speculations, our author had been led to view, as impracticable, the project of reducing the negroes to their former situation; in his third letter, he proceeds to consider, independently of his preceding inferences, the consequences likely to result to the British Islands; first, from the total failure; next, from the partial success; and, lastly, from the complete execution of the First Consul's plan.

If France, says he, loses all footing in her West Indian possessions, the formation of a negro commonwealth would be dangerous to our colonies; not so much from example, which, on the minds of the negroes, still debased by slavery, can have very little effect; but from that spirit of conquest which distinguishes all infant states, and which, in the circumstances of the case now supposed, will be peculiarly natural, as well as powerful. The blacks, who, as yet, have only begun their military career, will be disciplined during the struggle that must precede their complete emancipation; and, on every side to which they may turn, they will view nations of their brethren languishing in chains. Again: If France shall either be satisfied with displacing the present government of the islands, or shall find herself forced to make a compromise, and leave the negroes in the state of subjects, but free citizens; in St Domingo alone she will be able to raise 200,000 warriors, whom she cannot better employ, than in attacking the British colonies. Instead of extensive possessions, defended with great loss of men and treasure, she will have settlements rendered impregnable, by the new system, to every foreign attack; garrisons, from whence she may pour into the surrounding islands armies of negroes, vastly superior to Europeans in tropical warfare, and certain of being joined by numerous auxiliaries, whithersoever the force of their arms may be turned. Lastly, if the plan of reducing the negroes to their former state should, contrary to all calculation, unfortunately succeed, large military establishments will be necessary, to maintain the slavery that shall have been restored: Our ancient enemy will, therefore, have a constant pretext for keeping up, in those parts, a force sufficient for the purposes of invasion; and, still more formidable than these European troops, will be the negro auxiliaries, by whose assistance the contest with the great body of their brethren must be carried on, and who must be retained in the service of Government, after that contest shall have been terminated. A chain of formidable military stations will therefore be established, each of them placed to windward of a part of the British islands. To defend her West India colonies, in this situation, the whole standing army of Great Britain would be inadequate. Our fleets, had we the entire mastery of those seas, would be unable to protect the coasts of Jamaica

alone. While France quietly waits for an opportunity of attack, our men are daily consumed, and our treasures exhausted. Foiled in one attempt, her situation is no worse than before; and our ruin is proceeding with a rapid pace. Nay, should any doubt still remain, while the balance wavers, the haughty Gaul may toss the sword of negro freedom into his scale, and ours will kick the beam.

We have now stated the substance of our author's third letter as strongly as we are able; and, without omitting any of his arguments, have assembled, into one point of view, the whole of his speculations and inferences. Various criticisms might be made upon this part of his work. The reasonings are by no means distinctly carried on. Those which properly belong to one hypothesis, are frequently classed among the statements that support another set of conclusions; and, in some instances, the facts and general principles brought forward to elucidate the author's doctrines in one supposed case, are inconsistent with his positions under another assumption. But, without dwelling upon minuter observations of defects, we must enter our dissent, in the general, to this, as to the former part of his deductions.

We consider it as very clear, that the existence of an independent commonwealth in the West Indies, by whomsoever composed, and in whatever manner established, is incompatible with the security of the other islands, and inconsistent with the maintenance of their colonial or provincial relations. To say nothing of the superior energy and firmness of an independent administration; the increase of resources which an abolition of colonial law would produce; the danger of that contagion, which political, as well as individual example, generally excites in communities similarly circumstanced, or the proximity of the stations from whence the enemy must draw all his supplies:—Let us only consider, that, in the case we are supposing, the European power whose colonies might be conquered, would have no chance of bringing about their restoration, by operations carried on in a different quarter. America could not then be conquered, or regained, or defended in Germany. That diffusion of interests, by widely extended possessions, would now be wanting, which has for ages maintained the actual dominions of nations almost exactly *in statu quo*, after every contest, by multiplying the chances of equal and opposite success, and balancing the fortune of war in different parts of the world. Equivalents, and indemnities and restitutions, could not enter into a treaty with states which have no foreign territory; and the basis of negotiation must be actual possession.—But if, instead of a European community, we suppose that an unmixed nation of Africans shall obtain independent possession of any island, how vastly is the common danger of all the colonies increased!—We will acknowledge,

that it is not from the spirit of conquest, so much as from the love of plunder and depredation, and, above all, from the contagion of example, that we apprehend the rapid extermination of the whites, by such a savage republic. A state composed of Europeans alone, might, by the superiority of policy, discipline, and science, stand against all the efforts of an African neighbour; but colonies chiefly peopled by negroes, and governed by a handful of whites, can hope for nothing but a chance of sinking peaceably into the situation which the negro commonwealth, in the same part of the world, shall have obtained through massacre and devastation.—Inasmuch, then, as we conceive that a total extirpation, or expulsion, or subjugation of the white inhabitants in the West Indies, would be a more awful catastrophe than the universal establishment of colonial supremacy, or the conquest of the whole islands by any one European power; and, inasmuch as we believe that consummation to be involved in the failure of the French expedition, we consider the welfare of all the European nations who possess negro colonies, to be intimately connected with the success of the republican arms; and view the interests of the whole, as in this case, one and the same. The negroes are truly the Jacobins of the West India islands—they are the anarchists, the terrorists, the domestic enemy. Against them it becomes rival nations to combine, and hostile governments to coalesce. If Prussia and Austria felt their existence to depend on a union against the revolutionary arms in Europe, (and who does not lament that their coalition was not more firm and enlightened?), a closer alliance is imperiously recommended to France, and Britain, and Spain, and Holland, against the common enemy of civilized society, the destroyer of the European name in the new world.

We have the greatest sympathy for the unmerited sufferings of the unhappy negroes; we detest the odious traffic which has poured their myriads into the Antilles: but we must be permitted to feel some tenderness for our European brethren, although they are white and civilized, and to deprecate that inconsistent spirit of canting philanthropy, which, in Europe, is only excited by the wrongs or miseries of the poor and the profligate; and, on the other side of the Atlantic, is never warmed but towards the savage, the mulatto, and the slave.

Admitting all that has been urged against the planters and their African providers, we are much of the opinion which Lord Bacon has noted in the following sentence—'It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake a plantation once in forwardness; for, besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of the blood of many commiserable persons.' Essays, xxxiv.

Suppose, now, that France has completely succeeded in her colonial measures, and, with whatever perfidy or cruelty, has restored the slavery of the negroes; it surely requires no great acuteness, or inspiration, to foresee, that her dominion, in the conquered islands, will be extremely weak and precarious—that all her force will be fully employed at home—and that, even if the fallen state of her navy, her languishing manufactures, and her almost annihilated commerce, did not require the repose of peace, her most vulnerable part would be the western wing of her empire, newly restored to obedience, and filled with the same materials which had lately involved it in conflagration.—The operations of war, whether offensive or defensive, will long be apprehended with dread, in the plains which have been subjected to the unbridled fury of negro masters; and the restoration of the French colonies, in a state of weakness and disorder, with the hopes of regaining their highly profitable commerce, will be a new pledge for the pacific conduct of the republic.

Our author has prophesied, that the islands will be so many garrisons to our enemy, who, on pretence of keeping his possessions in obedience, will maintain a formidable force in those quarters from whence he may attack the neighbouring colonies: And he asks, triumphantly, 'Who shall dictate to the Consul, what establishment of troops and ships he is to place in his West Indian territories?' We answer, That this is no new danger arising from the present crisis of affairs; that it is a danger not peculiar to the West Indian colonies; that every power may, if able and willing to keep up a high peace establishment, either at home or abroad, find abundance of pretexts for the measure; that the only remedy for such an evil, is to increase our own peace establishment—to deprive the enemy of all pretexts for war, by our prudent and temperate conduct—to watch his motions with a careful eye—and, if the magnitude of his resources enable him to overmatch us in the colonies, to give up our distant possessions, and trust, for the continuance of our commerce, in the industry and skill of our people at home, the expertness of our seamen, and the extent of our trading capital. But we apprehend very little danger from the most powerful establishment which France can maintain in those islands, where, at all times, the highest exploits of the British arms have been achieved; and, so long as our troops have only to contend with European armies in the field, without the incalculable dangers of negro rebellion, we see nothing very alarming in the prospect.

Our author draws his principal arguments of anxiety, from the negro troops which the restoration of order in St Domingo will leave at the disposal of France. He seems, however, in the

first place, greatly to overrate the numbers of these auxiliaries. He calculates the black population of St Domingo, at half a million; and, of these, he estimates that 200,000 can be called into the field. A calculation more careless and inaccurate we have seldom met with. The best informed writers state the diminution of the negro population in St Domingo to have been enormous. Edwards,* in 1796, calculates the loss during the six preceding years, at 300,000. Laborie† estimates the numbers, in 1797, at much less than one half of the numbers in 1789. Since the year 1797, the wars of the negroes and people of colour, and the licentious government of the Blacks, not to mention the military operations of the British and French forces, must have prevented any increase of numbers, by births, from adding to the total amount. But, admitting that the population is rightly stated by our author, how does he discover that the proportion of negroes fit to bear arms is two in five? Of imported negroes, no doubt, the females bear a small proportion to the males, and the aged to the young: But the negroes in St Domingo and Guadaloupe must now be almost all creoles; so that the proportion of one to four is the very utmost that can be allowed for those able to bear arms: And is it not evident, that the events of the last twelve years must have diminished this proportion, and cut off a much greater number of males than females, and of able-bodied, than weak or decrepit men?

But, in the second place, whatever the numbers of the French negroes may be, the employment of them against the neighbouring colonies, can only be rendered surely successful, by the adoption of measures equally dangerous to the power which invades, and to the power which is attacked. The assistance of insurrection must be called in; otherwise, the negroes who have never thrown off the yoke will prove much better troops, under the command of their British and Dutch masters, than the rebellious slaves of the French. If, on the other hand, the republicans attack us by their favourite weapon, insurrection, they can only conquer possessions plundered and ruined, given up to the insurgent negroes in full sovereignty, and as dangerous neighbours as their own islands would be to ours, were the government of the republic to remain unrestored.—We are not at liberty to presume, that any power will pursue measures so evidently destructive of its own existence. If the French yoke is re-established in the West Indies, we have the best possible reason for believing, that it will be harmless to our own empire—the clear interest of France to maintain it. So long as the commerce of the

* Hist. of W. Indies, iii. 257.

† Coffee-planter of St Domingo, App. p. 129.

Antilles shall form the chief branch of the French trade, and so long as France shall possess the most valuable stake in that quarter of the world, her neighbours there have the best pledge for her repugnance to the adoption of any measures which may lead to the establishment of the negroes in a state of independence: it is the pledge that secures the observance of every treaty between nations—it is the pledge that ensures the independent existence of the most powerful state in Europe.—If, on the other hand, France shall find the maintenance of her dominion in the West Indies impossible; if she must at last submit to the negro yoke; we apprehend it is in vain to inquire what will be her conduct in her last moments; since the destruction of all the European colonies will then be inevitable; and it will be a matter of extreme indifference, whether the crisis is accelerated by a French or by a Negro government.

IV. From the sketch which we have already given of our author's opinions upon the connexion of the colonial interests of Great Britain, with the various events to which the expedition of General Leclerc may lead, our readers will easily perceive, that he considers the re-establishment of slavery in the French islands, as the alternative most dangerous to the British settlements. According to this principle, in the fourth and last letter, he points out the line of policy which Great Britain ought to pursue in the West Indies. The strictest neutrality, he observes, is recommended, on the one hand, by the danger of involving ourselves in a new war; and, on the other, by the risk of exasperating the negroes, and hastening that crisis in our own affairs, which nothing but the continuance of disorder in the republican colonies can delay. The decided prejudices (as he calls them) of the planters, will render it necessary to preserve this neutrality, by active measures of precaution on the part of Government. The employment of black troops, also, is indispensably necessary, notwithstanding the risk attending such an establishment, and the strong prepossession of the colonists against it. Besides the military service of these corps, the consequences of their formation, will, in other points of view, prove highly beneficial to our colonial strength.

But the only effectual security of our West Indian possessions, must be looked for in the *effectual* melioration of the condition of the negroes. As our author admits, that this must greatly diminish the profits of the planter, he observes, that it can scarcely be expected from the wisdom or the virtue of the colonial legislatures.—But there is no alternative; and he maintains, that the British Parliament ought, without hesitation, to interfere. The legislative supremacy of the mother country he proves to be undeniable: it stands established in the declaratory act, which the statute 1778 only repealed in so far as it re-

lated to one particular branch of taxation. Neither can any objection, in the present case, be founded on the circumstance, that the colonists are not represented in the British Parliament: for the negroes, who are equally subjects of the Crown, and whose interests are at least as much concerned in the discussion, are not represented in the colonial assemblies. Besides, Great Britain has defended and supported the colonies, not only against foreign enemies, but against the dangers arising from this very evil, of the ill-treatment of slaves, which of consequence she has now a full right to correct. Until the abolition was talked of at home, no measures were ever pursued by the colonists, for effecting any improvement in the condition of the negroes; and the regulations which were adopted in consequence of those discussions, have not (our author affirms) been enforced, at least in several of the islands. In various important matters that involve the interests of the planters, they are not allowed any voice. Parliament, then, which in other cases exposes them to real hardships, ought, in this instance, to interfere for their true interests.—Our author is, as may easily be supposed, a decided enemy to the slave trade. He deprecates, more especially, the extreme impolicy of extending that odious system to the newly acquired island of Trinidada.

This fertile territory, is, by its situation, peculiarly exposed to attack from Cayenne, the Dutch and Spanish colonies, and the French Windward islands. It must be defended by a large and appropriate force, as our other islands would, from their leeward position, and the interposition of the French settlements, be unable to afford it any assistance: Hence, the obvious policy of the old West India islands to avoid so great a diversion of the national force in those parts. It is no less the interest of Great Britain, at least, to await the event of the present crisis, before she allows new dangers to arise, and more wealth to be risked, in that quarter. But, in another view, any extension of the slave system is to be deprecated. The House of Commons have never retracted the votes of 1792, when a majority resolved, that this traffic should be abolished in 1796; and by far the greater part of the minority agreed, that it should continue no longer than 1800. America, Denmark, and France, were disposed to adopt, what they considered as our firm intentions; and, if they have abandoned the plan, we may ascribe the change to our own dereliction of this sacred cause. Every principle, then, of policy, humanity, and good faith, binds the nation, at once, to reject that vast and rapid extension of the traffic which must attend the cultivation of Trinidada by slaves; and our author concludes his very interesting work with the outlines of a plan, by which he proposes to

settle the newly acquired territory.—The introduction of slaves being strictly prohibited, he suggests that the vacant lands should be granted to such as choose to cultivate them by free negroes, imported either from our old colonies, or from Africa: That, as a farther encouragement, these negroes should be bound to serve their importers for a term of years, at a fixed rate of wages: That a power of moderate chastisement should be allowed; but a line clearly drawn between this controul and the use of the cart-whip, as it characterizes the present slave system: And, finally, that magistrates of respectability, unconnected with the island, and responsible only in Britain, should be appointed to enforce the regulations which this system requires.—Of the success of this plan, our author, after the manner of projectors, forms the most sanguine expectations. The new island is to serve as a wide market for British manufactures—a nursery and a station for troops, who may always be sent to the leeward colonies, when they happen to be attacked—a counterpoise to the power of France and her allies—and, lastly, a 'farm of experiment,' where the possibility of emancipating the negroes, by slow and prudent means, may be safely and conveniently tried.

Having now laid before our readers, the substance of all our author's doctrines, together with the reasonings by which he supports them, we proceed to offer the remaining part of the remarks that have been suggested to us, by the perusal of his work: And the length to which our criticisms have already extended, must plead our apology, if we despatch the consideration of what remains, with less fullness than the high importance of the subject may appear to demand.

As the practical conclusions, which are contained in the fourth letter, are founded upon the principles established in the preceding parts of the work, it may be expected, that, differing as we do most widely from our author in those positions, we should likewise recommend a very different line of policy towards the French government in the West Indies, from that of which he has avowed himself the champion.

The greatest of all dangers to the West Indian powers lies, we apprehend, in the success of the negroes: and the re-establishment of the old system in the French islands, can alone insure the permanent superiority of the Europeans, either there or in the other islands. Nothing, but the subdivision of the negroes, under the power of masters armed with absolute power, can prevent their acquiring that ascendancy, to which superiority in numbers and strength will invariably lead. On the other hand, we have endeavoured to show, that the complete success of the French policy, while it removes, for the present, all the dangers of our situation, can never arm the republican government with

power to injure the neighbouring islands.—Let us, then, at once adopt that system, which our common interests clearly point out: Let us not shrink back from the name of a French alliance—at least in the West Indies: Let us remember, that we are, in those parts, exposed to a common enemy, whose yoke would be incomparably more severe, than the dominion of Jacobinism itself—whose strength is more to be dreaded, than the boasted Army of England, or the Grand Monarch in the plenitude of his power. And, as the aggrandizement of Russia would drive us, however unwilling, into an alliance with France in Europe; so let us make a common cause with her, where she cannot endanger our security—where we are threatened with a foe, more terrible than Tartars or Cossacks. It is to be hoped, that the French troops may themselves succeed in the enterprise committed to their charge; because, in that case, their conquest will be more easily retained. But, if they shall stand in need of our assistance, let us recollect, that, in subsidizing the colonial treasury of France, we are preserving that trade which supplies our fleets with seamen, and pours millions into our Exchequer: that the troops which we send to assist the government of St Domingo, are fighting the battles of our own colonies, and defending, from all the horrors of negro warfare, one of the fairest portions of the habitable globe.

At the same time, we are ready to admit, that the security which the subjugation of the French negroes will procure for the West Indian colonies, can only be temporary. The danger may be delayed; but, so long as the slave trade remains—so long as new and untamed spirits are constantly brought into the islands—so long as the disproportion of the two races is increasing, and the more numerous body is treated with barbarous cruelty by the small community of white inhabitants—the seeds of destruction will remain—and the catastrophe, so nearly accomplished in the French islands, will, in a few years, extend to the whole Western archipelago. We agree, therefore, with the author of the '*Crisis*,' in believing that the total abolition of the slave trade, the root of all the evils, is now imperiously required: And as we cannot hope to see this necessary measure adopted by the colonial legislatures, any more than we could expect to see a parish vestry amend the poor laws, or a board of general officers and commissaries put an end to a profitable war—we are decidedly of opinion, that the British Legislature alone is competent to the final discussion of the question, and that it becomes the puny governments of the islands to tremble and obey.

On the other hand, we differ with our author, in thinking that the regulation of the treatment of slaves ought to be undertaken by the mother country. The general question of abolition may easily be examined at a distance; and almost all the information

that is necessary for the full discussion of it, has already been procured by Parliament. But the details of the slave laws require more minute and accurate acquaintance with a variety of particulars, which can only be fully known to those who reside upon the spot. To revise the domestic codes of the colonies, would be a task which no Parliament could undertake. Let it be left, then, to the care of those who are themselves most immediately interested in the good order and government of the islands, and whose knowledge of local circumstances—of those things which cannot be written down in reports, or told by witnesses—is more full and practical.

But the colonial legislatures are as much interested in preventing the regulation of the slave work, as in preventing the abolition of the trade. We answer—Make it their interest to regulate the treatment of the negroes, as it is at present their interest to import them: abolish the trade, and leave the regulation to themselves. Parliament can do the one; *they* only can enter into the other. The question of abolition is simple; it is answered by a yea, or a nay; it requires no exercise of invention. The question of regulation is complex; it is stated by a '*quomodo;*' it leads to the discovery of means, and the comparison of measures proposed. We pretend not to dispute the supremacy of Parliament—we only deny its omniscience. Without standing up for the privileges of the colonies, we merely suggest their more intimate acquaintance with the details of the question; and we assert, that the interest, both of the mother country and the islands, requires a subdivision of the labour of legislation—a delegation of certain duties and inquiries to those more nearly connected with the result, and situated more within reach of the materials. If the importation of negro slaves is finally prevented, the stock on hand will be, in general, better taken care of. The preservation of negro life, and the increase of numbers by breeding, is synonymous with humane treatment. The only task will be, to regulate the relative rights of the two classes—to prepare the civilization of the subordinate race, and to check those cruelties which may still appear in a few instances of inhumanity and impolicy. The interest which the colonists must feel in the preservation and increase of their slaves, will render the delegation of these matters to the insular assemblies safe and efficacious.

Notwithstanding his antipathy to the colonial legislatures, the author of the Crisis has pointed out no effectual means of remedying the evils complained of. He asserts, that so long as the colonists make the laws, they will not execute them. He admits, at the same time, that laws have been made, which, if carried into effect, would have remedied, in a great degree, the abuses of the system: And he ascribes the origin of these laws to the discussion of the slave trade in Europe.—Upon this we beg leave to ob-

serve, in the *first* place, that the ameliorated treatment, and the laws relating to slaves, may be, in a great degree, attributed to the slave-carrying bill of 1788—which had the effect of raising the prices of negroes, * and, consequently, of drawing the attention of masters more to the breeding system: and that, if statutes are actually made in communities where all the whites are not utterly corrupted—where some judges and men in office are disposed to observe the laws—where the whole body of planters, and their dependants are not combined as one man, without envy, or jealousy, or the smallest opposition of interests; it is not very easy to imagine, how such a farce can have been carried on; how all the members of the society can have concurred to cheat the mother country, by making a variety of laws without any serious intention of enforcing them; more especially as their conduct was carefully watched by a class of men eager to expose them, and minutely informed with respect to colonial occurrences.—But, in the *second* place, it is incumbent on our author to show, how a regulating act, by coming from the eastern side of the Atlantic, and having the title of a British statute prefixed to it, would be better observed than a colonial law. The same men who combined to make, and disobey and neglect the latter, would not very implicitly execute and submit to the regulation which a body 3000 miles off had made for them.—Our author proposes no plan for remedying this defect. We apprehend, it is essential to his theory, and can only be obviated by the measure which we have ventured to recommend.

In those parts of our author's reasonings which we have hitherto examined, his practical conclusions are rather of a negative kind. We now come to the more definite and substantial part of his plan—the system of colonization which he recommends for Trinidada. Here it is once more our misfortune to differ from him; and we shall, with all possible conciseness, specify our reasons of dissent. The voyage across the Atlantic will neither change the colour of the Æthiopian, nor civilize him; nor alter his habits of indolence, nor inspire him with a love of voluntary labour. Trinidada will therefore be rapidly peopled with two classes of men—a handful of Europeans—and a multitude of Africans, separated from the former by their complexion, their manners, their way of life; connected with them by no common ties, but subject to their dominion; and labouring, that they may reap—or idle and dissolute, and preferring plunder, which is natural to them, before work which they abhor. A moderate power of chastisement, and a right of pre-emption in the labour of their imported negroes,

* This increase of price amounted to no less than 5*l.* Sterling per head, on an average.—Report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789, Part VI.

is proposed as an encouragement to the planters. This will either lead to the dominion of the cart-whip, or induce the insurrection of the Africans. The freedom will either be nominal, or it will be incompatible with the security of the few white proprietors, surrounded by the myriads whom they have torn from their native land, and deprived of all their possessions and enjoyments.

But a body of those men are to be raised by Government, and will be firmly attached to their liberators.—Our author forgets, that, according to his own account of Toussaint's government, military service is held out as a punishment to the free negroes; and he does not consider, that the corps which he describes will view the Government, not with gratitude for having given them liberty, but with resentment for having exiled them from their country. The negro corps in all the old settlements, have, indeed, generally been faithful to their employers, even in disputes with their own countrymen.' But free negroes, surrounded by their brethren in chains, are more likely to take the part of those who have distinguished them with favour, than negroes forming part of a great population, altogether alike in liberty, as well as oppression. It is easy to foresee, that the plan of our author, if carried into execution, will be attended with more danger than the slave system itself; that it will people Trinidada with two distinct races, which can never coalesce, the whites and negroes —two separate orders of men, whose interests are opposite, the oppressors and the oppressed; that the consequence will be a speedy subjugation of the least numerous part of the community, and a renewal, in the Parian Gulf, of those bloody scenes which were enacted a few years ago in St Domingo.

We shall now take leave of this important subject, by bringing into one view, the several propositions which we have taken the liberty of maintaining, in opposition to the doctrines laid down by our author.

In the *first* place, it appears, that the restoration of negro slavery, difficult as it must prove, is by no means a hopeless attempt, or a scheme which has never before succeeded, in cases of formidable insurrection.

Secondly, The interests of France, in the present crisis, coincide precisely with those of the other European nations who possess settlements in the West Indies; and most particularly with those of Great Britain, whose stake in that quarter is the deepest.

Thirdly, The remedy for the evils of our situation, in the sugar colonies, is only to be found in the effectual prohibition of the slave-trade by the British Parliament, and the consequent regulation of the slave-system by the colonial legislatures.

Lastly, We consider our author's scheme of cultivation, by free negroes, to be impracticable; and, for this, we are easily con-

soled, by a conviction, that, if carried into effect, it would be infinitely more dangerous, and scarcely less cruel, than the old system itself, with all its perils and horrors. At the same time, we must, unequivocally, express our detestation of that faithless policy which would extend the slave trade to the new island. We heartily agree with our author in deprecating a measure, at once so thoughtless, so inconsistent, so mean. Although his Majesty's present ministers crept into power, by giving up the great question of Catholic emancipation (to which some of them were pledged), we trust they will not think of retaining their places by any accession of influence that may be acquired through such complicated folly and injustice, as the shameless measure to which we allude.

We rejoiced to see, in the last session of Parliament, a disposition to renew, upon this occasion, the momentous question of the slave trade. We sincerely hope once more to behold the same splendid talents marshalled in the cause of humanity and sound policy, which formerly almost rendered it triumphant; and we expect to find that great statesman, who so eminently distinguished himself upon all the former discussions of the question, in opposition to his own personal interest, will now dedicate a part of his leisure to a contest, in every way so worthy of his powers. If, to this object, he shall devote so much of his time as the '*Catholic emancipation*' does not occupy, his country will have less reason to regret his retirement from office: and if his disinterested efforts in these two great causes, shall be crowned with success, we may almost be consoled for his failure in subduing the enemies of monarchical government, and maintaining the ancient balance of Europe.—'*I decus! I nostrum! melioribus utere fatis.*'

ART. XXVIII. *A Treatise on the Means of Purifying Infected Air, of Preventing Contagion, and Arresting its Progress.* By L. B. Guyton-Morveau. Translated from the French, by R. Hall, M. D. London. pp. 248. Octavo. T. Hurst, Paternoster-row. 1802.

IN a preliminary discourse prefixed to this treatise, the learned author mentions some of the circumstances which at different times had directed his attention to the means of destroying contagion. The zeal and persevering assiduity with which he has prosecuted his inquiries into this interesting subject, are highly meritorious; and it must be matter of no small surprise to his readers, to learn, that his benevolent exertions have hitherto excited little public attention in France. The following paragraphs, while they evince the patriotism of the author, explain sufficiently the object of the present publication.

'Upwards of twenty-five years have elapsed since I published a process for purifying air impregnated with putrid and contagious exhala-

tions. Two well authenticated and decisive experiments attested its efficacy. It was adjudged by the Academy of Sciences, to be the most effectual of any that could be employed. I have not neglected, in cases evidently contagious, which have, unfortunately, been but too frequent, to recommend it to the attention of Government. In a word, foreigners have published accounts of the beneficial effects which have resulted from its employment; yet, in France, it still remains almost unknown to the majority of those who ought to practise it for their own security. The periodical journals daily inform us of the mortality of our hospitals, which carries off both the patients and their medical attendants; nevertheless, among the means employed to check the progress of this scourge, fumigation by the mineral acids is not so much as named: And notwithstanding the *instruction* published by the Board of Health, we have not yet had a single report of the measures taken to carry it into execution, nor of the effects from them.

'If there exist any hope of removing that careless indifference which still abandons, to the ordinary routine of practice, an object so important as the preservation of human life, it is doubtless to be found in offering a more profound discussion of the subject to those who are capable of forming a decision from principles; and in fixing by an aggregate of the most respectable testimonies, the opinion of those who are to be persuaded only by example, and who cannot proceed but in the trammels of imitation.—Such is the proposed object of this undertaking.'

The author divides his treatise into four parts. The first contains *a concise narrative of the first trials of fumigation with muriatic acid.* From this narrative it appears, that in the Winter of the year 1773, the air in one of the principal churches in Dijon was so much contaminated by the putrid effluvia emitted from dead bodies lodged during an intense frost in its sepulchral vaults, that it became necessary to shut up the church. Various unsuccessful attempts were made to purify the air, by the detonation of nitre, by fumigations with vinegar, and by burning in it perfumes and other odoriferous substances. It was at this period that Morveau was consulted, and first carried into execution his process for purifying air impregnated with putrid effluvia, by the vapours of the muriatic acid. The doors and windows of the church being carefully shut up, the vapours of this acid were disengaged from common salt, by pouring on it a quantity of sulphuric acid. The experiment succeeded completely; for, the day after the fumigation, not the slightest vestige of any offensive odour could be perceived.

Towards the end of the same year, an infectious fever had appeared in the prisons of Dijon, and had proved fatal to upwards of thirty persons, when Morveau was again requested to superintend the execution of a similar process, which was accordingly performed with the greatest success. Morveau, in

these fumigations, was led to employ the muriatic acid, from his knowledge of the tendency which it has to unite with, and to neutralize ammoniac, a substance generated during the putrefaction of animal matters, and which he regarded as the vehicle of contagion.

Part Second, which contains *an account of the experiments made by foreigners, respecting the purification of air by fumigation with the mineral acids*, consists chiefly of extracts from the very interesting account given by Mr Menzies, of the experiments with the fumes of the nitrous acid, which he made on board of the Union hospital ship at Sheerness, in 1795, under the particular direction of Dr Carmichael Smyth. It is not our province, nor are we called upon, by any thing in the present narrative, to decide upon the precise degree of merit that respectively belongs to each of these gentlemen, for the efforts which, at very different periods of time, they have made to discover an easy and expeditious mode of destroying contagion. It has been insinuated, that the proposal for acid fumigations originated exclusively with Morveau; and, that all the subsequent improvements in their use, are mere modifications of the process which he was the first to employ. We confess, however, that we are inclined to entertain a different opinion. The first hint for the employment of the muriatic acid, to purify vitiated air, seems to have been given by Dr James Johnstone of Worcester, so early as the year 1758; but it does not appear that any use was ever made of this acid, in the way of fumigation, before the experiments performed by Morveau in the church and prisons of Dijon. It is obvious, from the account which Dr Smyth has given of the jail distemper which prevailed at Winchester in 1780, that it was his intention to have employed the vapours of the nitric acid, for purifying the air of the hospital wards; but the mistake he committed, in supposing that these vapours were to be disengaged by the deflagration of nitre, proves incontestably, that the nitrous acid had no share in the very beneficial effects which his zeal and exertions had, by other means, produced. Had Dr Smyth been acquainted with the account given by Morveau, of his process in the Journal de Physique, it would have been impossible for him to have committed that mistake; since he must have known, that the nitrous acid is decomposed during the deflagration of nitre; and that, in purifying the air of the hospital, the process, which he employed, could produce no other than a mechanical effect. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, from observing, that Dr Smyth does not appear to have known * that Morveau had expressly mentioned the nitrous acid, in his account, as a substance, which,

* See his Description of Jail Distemper, p. 203.

had it been used, must have produced effects more powerful than those of the vinegar employed.

Part Third is entitled, *Reflections on the effects of acid fumigations, and the opinions delivered on that subject.* In this treatise, Morveau uniformly considers contagious effluvia as the result of the putrefaction of animal substances, and the fœtid smell as a test of their presence. This is a principle which pervades the whole of his work, and, in our opinion, vitiates the greater part of the experiments which he has made, and the reasoning which he has employed. It is a principle, certainly, which ought not to have been assumed, unless after a very full induction of facts. The experiments which our author has made, to discover the principles communicated to the air, and the changes which that fluid itself undergoes by animal substances in a state of putrefaction, are sufficiently curious, and seem highly worthy of the attention of the chemist; but we have yet to learn what relation they have to the subject our author was engaged in prosecuting, and what light they can possibly throw on the nature of contagion. Till the identity of *putrid* and *contagious* exhalations is fully established, we cannot reasonably infer, that acid fumigation will destroy contagion, merely from their destroying fœtid exhalations. But so far is febrile miasm from having a putrid smell, that it is not known to have any sensible smell whatever; and the same, we believe, may be affirmed of the contagious matter of the plague, of small-pox, of measles, and perhaps of every other contagious disorder. It is true, we are ignorant of the nature of these poisons; but experience and analogy appear to concur in proving, that, so far from arising from putrefaction, their infectious qualities are destroyed by the affinities which prevail in that process. The examples which our author adduces, of malignant fever arising, in various parts of the world, from the putrefaction of animal and vegetable substances, are of too vague a nature to form the foundation of any rational opinion. Some of them, indeed, as, that of the plague occurring at Venice, from the exhalations of putrid fish; and a malignant fever at Delft, in Holland, from the stench of putrid cabbage; are too ridiculous, to deserve a serious consideration. It was not without some degree of surprise that we found them quoted as illustrations of his doctrine, by a man of our author's information and discernment.

Morveau refutes, by very decisive experiments, the error into which Dr Smyth, relying on the information of Mr Keir, had fallen, of supposing that the air of an apartment was rendered purer, or had oxygen gas added to it during the disengagement of the nitrous vapours; and proves, by experiments equally well

contrived and decisive, the superior expansibility of the vapours of the muriatic to those of the nitric acid.

In the course of this investigation, he is gradually led to abandon, in some measure, the use of the common muriatic acid, and to trust, for the destruction of contagion, to the more powerful agency of the oxygenated muriatic acid gas. The use of this acid, in the way of fumigation, had been suggested many years ago in France; but it was first introduced into practice, in the large wards of an hospital, by Mr Cruickshanks, of Woolwich. Morveau has discovered a method of procuring this acid gas, which saves the operator the trouble of distillation. It consists in adding a mixture of nitric and muriatic acid, or, as it is usually termed, nitro-muriatic acid, to the black oxyd of manganese.

Towards the conclusion of this part of his treatise, Morveau enters into a long dissertation on the medicinal effects of oxygen, and of the preservative and contagious powers of the substances which contain this principle, either in a large proportion, or in a state of loose combination. The operation of medicines upon the human body, has hitherto been considered as a subject involved in great, if not impenetrable obscurity; but this obscurity vanishes before the prophetic eye of our author; and difficulties, which had formerly perplexed the most intelligent physicians, admit of an easy solution, from the well-known and powerful affinities of oxygen.

'Of all the principles (p. 145.) hitherto known, oxygen is the most simple, the most active, and that which changes most completely, the sensible characters, and intrinsic properties, of all bodies. And shall it then be inefficient in disorders! What, then, is it, which constitutes the curative virtue, that physical action of medicines, which physicians have, with reason, called occult, since they could only judge of it from experiment and observation, unless it is a change of combinations produced by affinities?

'This occult action, said the celebrated Venel,* forty years ago, *will be found to be chemical, if it shall ever be discovered.* What he predicted, has been already fulfilled, in part, with regard to oxygen. It is not a theory; it is the evidence of facts, which has demonstrated, that oxygenated substances are medicinal, in proportion to the quantity of oxygen which they contain, and the facility with which they give it out to animal matters; so that, in the very extensive scale of medicinal agents, from the slightest alterative to the most powerful corrosive, this circumstance alone denotes all the degrees, and explains all the differences.

* Encyclopæd. article *Medicine.*

After having proved, by a sufficiently large enumeration of facts, that oxygen coagulates the serum of the blood, cures lues, kills the itch, improves the appearance of cancerous ulcers, and suspends diarrhœa, during the last stage of consumption; our author concludes his account of its virtues, with the following paragraphs, which evince how well qualified he is, to be the herald of pneumatic medicine.

'I conceive (p. 190.) that I have collected a sufficient number of facts and testimonies, to establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, that oxygen, and the substances capable of being used as vehicles for this principle, in a state favourable to new combinations, really excites the action of life, augments the heat, re-invigorates the powers, awakens the sensibility of the organs, and thus imparts to all the movements, that regularity which preserves order in the different functions of the animal economy.'

And again, p. 193—

'Thus, it appears, that oxygen, and particularly the gazeous oxygenants, evidently produce two effects, of the same tendency; exercising, upon the contagious miasmata, an affinity, by which they are decomposed, and aiding nature in resisting that assimulative power which renders them dangerous. When employed in sufficient quantity, and in a state of expansion capable of filling a large space, they correct infected air, and destroy the principle of contagion. This is the object of the fumigations with the oxygenated muriatic acid. Should some noxious particles escape its chemical action; should the means necessary to perform this process be wanting; or, in short, should the danger not be so alarming, as to enjoin these extraordinary precautions, it may, in such cases, be used as a preservative.'

After this long, but curious digression, our author again resumes his subject, by stating the following important question—*Are the same means applicable in the different species of contagion?* Previous to the complete solution of this question, it was necessary to ascertain, what it is that constitutes the principle of contagion. We doubt not but our readers will be greatly instructed by the information contained in the following paragraph.

'It is no longer (p. 208.) an unknown substance, a new element, which impresses its character upon contagious poisons; it is nothing else than an increased activity of one of the simple principles, which so much abound in all animal substances. It is therefore unnecessary to inquire any farther into the origin of this increased activity: it may be naturally explained by the familiar rule, that the more free the bodies are which have an affinity for each other, the more powerful is the affinity: and, by an example no less astonishing, the measure of this power is to be found in the union of the two simultaneous conditions of condensation and weak combination. It is therefore extremely probable,

that it is azot condensed, but at the same time slightly attached, which forms the principle character of all contagious poisons: that they become specific, from the particular nature, and different proportions of the substances which serve as their vehicle; but that their grand energy is, in every instance, the necessary result of the action of this principle, in a state hitherto but little known:—in a word, that it depends upon a real *superazotation.*'

Those who have been able to follow the author through this somewhat intricate explanation, will doubtless be disposed to agree with him in the opinion, that 'should new inquiries tend to give this solution that complete proof which we have reason to expect from every thing that we already know of the results of the animal analysis, the products of putrefaction, the formation of ammoniac and putrefaction, nothing farther will be wanting to establish a solid theory respecting the successful action of oxigenants in every case of contagion.' By reasoning upon these principles, our author discovers, that the means by which contagion is to be destroyed, are as simple and obvious, as the theory by which he has accounted for its production.

'If, then, (speaking of contagion, p. 206.) it is a compound substance, the elements of which are collected by the animal organization, it must be subject to the common law of all animal products. It is impossible that it should resist combustion; and such, we have seen, was the result of the action of oxygen and the muriatic acid gas, which seems to direct the whole mass of the oxygen it contains upon all the bodies subject to its affinities.'

P. 221. 'Thus, the application of principles the most evident; the results of experiments the most decisive; the consequences of observations drawn from the most authentic sources; all concur to establish this general conclusion. If the air, which supports animal heat and life, sometimes becomes the source of the most cruel maladies, from the miasmata with which it is charged; if, at a certain stage of putrefaction of the animal fluids, there is generated contagious virus—the germ of pestilence: our progress in the study of nature has placed preservatives at our disposal—aciform fluids, which restore to the air its salubrity—agents sufficiently powerful to deprive these destructive germs of all power of development. Such are the properties of oxygen, of super-oxygenants, of acid fumigations, and, above all, of oxygenated muriatic acid gas.'

Part Fourth contains *an enumeration of the preservative and anticontagious agents, and remarks on the manner in which they should be employed.* We shall give the bare results, without any commentary. Our readers, however, will recollect, that the anticontagious powers of these agents have been estimated from their effects in destroying putrid or fœtid exhalations.

Water, cold or warm, carries off, by ablution, contagious matters; it weakens, but does not decompose them.

Lime decomposes animal substances before putrefaction, and absorbs carbonic acid; but produces little change on putrid odours.

The *combustion of resinous*, and other *odoriferous substances*, only marks, for a moment, the contagious odours which float in the atmosphere.

Fires may occasion currents in the air, but can only decompose the contagious matters which come within the sphere of their activity.

Gunpowder, like common fire, produces only a mechanical effect.

Vinegar does very well for purifying substances which admit of being immersed in it; but it is neither sufficiently volatile nor powerful, to be employed, with advantage, in large apartments.

The *mineral acids* check both vegetable and animal fermentation, and are capable of destroying contagious virus. The *sulphuric acid* is the least proper, on account of its fixity. The vapours of the *nitric acid* are not easily diffused through any large space, and are easily condensible. The *muriatic acid*, from its prodigious expansibility, is the most advantageous; but it is the *oxygenated muriatic acid gas* which is to be regarded as the most certain preservative from contagion. Morveau mentions that the oxygenated muriat of tin had been proposed by Vicq d'Azyr, in 1780, as a preservative from the danger attending on exhumations. But for a more particular description of the preservative and anticontagious processes, we must refer to the treatise itself. Morveau, we may add, suggests several improvements and cautions in the use of the process followed by Mr Cruickshanks.

In taking our leave of this treatise, we feel that we may be subjected to some censure, for the freedom of the preceding remarks. The very copious extracts which we have given, will secure us, we trust, from the imputation of having wilfully misrepresented the facts, opinions, and reasonings, which it contains. Notwithstanding the unremitting attention Morveau appears to have given to this inquiry, and the great variety of materials which he has accumulated in his work, a regard for truth obliges us to declare, that we have found in it a much less *profound discussion of the subject*, than, from the well-known talents and information of the author, we were prepared to expect. We speak of the execution, not of the object of this work. It is impossible not to applaud the motives which have induced the author to give it to the public. We trust that the conduct of the British Par-

liament, by rewarding, in this country, exertions similar to those of Morveau in France, will operate as an example to the rulers of that country, and induce them to confer some mark of national approbation on that learned individual, who has an undoubted claim to the merit of having been the first to employ acid fumigations in destroying putrid and contagious exhalations.

The benefits of the *practice*, we believe, are ascertained beyond all possibility of question; and the gratitude that is due for its introduction, should not be diminished, by any consideration of the errors that may be involved in the statement of the *theory*.

ART. XXIX. *A Letter to Dr Percival on the Prevention of Infectious Fevers; and an Address to the College of Physicians at Philadelphia, on the Prevention of the American Pestilence.* By John Haygarth, M. D. Cadell & Davis. London, 1801. 8vo. pp. 188.

THE author of this letter has been long favourably known to the public, by his valuable writings on small-pox; and though the discoveries of Dr Jenner, with regard to the vaccine inoculation, may have, in some degree, superseded his former labours, we are happy to perceive he still continues, with undiminished ardour, to carry on the warfare he had commenced; and to meditate, in the present work, a new, and, we hope, not unsuccessful blow, at that many-headed monster *contagion*. From this letter it appears, that, while Morveau was engaged in an attempt to subdue the malignity of all pestilential exhalations, by the short and efficacious methods which chymistry affords, this intelligent physician was no less usefully employed, in investigating the nature of febrile contagion, in so far as regards the laws by which it is communicated, and the means by which it may be prevented. Such of our readers as are already acquainted with the outlines of Dr Haygarth's Inquiry with regard to the small-pox, and of his Plan to exterminate that disorder, will enter readily into the train of investigation which he has pursued in the present publication.

This letter is divided into two parts. In the first, the author lays down, and endeavours to illustrate, certain preliminary principles, from which, in the second part, he deduces a number of practical conclusions.

The facts, or cases, upon which the whole of the reasoning in this letter is founded, are exhibited in the form of tables. In these tables the number of families infected, the patient's name, the date when attacked by fever, the date when fever began after being exposed to infection, the number in the family infected, and the number which remained uninfected, are marked in sepa-

rate columns. This synoptical mode of recording and exhibiting cases in an inquiry of this sort, is attended with many advantages: While it abridges the labour of the observer, it brings within a narrower and more distinct field of view the numerous facts, which, in narration, must have extended over many pages. The facts, which these tables contain, appear to have been observed with great accuracy; but we are doubtful whether they are sufficiently numerous, to warrant conclusions so very general, as those which our author has deduced from them.

In this inquiry, Dr Haygarth, very properly, in our opinion, takes it for granted, that fever is an infectious disease. In the present state of medical knowledge, indeed, it would not, we conceive, be at all more absurd to deny the existence of fever altogether, than to maintain that it is not propagated by contagion.

The proportion of persons susceptible of febrile infection, as calculated from the *data* contained in the tables, is much greater than, we believe, had been commonly suspected. From the facts there recorded, it would seem that not more than one person in twenty-three escape, of those who have been sufficiently exposed to the action of the contagion.

'The same mode of reasoning (p. 33.) as was successfully employed in the inquiry, how to prevent the small-pox, may be equally applicable to the present question. It was there calculated upon the *datum*, that only one person in twenty is naturally exempted from the distemper: that if two together have escaped, the probability that they were never both exposed to an infectious quantity of the poison, is above 400 to 1; if three in a family have escaped, above 8000 to 1.'—'If all the cases (p. 35.) in succession, where persons have breathed the air of a chamber of a patient ill of a contagious fever, and yet have escaped infection, were estimated in this mode of calculation, the chances would be, not only of thousands, but of millions, indeed many *millions* to one, that such persons had not been exposed to an infectious dose of the poison.'

In proposing to ascertain the quantity of febrile poison necessary to produce infection, Dr Haygarth remarks, p. 36—

'In this whole investigation, you will, I am certain, keep in mind one medical truth—it cannot be called a theory, a term often applied to doubtful disquisitions: the larger the dose of a poison or drug, the greater, in general, is the effect which it produces.' &c.

The illustration is ingenious, we confess; but we are ignorant how far we may safely trust to it, in explaining the operation of contagious poisons. If the principle contended for by Dr Haygarth were admitted, would it not follow, that the violence of an infectious disease must always be in proportion to the quantity of the poison introduced into the system? Would not, for

instance, the malignity of the casual small-pox always correspond with the quantity of the poison applied? and, would not the number of pustules, in the inoculated small-pox, bear always a definite proportion to the number and size of the punctures which had been made, and the quantity of inoculating matter introduced? In reasoning from analogy, we are frequently exposed to many unknown sources of fallacy; and we are never more in danger of being deceived, than when we attempt to explain one obscure subject by another.

The sphere of infection appears to extend only to a very small distance from the body of a patient affected with fever.

'In 1777, I began (p. 8.) to ascertain, by clinical observations, according to what law the variolous infection, and, in 1780 and 1781, according to what law the febrile infection, is propagated. I found, that the pernicious effects of the variolous miasm were limited to a very narrow sphere. In the open air, and in moderate cases, I discovered that the infectious distance does not exceed half a yard.—Hence, it is probable, that even when the distemper is malignant, the infectious influence extends but to a few yards from the poison. I soon also discovered, that the contagion of fevers was confined to a much narrower sphere. Upon these principles, which it is the main purpose of this letter to explain and establish, I discerned the safety and wisdom of admitting fever patients into separate wards of the Chester Infirmary itself, instead of an adjoining building, as I had proposed in 1774.'

This is a principle which we should be glad to see fully established, as it would save ourselves and others from many anxieties, which perhaps are groundless, and dangers which exist only in imagination. We must regret, therefore, that the author has not given a more ample detail of the facts upon which an opinion of so much practical importance is founded; as it does not seem to follow from the facts stated in the tables, nor indeed to be directly deducible from any thing contained in the other parts of the letter.

The infection communicated to several persons at the Old Bailey in May 1750, by prisoners who had not the fever themselves, and who were placed, during the whole time they were in court, at a considerable distance from those who received the infection, seems to have occurred to Dr Haygarth, as an objection to the opinion, that febrile contagion operates only within a very narrow sphere: But he endeavours to evade the force of this objection, by supposing, that the febrile poison is infectious at a greater distance than usual, in air which has been vitiated by the respiration of a number of persons crowded together. The production of fever, in these cases, therefore, he regards as an exception to the law usually followed by nature in the propagation

of contagion. We are not prepared to controvert the hypothesis by which Dr Haygarth solves the difficulty; but, upon a subject so obscure in its own nature, as the propagation of contagion, we should feel more indebted to the Doctor for an accumulation of new facts, than for any hypothetical explanations, however ingenious.

We confess we were a little surprised to find Dr Haygarth denying (at p. 54.), in so positive and unqualified a manner, that the clothes of visitors, &c. exposed to febrile miasms, can ever acquire a pestilential quality, so as to communicate infection. He refers, in proof of this opinion, to his Inquiry and Sketch. We have perused the passages to which he refers, but without obtaining any additional information on the subject of febrile contagion. We happen indeed to have ovserved, very lately, two unequivocal instances, in which fever was communicated from one person to another, through the intervention of a third, who himself never had any symptom of the disease; and we are at a loss to conjecture in what way the poison could be conveyed, unless by the clothes. In one of the instances to which we refer, it was conveyed to a distance of more than three miles.

From the invisibility of febrile contagion, our author argues, that it must be dissolved in, and not merely diffused through, the air; and he deduces, from that opinion, the following very important conclusion.

'If the febrile miasms (p. 57.) be dissolved in air, and attracted from it by clothes, they could not, *in the same circumstances*, on any known principle, be again attracted from clothes by air. This would be contrary to the law of elective attraction, which is as well founded as any in natural philosophy.'

This argument, which is intended as a kind of demonstration of the impossibility of infection being conveyed from air to clothes, and from clothes to air again, seems to be somewhat inconsistent with a suggestion contained in page 46.—

'It may be a subject of consideration, whether the mischief produced by the contagion of prisoners in a court of justice, may not be ascribed to the increase of malignity in the febrile poison, when it has long lodged and *putrefied* in dirty clothes and confined air.'

The proposition, however, as stated by our author, is undoubtedly true; but there seems to be an unintentional *equivocation* in the words '*in the same circumstances.*' The laws of elective attraction, we allow to be as well founded as any in natural philosophy; but we deny that they operate in the manner described by our author. Air and clothes have both, by hypothesis, an affinity for the matter of febrile contagion. If clothes, therefore, be

immersed in air impregnated with this substance, they will imbibe a quantity of the poison, greater, or less indeed, according to the respective affinities of the clothes and the air. But it will not follow, from any law of elective attraction with which we are acquainted, that if clothes, thus impregnated, be carried into a fresh portion of air, this air will not absorb from them a greater or less portion of the poison. On the contrary, we maintain, that the poison will pass from the air to the clothes, and from the clothes to the air again, till the affinities between these substances are brought to an equilibrium. Water and common air, Dr Haygarth must allow, have both an affinity for carbonic acid; but, because water absorbs a portion of this acid from air which contains it in abundance, are we warranted, either by experiment or observation, to maintain, that the water will not, in any circumstances, impart a portion of the acid to the air? We are ignorant of the affinities of the different articles of dress for febrile contagion. There may be some among them, for any thing we know, which imbibe in it a large quantity, though it may exist in them in a state of very loose combination. We submit to Dr Haygarth, whether the number of those who, in the common intercourse of society, catch febrile infection, without ever coming into contact with a person ill of fever, or without being able to trace the way in which the infection had been communicated, ought not to induce a belief that the contagion is often conveyed, by clothes, to a considerable distance from the source from which it originates.

We were somewhat amused with finding, in p. 58, a paragraph bearing this very singular title—*Contagion dangerous at a greater distance than fermenting liquors or fire;* nor could we well conceive what the principle was which the author meant to lay down and illustrate, till we came to the following passages.

'But there is another theoretical opinion, delivered on the credit of a physician whose memory I shall ever hold in the highest reverence, which appears to me so erroneous and so dangerous, as to require a full refutation.

'I received the following intelligence from undoubted authority. A celebrated professor, when treating upon the cause of fever, in his lectures on the practice of medicine, expressed himself in the following manner—"Contagion is a matter always deriving its origin from the human body. It has been imagined, that contagions have been widely diffused in the atmosphere; but it has been proved, that when they are diffused, and at a distance from their source, they are rendered harmless. This is similar to vapours of fermenting liquors, and of fire; which, near to their source, are destructive of animal life,

but, at a small distance, become innocent, either by mixture or diffusion. This appears to be the case in contagion." To refute this very dangerous and erroneous doctrine, it will be sufficient to remark, that, in a small, close, dirty room, neither a common fire, nor the fermentation of beer, has any fatal or even pernicious effect. Whereas, in a situation exactly similar, the febrile poison infects all who are exposed, except about one in twenty-three, or a still less proportion.'

We apprehend that our author has in some degree misunderstood the meaning of the professor; for if the principles which he himself has adopted be just, surely there can be nothing either very erroneous or dangerous in the doctrine delivered in the passages we have now quoted. The fermenting liquors and fire are obviously mentioned by way of illustration only; and the celebrated professor (Dr Cullen, we presume) coincides entirely in opinion with our author—that where contagions are widely diffused, and at a distance from their source, they are rendered harmless.

Dr Haygarth is of opinion, that fever is not contagious before the fourth day from the commencement of the attack. It were to be wished he had pointed out the facts upon which this principle rests; for, at present, it appears as if it were derived rather from the analogy which subsists between fever and small-pox, than from any well authenticated and decisive observations.

One of the most curious, and, to us, certainly one of the most original parts of the publication, is that in which our author endeavours to discover how long the poison of fever may remain *latent* in the constitution! From the tables it appears, that the period which elapses from the reception of the poison, till the commencement of the fever, varies from a few days to two months. We are doubtful whether the whole of the calculations with regard to this point rest on a foundation sufficiently solid, as we know of no way in which it is possible to determine when a person, living in a contagious atmosphere, has breathed an infectious dose of the poison. Perhaps this point can be determined, only, by observing when the fever appears in those who have had but a single, and, as it were, but casual intercourse with an infected person.

Few objections occur to us, to be made to the practical conclusions contained in the *second* part of this letter, which have not, in some measure, been already anticipated in our remarks on the principles from which they are derived. Most of these conclusions are of so consolatory a nature, that we wish to see them established beyond the possibility of doubt or of cavil. For

the gratification of such of our readers as may not have seen the letter, we shall give them in our author's own words.

'1. Medical, clerical, and other visitors of patients in infectious fevers, may fully perform their important duties, with safety to themselves.

'2. In any house with spacious apartments, the whole family, even the nurses of a patient ill of a typhous fever, may be preserved from infection.

'3. Schools may be preserved from febrile infection.

'4. In an hospital, infectious fevers ought never to be admitted into the same wards with patients ill of other diseases.

'5. When an infectious fever is in a small house, the family cannot be preserved from it, unless the patients are removed into a separate building.

'6. In like manner, infectious fevers may be prevented in the army and navy.'

The fourth conclusion has not, hitherto, received that attention from those who are entrusted with the management of the sick in infirmaries, which its importance seems so obviously to demand. To introduce, with our knowledge, a patient ill of a fever into any ward, among those who have not the disease, appears to us to be no less culpable than 'wittingly to allow the admixture of a small proportion of a poisonous ingredient, as arsenic, into the diet of an hospital.'

The proposal, to have a large room set apart, in boarding-schools, hospitals, &c. for the reception of those who may be occasionally attacked by fever, or any other infectious disorder, has our most hearty approbation. It must, were it carried into execution, prove the means of saving many from falling victims to contagion.

We concur also with the author, in thinking that the establishment of fever wards in infirmaries, next to a perpetual attention to cleanliness, and a free ventilation in private dwellings, is the means, of all others, best calculated to arrest the progress, and diminish the number of contagious diseases.

In the course of this letter, Dr Haygarth alludes to the practice of acid fumigations; but as he does not particularly recommend them, we infer that he places no very great dependence upon their use. We are, however, inclined to think, that though a due attention to cleanliness may render them, for the most part, unnecessary in private houses; yet that there are many situations in which their use ought not to be dispensed with. They cannot fail to be of advantage in fever wards, in jails, in hospitals, and in ships; in short, wherever the febrile poison may be supposed to exist in a concentrated state.

There is a caution of great national importance, suggested by our author, which seems to be highly deserving of the attention of those who are entrusted with the management of the Navy—'Prisoners, taken out of an infectious jail, should never be mixed with the crew of a ship, till a sufficient time had elapsed to discover whether any latent poison had infected them.'

In the address to the College of Physicians at Philadelphia, Dr Haygarth adduces very solid reasons for believing the yellow fever to be contagious; and proposes that measures, similar to those he has suggested with regard to fever in general, should be adopted for its extermination.

We cannot take leave of this benevolent and intelligent author, without expressing to him our grateful acknowledgments for the pleasure and instruction we have received from the perusal of his letter; and insinuating, at the same time, our persuasion, that this letter is intended merely as a prelude to a fuller investigation, and more enlarged discussion of the subject of febrile contagion.

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ART. I. *Philosophie de Kant, ou Principes Fondamentaux de la Philosophie Transcendentale*, &c. The Philosophy of Kant, or, the Fundamental Principles of Transcendental Metaphysics. By Charles Villers, Fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences of Göttingen. One large volume 8vo. Metz, 1801. Sold by De Boffe, London.

HOWEVER numerous the states, into which the great boundaries of nature, or the commerce of policy and of the sword, have divided the human race, it has been a customary form of thought to consider the sciences as refusing every geographical barrier; and we have heard of the republic of letters, till we almost believe it to exist. Amid those desolating hostilities, which represent man only as the enemy of man, there is a relief in this innocent cosmopolitanism, that atones in some degree the violence of national animosity; and we willingly forget, that the great Republic, one and indivisible, has in truth almost as many divisions, with mutual jealousies and mutual ignorance, as the political relations which it comprehends. It is not merely for the works of *the immortal Ilixofou*, as in the apologue of Goldsmith, that a traveller from the Chinese wall may ask in vain. There are in every country names as illustrious, which have been stopped, in the progress of their glory, by the unfortunate position of a mountain or a river; and though we will not say with the commentator of Kant, that it is as difficult for *any good book*, as for the whole Austrian army, to effect the passage of the Rhine, a *system of metaphysics*, we will readily allow, is of almost as difficult transportation: nor would it have surprised us more, had the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles been fixed at Paris, than if, in persevering attendance on the sage of Königsberg, the experimentalists of the Institute had abandoned their physics, and the gayer literary assemblies their romances and their epigrams, for the study of *transcendental æsthetics*, and all the refinements and abstractions of *pure reason*. The tardiness with which the discoveries of Newton, so simple and so important, and so readily corresponding with the general habits of science,

were adopted in that large province of the literary republic in our immediate neighbourhood, is well known; and we therefore feel no astonishment, that the glory of illuminating his countrymen, in *purisms* and *supersensibles*, should have been reserved for M. Charles Villers, in the 9th year.

Of the very doubtful reception which awaits a work, on a subject so little in unison with the habits of Parisian literature, its author is fully aware. The nature of those habits he discusses at great length, and, contrasting them with the more metaphysical turn of thought which prevails on the opposite bank of the Rhine, attempts to explain the difference, by the force of literary primogeniture. Philosophy and the belles-lettres still assert their peculiar claim, where the rights of each were earliest allowed. In France, the inquirer into causes and effects came in late succession to the poet and the novelist: in Germany, the poet and the novelist succeeded the sage. The one country had already produced works of elegance, which were valued as classics by all Europe, when, to the greater number of its writers, the sciences were almost unknown. These formed the glory of more northern states, which could boast of eminence in every branch of philosophy, when, in literature, their praise amounted only to length of commentary and extent of erudition. We fear, however, that an explanation of this kind rather admits the difficulty, than removes it. We are told to look back to a distant age, but we gain no light from the review; for, if we must admit a greater tendency in France to the belles-lettres than to the severer studies, it is as easy to admit it without a cause at present, as at any former period; and if any other cause exist, it is absurd to ascribe the difference to mere chronologic dates. Celebrity will, indeed, excite to imitation; but the celebrity must have been first acquired. Nor, if it were true that the genius of a nation could be traced to its *ancient* fame, would a French metaphysician have much to dread. He would address a people, whose early habits were similar to his own, who, in the ages of scholastic glory, as M. Villers himself confesses, attracted the disputants of every nation, by the exquisite subtilties of their own distinguished schoolmen, and who aspired to the empire of the gayer and softer feelings, only after they had perplexed, in idle, but ingenious controversy, the profoundest thinkers of Europe.

The fact, however, whatever be its cause, is certain. It is not in France, in its present sensualism of taste, that the love of abstract metaphysics can speedily be revived; and there is reason to fear, that, even in England, the reproach, if it be allowed to be a reproach, is in a great measure deserved. We are, indeed, less disposed to ridicule a science, because it is necessarily subtile, and has often been abused in fantastic refinements; but we are content to be dully indifferent, and can hear of a system

which has divided into patrons and opposers the whole thinking part of a large empire, without any public curiosity to become acquainted with its merits, or to know enough, even of its imperfections, to comfort ourselves with the certainty that our neglect of it has been deserved.

The illustrations which we are about to review, are dedicated to the National Institute of France, as 'the Tribunal invested with Supreme Jurisdiction in the Empire of the Sciences.' Since the late revival of Roman titles, by the consuls, senators, and prefects of the French, we have been so much accustomed to magnificence of official designation, that we are not astonished at any pomp which may be assumed within the outline of their own map. But when, in a work of strict science, the author becomes so poetic in his adulation, as to raise imaginary empires, and give away their best offices to any patron who may choose to countenance his book, we cannot refrain from asking him, by what commission he has derived that right? *The supreme jurisdiction of the sciences*, it certainly is not in the power of M. Villers, or of his bookseller, to bestow; and the nomination does not come with a very good grace from him, who has spent a large part of his work in proving, that the French are any thing but men of science. It is but an awkward and unfriendly dilemma, to which the great theorist is reduced by his foreign commentator. He must either receive the approbation of a society, which confessedly has yet to acquire the habits of abstraction necessary to the just appreciation of his doctrine; or, if he do not receive it, he must submit to see that doctrine condemned by the supreme court of Science, from whose decision there is no appeal.

In a long preface, some particulars are given of the life and works of the philosopher of Königsberg. He is represented as having never withdrawn, in a life of nearly eighty years, from his native city, contenting himself, in the true simplicity of a sage, with the occupations of study, and the society of a few favoured friends. It is not merely as a metaphysician, that he claims to be considered; for there is scarcely a science which he has not endeavoured to illustrate. 'He is a mathematician, an astronomer, a chemist: in natural history, in physics, in physiology, in history, in languages, and literature, and the arts; in all the details of geography, as they relate to the exact situation of the parts of the globe, their inhabitants and productions—every thing is familiar to him.' His commentator, zealous for his fame, contends that the planet *Herschell* ought rather to have been known to astronomers under another name; as, twenty-six years before the discovery of that portion of our system, its existence had been predicted by Kant, in some 'conjectures on the heavenly bodies which probably exist beyond the orbit of Saturn,' published in 1755, in a work entitled, 'The natural history of the world, and theory of the hea-

vens, on the principles of the Newtonian philosophy.' His conjecture was founded on the progressive increase of eccentricity in the orbits of the planets, according to their distance from the sun; from which he conceived it necessary to the harmony of the system, that, to prevent the sudden disproportion, there should be other orbits of progressively increasing eccentricity between Saturn and the least eccentric of the comets. The first traces of that metaphysical system, which has given such celebrity to his name, are to be found in his inaugural dissertation *De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiis*, written in 1770, when he was appointed to a professorial chair in the university of Königsberg. But it was in 1781 that the full development of its principles appeared in his * *Review of pure Reason.* This celebrated work was neary six years published, before its importance was at all understood: and it is perhaps one of the most striking instances of the reverses of literary fortune, that the bookseller by whom it was published, was about to destroy the copies as waste paper, when a sudden demand required and exhausted rapidly three new editions. The doctrine was soon presented, under innumerable forms, by a multitude of commentators; among the earliest and most distinguished of whom were Reinhold, the son-in-law of Wieland, and the mathematician Schulze. Of its subsequent fortune, it is needless to speak. Though we know little more of Kant, we at least know, that his system had, in almost every philosopher in Germany, either an avowed partizan, or an avowed antagonist: but the English reader, better acquainted with the poets of that country than with its philosophers, will be surprised to learn, that he has enjoyed the benefit of this ponderous system, even in the lightest of his readings. With Schiller and Göthe we are all acquainted; and Schiller and Göthe are adduced as instances of poets, who have made to their delightful art 'a happy application of the principles of the transcendental philosophy.' We wish that the nature of this application had been more particularly pointed out; for to us the study of mathematics appears as well fitted for giving poetic inspiration, as the study of the categories. To think with passion, we must have adopted an external world, and diffused animation over it. It is the *empirical* and *transcendent* philosophy, therefore, which alone can suit the poet; and these are the very systems which it has been the laborious endeavour of Kant to overthrow.

We shall now proceed to give a short view of the opinions of

* The German title of this work is *critik der reinen vernunft;* and the system it contains is commonly known under the very absurd name of the *critical philosophy*, which, at least to an English reader, is very little significant of the peculiar process of thought it is intended to denote. The *self-reviewing* philosophy would have been a term more diagnostic. But the other term has now almost prescriptive right; and we have therefore retained it in the discussion which follows.

this celebrated theorist; at the same time premising, that we are unacquainted with his original works, and that the justness of our sketch, and consequently of our own objections, must therefore depend wholly on the fidelity of his expositor. To prepare this short view, from the work before us, has been a task of no easy labour: for M. Villers, probably in the hope of gaining over the lighter fancy of his countrymen, has had little mercy for the methodical habits of sober and contented investigation. In his *preliminary remarks*, which occupy much more than half the volume, he has thought it necessary to intermix, with short and broken portions of the system, a perpetual episode of declamation on every incidental subject. There is no attempt to develop, in regular order, the parts of a great whole. After being made acquainted with the divisions of *empiricism* and *rationalism*, and the superiority of *transcendental* views, we are led away, by a simile or a metaphor, to the crimes of mobs, and encyclopedists, and guillotines; to the saving virtues of the armies and the emigrants; and to the still more powerful atonement of that great * Apollo of the Thuilleries, by whom the Python of Jacobinism was slain. To many of these digressive passages, it is impossible to deny the praise of that diffuse species of eloquence, which often pleases us, in the allusions to the same period of dreadful interest, that are interspersed in the later writings of Laharpe. In literature, however, we can read, and pause, and return. But, in a work of severe investigation, which professes to introduce us to a new system of the principles of all human knowledge, a simple statement of the doctrines it includes, in that exact and regular series in which they rise from each other, would, to us, have been much more satisfactory, than all the ornaments which the richest and most rhetorical imagination could supply.

Philosophy, in relation to the process which it adopts, is considered by Kant as of three kinds. It is *dogmatical*, when it founds a system on principles assumed as certain; *sceptical*, when it shows the insufficiency of those principles which the dogmatist has assumed; and *critical*, when, after adopting the objections of the sceptic, it does not rest satisfied with doubt, but proceeds to inquire, from what principle of our nature the illusions of the dogmatist have arisen, and, by a minute analysis of the *cognitive powers* of man, traces the whole system of his knowledge through all the modifications of its original *elements*, by his *independent and fundamental forms of thought*. It is in this analysis, that the spirit of the critical philosophy is to be found; and, till the process have

* Période de boue, d'impiété et d'inhumanité, d'où devaient résulter tous nos maux! Limon infect où devait prendre naissance le *Python* jacobin!—Mais respirons; celui qui devait le terrasser a paru. Les mœurs, la pudeur et les chastes Muses retrouvent en lui leur soutien; et l'antique *Apollon* de l'art, arrivé au même-tems, semble n'être qu'un symbole dans la capitale de la France. P. 165.

become familiar, the whole system must appear peculiarly unintelligible: but, when the reduction of all our feelings to their objective and subjective elements is well understood, though we may still be perplexed by the cumbrous superfluity of nomenclature, we are able to discover, through the veil that is cast over us, those dim ideas which were present to the author's mind. According to Kant, then, it is necessary, in investigating the principles of knowledge, to pay regard to the two sets of laws, on which the nature of the *object* and of the *subject* depends. It is from their joint result, as directing the *influence* of the thing perceived, and as directing the *susceptibilities* of the percipient, that knowledge, which is thus in every instance *compound*, arises: and this compound of objective and subjective elements might be modified equally, by the change of either set of laws; as the impression of a seal may be varied alike, by a change of figure in the gem, or by a difference of resistance in the parts of the wax, which are exposed to its pressure. The subjective elements are by Kant denominated *forms;* and each function of the mind has its peculiar forms, with which it invests its objects, uniting with them so intimately, as to render apparently *one* that feeling, which cannot exist but as *combined* of different elements. Nothing therefore is known to us *as it is;* since we acquire the knowledge of an object, only by the exertion of those laws, which necessarily modify to us the real qualities of the object known. Philosophy, therefore, in relation to its belief of external things, is *empirical*, when it believes them to exist exactly as they appear to us in each particular case; it is *transcendent*, when, using reason to correct the false representation of the senses, it believes that the objects of our senses exist in a manner *really* known to us, after this correction, though different from their immediate appearance in particular cases. In both these views it has relation only to their *objectivity*, or to their qualities as independently existing in themselves; and is therefore erroneous, as those qualities cannot be discovered by us. It is *transcendental*, when, considering them in relation to our own powers, it investigates the *subjective elements*, which necessarily, in the exertion of our independent laws of cognition, modify the qualities or elements of the object as perceived. Since it is thus impossible to know the *world as it is*, we must content ourselves with the knowledge of the *phenomenal world*, and with that *reality* which is merely *subjective*. The system of our world is thus *idealism*, but an idealism in which we may safely confide; though we must be assured of erring, whenever we ascribe to it *objective certainty*. There exists, however, an independent system of *noumena*, * or *things in them-*

* This word is evidently an abbreviation of the Greek νουμενα, which, in our opinion, would be much more applicable to external things, *after* they had undergone

selves, though we cannot know them as such, from the unavoidable modification of every *objective element*, by our own forms of cognition. To determine what is subjective in each peculiar perception, the nature of the *subject* must be investigated. This subject is *self*, the being to which we give the name of I, when we say, *I* know, *I* will. It has three great faculties; *cognition*, by which we know; *volition*, by which we act; and *judgment*, which is in some measure intermediate, being neither wholly speculative, nor absolutely practical, but determining to action, and thus forming the bond of our knowledge and our will.

Pure cognition is divided into *pure sensibility*, *pure* * *intelligence*, and *pure reason*; the products of sensibility being *sensations*, the products of intelligence *conceptions*, and the products of reason *ideas*. This division is not inconsistent with the absolute fundamental unity of the cognitive being, that unity, of which we are conscious in all the diversity of our feelings, and without which *we* could not exist. The threefold action is even in some measure aided by the unity itself; for, from a law of our nature, we strive, by a perpetual synthesis of comparison and arrangement, to bring the diversity of our sensations, as nearly as possible, to the oneness of which we are conscious in ourselves.

Pure sensibility, comprehending all those feelings in which *space* and *time* are involved, is *external*, when it refers them to space, and *internal* when it refers them to time. In itself nothing is *larger* or *smaller*, or *before* or *after*; for space and time, the *forms of sensibility*, by which a *subjective world* arises to us, are not, in any degree, objective and real, but are modes of *our own* existence as sentient beings. It is impossible for us to imagine any body, which does not exist in space: it is impossible for us to imagine any feeling, which does not exist in time. With the abstraction of these, every thing to us perishes; but the certainty of space and time remains with us, though every object were conceived to be annihilated. Hence, space is an indispensable condition of the possibility of bodies, but bodies are not necessry to the possibility of space. That it exists in ourselves *à priori*, and independently of experience, is shown by the impossibility of acquiring it from

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gone the *forms of our cognition*. If the terms must be adopted, we should be inclined to reverse the use of them, and call a *phenomenon* whatever affects the external sensibility, and *noumena* the subsequent *compounds* of perception.

* The original term is *verstand (entendement)* which may be more simply translated *understanding*; but the term we have chosen, which is merely the Latin corresponding word with an English termination, however singular its use may at first appear, is preferred by us to its more common synonym, from the very circumstance that it *is* less common. In the use of a term to which we have been long accustomed, there is much danger of error, when the limitation of its meaning is not precisely the same; and *understanding*, in its usual acceptation, is significant, not of a single function of the mind, as in the transcendental vocabulary, but of the union of all the intellectual faculties.

without. Space includes three dimensions. Sight, smell, taste, hearing, are evidently incapable of affording these: nor is touch, to which Condillac ascribes its origin, more susceptible. We gain the idea, says he, when our hand passes over a surface: but he has already supposed a surface and a hand; and what resemblance is there of a simple feeling, to a body of three dimensions? Nor can space be supposed to arise from abstraction, for by abstraction we separate only simple qualities: but space is not a simple quality, capable of being perceived separately in bodies; it is the necessary condition of their existence, implied in the first perception of the infant, which supposes an object external to itself. In every sensation there must be elements both objective and subjective: the subjective must be permanent as ourselves, the objective fleeting as the occasion. Space, therefore, being invariably present amid all the apparent changes of quality, is subjective in *us*; occasioned indeed by the sensation, and rising *in* it; but not an objective part of it, depending on *experience*. If that were its origin, we should be allowed to conclude, only, that all the bodies yet known to us are extended, and not that all bodies must have extension. Yet the certainty of this we believe with equal force; since, space being a subjective condition of knowledge, we feel that every impression, by a law of our nature, must be invested with its *form*. On this, the *apodictic* or demonstrative certainty of geometry depends: for, as pure space is the form of the external sensibility of all men, the *extensive properties* of pure space must, to all men, be the same. It is a peculiar distinction of mathematical ideas, that they consider not *intensive* but *extensive qualities*, all the degrees of which are equally capable of being rendered sensible, so as to correspond exactly with a sensible object. Of degrees merely intensive, as of the varieties of *force* in physics, and of *benevolence* in ethics, no delineation can be given.

The *internal sensibility*, by which we discover our own mode of being, with all the changes that take place within us, gives us the idea of time, in the succession in which it represents to us our feelings. All the arguments which prove space to be a form of our cognition, are equally applicable to time. By this, we invest our internal affections with succession, as we created to ourselves a subjective world by the investiture with space. From succession we derive our idea of number; and time being, like space, an universal form, the apodictic certainty of arithmetic is easily explained.

If we had sensibility alone, the world would be merely a number of detached beings; it would not be that great whole which we call *nature*. This is produced to us by *intelligence*; that power, which, receiving the products of sensibility, establishes their relations, and, arranging them in classes, forms *conceptions*. As, in sensation, there are the necessary forms of space and time; so are

there necessary forms of intelligence, to which Kant, adopting the well-known term invented by Aristotle, gives the name of *categories*. These are reduced to four orders; *quantity*, *quality*, *relation*, and *modality*: To the first of which belong the categories; 1. *unity*; 2. *plurality*; 3. *totality*: To the second, 4. *affirmation* or *reality*; 5. *negation* or *privation*; 6. *limitation*: To the third, 7. *substance* and *accident*; 8. *causation*, or the laws of cause and effect; 9. *reciprocity of action* and *reaction*: To the fourth, 10. *possibility* and *impossibility*; 11. *existence* and *non-existence*; 12. *necessity* and *contingence*. No act of intelligence can take place without the union of these four forms of thought, in some one of their modifications. Like space and time, however, they are no part of the object, but exist *à priori*, and independently of all experience in the subject who *intelligizes*. Thus, to take an instance from the categories of quantity, the idea of number cannot form a part of any object. We hear a sound; we again hear a sound: but, when we say that we have heard *two* sounds, we have invested a product of sensibility with a form of our own intelligence. These fundamental conceptions may be combined, so as to form other conceptions equally independent of experience; as when, from substance and causation, we derive the conception of *force*: or they may be united with the pure forms of sensibility; as when, from the addition of temporary succession to existence and non-existence, we form the conception of *commencement*. For determining to which of the categories our sensation belongs, there are four *forms* of *reflection*, corresponding with the four orders: for the first, *identity* and *diversity*; for the second, *conformity* and *contrariety*; for the third, *interiority* and *exteriority*, by which is meant the distinction of the attributes of an object as originally existing in itself, or as acquired from without; for the fourth, *matter* and *form*. These four *reflective conceptions*, though, like the categories, existing *à priori*, differ from them, as not being applied to the *products of sensibility*, to fix their relations and mode of being, but to the *conceptions* of objects, to fix their appropriate place in the system of our knowledge.

Pure reason is the third mode of our cognitive faculty. It is applied to our *conceptions*, and is that which considers them as *absolute*. Its three great *ideas* are, *absolute unity*, *absolute totality*, and *absolute causation*. These become *objects* to us, or *ideals of pure reason*, by investing them with our own felt and fundamental unity; which individualizes absolute unity, as in the *human soul*; or absolute totality, as in the *universe*: and the ideas acquired from *practical reason*, of absolute power and goodness, are, in like manner, individualized in *God*. Every act of *reasoning* implies an absolute idea. Thus, when we say, *all bodies gravitate, and the air, being a body, must therefore have weight*, the validity of our conclusion depends on the universality of the major proposition. To

these absolute ideas we are led, by an irresistible impulse of our nature towards infinitude. They are forms existing *à priori* in the mind; for our senses give us the perception only of that which is divisible, limited, caused. With the unity of the human mind, or the infinity of the universe, or the great source of phenomenal nature, no corporeal organ can make us acquainted.

Each of the cognitive functions having thus its peculiar forms, we are guilty of an *amphiboly*, when we ascribe to one the pure forms of another; as when, in the material atoms of the philosophy of Epicurus, we invest our external sensations with the idea of *absolute simplicity;* or when, adding to the same sensations the absolute idea of *causation*, we erect a theory of atheistic materialism. In like manner, the combination of absolute ideas with our internal sensibility, ' of which the form is time, and the general representation spirit,' gives rise to all those systems of spiritualism, which suppose a simple, unextended soul. The perplexing controversies on the divisibility of matter, are the product of a double amphiboly, which confounds sensation and conception.

The preceding summary comprehends the laws of cognition. But man does not exist to *know* alone. He wills; he acts; he is the subject of *practical reason*. The knowledge of his powers and his duties, he cannot acquire from external impressions on hi sensibility, from any arrangement by his intelligence of the products of his sensibility, nor from the addition of the forms of pure reason to the conceptions of his intelligence. But man is known to himself by consciousness. All other beings he knows only subjectively. Himself, however, the sole exception in nature, he knows in objective *noumenal* reality. He has not, therefore, to reason, or apply those forms which belong to his conceptions. He has only to observe his own nature; and in it he feels that he possesses freedom of volition, because he feels that he is able to will: he recognizes a principle of duty which commands him, under the certainty of future responsibility, to act or to abstain. There are two imperious voices which say to him, *Be happy, Be virtuous*. In many cases, it is impossible to obey both. But the one is a voice of more rigid command than the other. It says not, *if thou will, if thou can*, like that which bids him be happy: it pronounces with legislative authority, *thou oughtest, thou must;* and self-contempt, and self-esteem, are the immediate punishment and reward with which it sanctions its will. His choice, however, is not constrained. He may prefer to duty the pleasures which are more immediate; but, in daring to disobey, he has already begun to endure the penalty. The duties commanded by this internal voice, are reduced by Kant to two maxims: *Regard constantly every reasonable being as an end in himself, and not as a mean of benefiting others;* and *act in such a manner, that the imme-*

diate motive of thy will might, with advantage, become an universal law in the government of all reasonable beings.* These laws exist *à priori* in the mind; and, therefore, are not subject to the laws of cognition. At the same time that we are conscious of their force, we discover the necessity of future reward and punishment; and, confident of immortality, 'we feel, in the sanctuary of our being, that, quitting this phenomenal world, we shall find virtue and happiness united in the world of *things in themselves.*' To responsibility, it is necessary that there should be a judge. This judge has absolute goodness; because from him, our ideas of the *just* and *good* proceed. Since all finite reasonable beings have the same practical reason, there must be a *supreme universal infinite reason*, which, manifesting itself to all, announces the same laws. 'This supreme reason, this absolute goodness, this judge, the rewarder of virtue, is God:' not, indeed, the God of speculation, *whose existence may be asserted or denied by arguments of equal force.* He is not the result of the ratiocination of man. 'He does not need to rest on the two premises of a syllogism, as the colossus of Rhodes stood elevated on its pedestals of rock. † He is the true God, of whom no argument can deprive us; because, not having his origin in cognition, he is not subject to its forms; a God who is *not eternal*, *not* in *space*, *not* in *time*, *not* a *substance*, *not* a *cause*, and of whom it is not less absurd to say that he *exists*, than to say that he is *blue* or *square*.

In this short view of the principles of Transcendentalism, we have endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid the perplexity of new terms. Of these its author has been profusely liberal; and to them he is probably indebted for a large share of that favour which his system has received. In minuteness of nomenclature, there is an appearance of nice distinction, which prepossesses us with respect for the acuteness of the inventor's powers: and as, in the infinity of objects which present themselves to our observation or fancy, the resemblances and dissimilarities are infinite, there are no bounds to the multitude of classes in which they may be arranged. The resemblances in a new system are, probably, as real as in those which preceded it; and we therefore think that we have made a large accession to our knowledge, because, by a new analysis and synthesis, we have combined the results of our former experience in a varied collection of terms. Of the doctrines themselves, considered independently of nomenclature, our opinion is very different from that of the admiring disciple, who now offers them to our veneration; and we are par-

* We have added the words *with advantage*. In the original, it is merely *may be such as to become an universal law (puisse devenir)*, which, if it be not elliptical, is wholly unintelligible.

† Il n'a pas besoin des deux prémisses d'un syllogisme pour se tenir debout, comme le colosse de Rhodes appuyé sur ses deux rochers. P. 159.

ticularly astonished, that, in the country of Leibnitz, their celebrity should have been so great. We see in them a forced combination of jarring principles, rather than a perspicuous and analyzing originality of reflection. The self-reviewer, who professes to examine with accuracy the first elements of his belief, doubts and asserts on the same principle; and after having overturned the dogmatism of others with the most unbounded scepticism, and raised dogmatism anew, on the loose materials of that foundation which his scepticism had overthrown, he thinks that he has avoided the objections which may be urged against both, because he has given a new name to the combination of the two. In this manner, he has indeed made a partial attack more difficult, because he can entrench himself at will in either system: but his theory is not the less incoherent and feeble, when assailed as a whole. The merit of Kant appears to us to consist less in invention, than in occasional deductions from the opinions of others. It is that part of his system which may be considered as a commentary on the innate susceptibilities of Leibnitz, for which alone we consider the world as indebted to him; and perhaps, in the present circumstances of philosophy, even the extravagant length to which he has pursued a just principle, may have been of favourable influence. Against the more inviting system of *sensualism*, in which all knowledge is supposed to consist of original impressions from without, or of abstractions or new combinations of original impressions, which has spread so rapidly from the writings of the late French metaphysicians, and which charms us even while we deny it, by its appearance of simple truth, a plain statement of the doctrine of anterior susceptibilities would perhaps have had little effect. It required a bolder enunciation of its force to surprise into discussion; and discussion, excited as it has been, in one country at least, to such enthusiasm of inquiry, will terminate, we trust, in the mutual correction of the errors of Condillac and of Kant.

In examining the validity of the doctrines of transcendentalism we shall follow the order in which they were stated.

The existence of a system, which is neither dogmatical in its first principles, nor altogether sceptical, it is impossible to admit. We demonstrate, only from something which we take for granted; and this first principle must be stated or understood *dogmatically*. The critical philosopher, it is said, goes along with the sceptic, in exposing the illusions of the dogmatist; but, if every principle assumed be dogmatism, with the sceptic he must also rest. To go farther, and inquire into the source of each illusion, is to do nothing more than dogmatize in a new way; for he must believe the illusion to have taken place, because a certain source of illusion existed, which he must demonstrate from some principle acknowledged before, and therefore confessedly in need of support;

or from another principle, which he assumes without proof. In what, then, does he differ from the theorists who have gone before him? All, at least in modern times, have been critical, as all have professed to examine the faculties of the cognitive being. Of this examination, there are various degrees of accuracy, and the theory of transcendentalism may therefore be a better dogmatism than others; but still it is not distinguished by any new character, so as to deserve a peculiarity of name. In the mere belief of the subjectivity of perception, it certainly is not original; for it would be difficult to find a philosopher of the present age, who retains the belief of the actual unmodified representation, by the senses, of the qualities of external matter. In one circumstance, however, we differ from the transcendentalist. We own the subjectivity of our perceptions; but we are convinced of the impossibility of analyzing them into objective and subjective elements; since to us, by the laws of our nature, these elements must ever *co-exist*. It would not be more absurd to assert, that an eye, on which blue and yellow rays were continually poured together in one unvaried sensation, could, by the mere exertion of internal powers of thought, discover the nature of the compound beam.

As an illustration of the possibility of this analysis, M. Villers adduces the probable reflections of a camera obscura, which, by the power in him vested, he has endowed with animation. * To the sensorium of this transcendentalist, the light is supposed to pass through a coloured medium; and the subjectivity of the colour, as a part of its sensations, it is affirmed to be capable of discovering, by the exertion of its own unaided powers. To us, indeed, who know that light has been decomposed in passing, it is easy to make the inference, that all the objets in nature are not red; but we cannot suppose the machine itself, however subtile, to be capable of such an inference. It may, indeed, attain that acuteness of scepticism, which denies the existence of external objects; but it cannot separate their believed existence from their redness; since it is only as *definite redness* they can be known by

* Even though the reasoning from transcendental machinery had been just, there is something so ludicrous in the conception, that an author, who designed it only for illustration, would have been very cautious of repeating it. But, with M. Villers, it is a favourite figure; and he introduces it sometimes in such a manner, that we are uncertain whether it be his wish that we should laugh with him at the follies of metaphysics, or content ourselves with being seriously convinced of the truth of his argument. The following passage is surely more in the manner of Voltaire, than of the grave professor of Königsberg—'If our camera obscura should think of theorizing upon the redness, as belonging to objects out of itself, and existing really, it would, without doubt, find many good reasons for explaining it, by the disposition of the parts of objects, by the refraction of light, and a hundred other fine things, which other cameræ obscuræ of its own stamp would admire, but to which a camera obscura, with a little knowledge of transcendentalism, would listen only with a smile of derision.' p. 242.

it to exist. It certainly cannot separate the extension from the redness, so as to conceive the redness to belong *wholly* to itself: and, without this complete analysis, no progress is made in transcendentalism. Still less is it possible, as in another illustration adduced by M. Villers, that, by the elliptical figure of the image it reflects, a cylindrical mirror should discover its own figure; for, the cylinder, forming no part of the image, more would be necessary than the mere separation of coexisting qualities. The supposed illustrations, however, even when admitted in all their circumstances, show nothing more than the impossibility of that which they are intended to prove; for if the camera obscura, like the human philosopher who finds all his sensations invested with space, should conceive the redness with which its sensations are invested to be a mere form of its own sensibility, it would consider, as subjective only, what was, in truth, a combination of *objective* and *subjective* elements, and would thus arrange a system of very erroneous philosophy; which, if published in the shape of a 'review of pure reason,' might perplex, and mislead, and set at variance, with endless controversy, all the telescopes, and mirrors, and magic lanthorns, of a whole optical museum.

The faculties of the mind are, by Kant, said to be three, and the division is supposed to be compatible with its fundamental unity. But the mind, he allows, is not an object of *cognition;* it has *noumenal* existence in our consciousness. The categories, therefore, cannot be applied to it; for they are applicable only to *phenomena.* But unity and number are subjective categories; and hence we cannot justly say that there are *three* faculties of *one* mind. We fear that this argument will be considered as a subtlety merely verbal; a charge, which the combatant of verbal subtleties must often expect. But at the same time that it shows the absurdity of asserting the unreality of number, on principles which, in the first proposition they include, have assumed it as certain, it marks strongly the dogmatism of that philosophy which considers itself as the great overthrower of dogmatism. For proof of the unity of the cognitive being, recourse seems to have been had to the *common sense* of the later Scotch philosophers; but to Kant it is not common sense; for, denying the reality of an external world as capable of being known by us, he cannot appeal to universal belief. If his own feeling, therefore, be considered by him as a just ground of certainty, he must believe himself incapable of error; and if he be incapable of error, it is absurd to inquire into the sources of illusion. What that is, which has three faculties, it is indeed impossible to conceive. When we say, that it is extended, or *matter*, and when we say that it is unextended, or *spirit*, we are alike accused of an amphiboly, or a paralogism; which are very fine words, expressive of mistake. It is not to *mind* itself that the categories are applicable; for mind would

then be a phenomenon, and not a reality. It is not a *substance*, it is not in *time*, it has no *existence*, nor *possibility* of existence: without *succession*, it exerts three progressively succeeding faculties, and exerts them too, without having in itself any power of *causation*. On the strict principles of transcendentalism, it does not appear to us more reasonable to believe the actual existence of a being, that knows, and judges, and wills, than to acknowledge the infinity of external space. To say, that the one is a form of thought, and the other a reality, is to say nothing; for both feelings are equally strong, and equally unsubstantial.

But we will admit to the transcendentalist his solitary noumenon, and its separate functions. The affections of the mind are awkwardly arranged, as knowledge, judgment, and will. Of the peculiar nature of judgment, indeed, which, in the common acceptation of the term, appears to be included in the second and third offices of the cognitive faculty, M. Villers has left us wholly uncertain: but, from the subjects which he enumerates, as forming a part of his promised review of it, it seems to be nearly synonymous with *taste*, or perhaps to include the more active office of *imagination*. But the division is not merely awkward, as involving in one term affections of little similarity; there are also many affections which it seems impossible to reduce to it. The joy which we feel on a fortunate occurrence, our sorrow on a disagreeable one, our complete despair when every exertion has been vain, may rise indeed from knowledge, but are not themselves knowledge, nor judgment, nor will.

A similar objection may be made to the subdivisions of the cognitive faculty. If the mere addition of one form of thought, as of the *absolute* in pure reason, authorise a change of term in the function; cognition, instead of three distinct titles, should have as many as its subjective forms.

On considering the theory of sensibility, the first observation that occurs to us, is the singular mixture of opinions which it presents. The truth of space and time is denied by the usual sceptical arguments. No new inquiries of transcendentalism are made; because, with that opinion, inquiry would be useless: yet, as if some new foundation had been given for the belief, the transcendental sceptic asserts the existence of noumena, which, though perceived only subjectively, yet influence our sensibility, and entitle it to the name of *external*. The idea of any thing external to ourselves, is confessed to involve space; yet, with the denial of space, the reality of objects external to ourselves is affirmed; and the affirmation is peculiarly frivolous, since *real* objects not having causation, which is *phenomenal* only, cannot affect our sensibility. It is not enough to say against that solitude of self, which the consistent disciple of Berkeley must adopt, 'that our mind re-

volts, and is indignant at the very idea,' p. 81; or that 'he professes a belief which is not human, and which, therefore, among human beings, can never be the doctrine of a numerous sect,' p. 82: for the argument is of equal force against transcendentalism, which, if consistent, is precisely the same doctrine, with a new name. The professors of both, if they really disbelieve the existence of space, may indeed be assured, that their sect never can be a large one; because to them there is no other being to whom they can make known their creed. The theory of Kant, therefore, appears to us to be nothing more than the common *assertion* of every sceptic, together with that practical *belief* which every sceptic feels, but which, for the credit of his theory, he usually keeps within the silence of his own mind. We are convinced that there is no human being, who does not, by his actions at least, evince his reliance on an external world, and the succession of time; though we are convinced also, that there is no one who can give a reason for the faith that is in him. We therefore do not deny the justness of Kant's conclusion; for its unanswerable force, in mere argument, was felt, long before the philosopher of Königsberg was known. But, the truth of space and of the world being to our reasoning scepticism the same, we cannot deny space, and admit the reality of sensible objects. The theory which combines these may be celebrated as original; but its originality consists only in the combination of opinions, which before were considered as incompatible.

Against Condillac it is urged, that, in ascribing our idea of space to touch, he has already supposed a surface and a hand; but Kant, in ascribing it to *external sensibility*, has already supposed an *object*. His argument for the subjectivity of space, from the permanence of the subject, and the fleeting nature of the object, still more strikingly presupposes space and time; for, if there be no real succession, all things are equally permanent; and unless we have previously known, that, of the great multitude of our feelings, a certain number only have proceeded from external objects, during all which the *form* of space was permanent, that very form must be allowed to be fleeting; for all the affections of our mind are not referable to three dimensions. We may remark also, that, on the principles of Kant, our dreams and reveries are, in truth, as little illusive as our waking perceptions, the reference to space being all which constitutes external sensation: and the man who dreams that he has murdered an adversary, has therefore murdered a human being as truly, as if, in the intercourse of the day, he had stabbed his friend. Smell, taste, and hearing, as they do not involve length, breadth, and thickness, should be referred by Kant to *internal*, rather than *external* sensibility. From the observations of those who have been

couched, the same appears certain of vision: and Kant must therefore, with Condillac, whose opinion he attacks, ascribe our knowledge of three dimensions, not objectively indeed, but subjectively to the single organ of touch.

To say that space must be subjective, because we cannot conceive a possible body without length, breadth, and thickness, is but a verbal sophism; for we give the name of *body* only to that which has those dimensions. It might be inferred with equal justice, that there are no objective elements in our perception of the human figure, because, without experience, we believe that every future *man* must have all those parts which are comprehended in a just definition of man. To the transcendentalist, who supposes totality and plurality to be conceptions *posterior* to sensation, there is, besides, a peculiar and insurmountable difficulty, of which he seems not to have been aware, in that *immediate* investiture with space which he affirms to be necessary to sensation. Space having several dimensions, necessarily involves parts; and a body must therefore be considered as a *whole*, previously to all conception of *totality*, or *sensation cannot be invested with space*. This objection appears to us completely decisive against the whole theory of *cognition*: for, if an exertion of *intelligence* be not necessary to *connect* in *one body* the separate dimensions, it is as little necessary in reducing to one great assemblage the boundless phenomena of *nature*.

We do not see for what reason time is considered as *peculiarly* a form of internal sense; for we invest with succession the changes without, as much as those within, and believe that ages had revolved before ourselves had being, in the same manner as we believe that there is an infinity of space, to which we have never penetrated.

The explanation of the apodictic certainty of geometry and arithmetic is surely not transcendental. The propositions of these sciences cannot have relation to *the forms of thought of every thinking being*; because man is to himself the only object known *as he is*. Other beings are noumenal to him, and their real forms of thought beyond the possibility of his knowledge. Besides, though the three dimensions of space were known to him as universal, little could be inferred from them alone; and a figure of 1000 sides, the properties of which are equally apodictic as those of a triangle, is certainly an idea as little present to the general mind, as any in physical science. But though all the possibilities of figure and of numeral combination were universal forms, the feeling of duty, and of God, is allowed to be equally universal: yet it is almost by their controversies alone, that ethics and theology are known to us as sciences. Their universality, therefore, does not render the *relations* of the universals apodictic; nor ought the

transcendentalist to ascribe the exactness of mathematical ideas to their capability of sensible delineation; for their incapability of this is very justly urged by him, as one of the most powerful reasons for believing that there are ideas not acquired from experience. The two great conceptions on which geometry depends, are, as M. Villers himself has said, an indivisible *point* and *infinity*, which no corporeal organ can originally afford us, and which it is in like manner impossible for us to delineate in any sensible representation; and he triumphantly asks, whether it be possible for the eye to distinguish a polygon of 999 sides from one of 1000, though the different relations of their angles be exactly understood? A sensible delineation would be applicable only to a few cases, and not to every possible case. We have complete certainty, without any diagram, that the shortest line between any two points is a right line; and, without this previous certainty, a thousand trials could not convince us, as there might still be an untried curve, to which our stubborn proposition would be obliged to yield.

Of the table of *forms of intelligence*, little more is necessary to be said, than that, like the more ancient arrangement by Aristotle, it is altogether useless. The only valuable arrangement of relations, is that by which objects are combined in the common order of the sciences; and we receive as much real knowledge, in being told that we have *spoken prose* all our lives, or that in every proposition something must be *affirmed* or *denied*, as in being told, that we must always predicate quantity, quality, relation, and modality. Instead of saying, that the intelligence has twelve categories, which existed *à priori* and independently, it would have been at least equally just, and certainly much more simple, to say, that *in every case of felt relation*, the mental affection which constitutes that feeling, was not a part of the separate perceptions. It did not indeed exist *à priori*, for the perceptions were prior; nor independently of experience, for, without the perceptions, it never would have arisen: but it existed from a law of *the mind itself*, which was so constituted, that, on the perception of certain objects, the *new feeling* of relation should arise. This feeling is to us completely different from either perception, considered separately; and we have always been astonished that the total want of resemblance did not occur with immediate confutation to the authors of those systems of *sensualism*, which endeavour to reduce all our knowledge, *as parts*, to our original external perceptions.

Whatever be the value of the table of *categories*, the *reflective conceptions* appear to us in no respect different. The *conformity* of two sensations is felt, at least, as immediately as their *reaction*; and both conceptions equally fix the appropriate place of our sensations in the system of our knowledge.

It is a singular confusion of cause and effect, to say, that the reflective forms are distinguished from the categories, as being applied only to the comparison of our conceptions,* when it is owned that it is from previous reflection the conceptions themselves arise.† If it be only after the observed *conformity* of successive sensations, that we say there are before us *two* objects of a species, the category of number is certainly not the prior feeling. The conformity is more truly a conception, since it is the immediate application of intelligence to the products of sensibility.

If *pure reason* be merely the mode by which our conceptions become to us absolute, it will be difficult to bring under it that regular series of propositions to which we commonly give the name of *reasoning*. When we say, *all bodies gravitate;* this proposition, which is in truth nothing more than a common instance of generalization, may be allowed to be a product of reason. But when we add, *the air is a body; the air must have weight:* these propositions are acts of intelligence, and have nothing absolute in them, more than any common application of the categories. Nor is totality always necessary even to one of the propositions; for we have reasonings of probability, which depend on discordant results of the past. Thus, when we say, *from the appearance of the sky, it will probably rain soon*, we do not assert any thing absolute: yet we reason; for reasoning does not require *universals*, but *generals*. To the exercise of pure reason there is no tendency peculiarly irresistible. The idea of infinity rises in our mind by a law of our nature; but by a law not more powerful than that by which, in certain circumstances, we acquire the sensations of sight or touch.

Of *ideals*, as opposed to *ideas*, we do not understand the difference; for nothing is gained by adding our own *oneness* to absolute *unity* or *totality*, which, in the very conception, are *one;* and it certainly is not meant, that we apply to those ideas any other circumstance of our consciousness, than the *fundamental unity;* for the *ideal* of the universe is not invested with our knowledge or passions. The difference of the ideal of the human soul, and of that *unity of consciousness* which must be felt, previously to the existence of the ideal, is too nice for our discernment.

The amphibolies, paralogisms, &c. of which Kant speaks, are impossible, as they suppose a standard which is not in our possession; a corrector of reference, where reference cannot err; a mode of knowing objects different from that of the constituting forms of our cognition. Till the transcendentalist give us a new mode of

* Elles ne s'emploient qu'à comparer entre elles les conceptions des objets. P. 299.

† C'eſt auſſi par la réflexion tranſcendentale que l'entendement examine et décide auxquelles de nos catégories il convient de rapporter des objets donnés à la ſenſibilité. P. 298.

discernment, we must believe *whatever* is invested with space and time to be, *by that very investiture*, a *sensation*; *whatever* is invested with the categories, to be a *conception*; and *whatever* is absolute, to be an *idea*: so that the error of our application, if in truth there be an error, must, to us, be for ever unknown.

Even on the supposition of amphibolies, as capable of being discovered, the peculiar instances are not well explained. If external sensation give us the knowledge only of that which is extended, the mere consideration of it, as absolute, may afford the idea of infinite extension, but not of an indivisible monade. Nor does materialism, in the atheistic sense of the term, arise from the addition of absolute causation to external sensibility; for causation means only the power of producing a change, and has no other reference to the causing substance; which may have existed from eternity, or begun to exist, without a cause, or by divine volition, at the very moment in which its energy was exerted. Between *simple causation*, a category *justly* applicable to external sense, and *absolute causation*, there is in truth no difference; for both mean only the power of producing a change: and if it be not *cause*, but *effect*, which is considered as absolute, the application of this would rather lead to spiritual theism. That *spirit* is the general representation of that internal sensibility, of which the form is time, is a proposition more of mysticism than of philosophy. Absolute time is eternity; which, if it be an archetype of any thing, has no nearer resemblance to *spirit*, as commonly understood, than to *matter*; and if all that is necessary be the want of dimension, the sensations of sound or smell being as little extended as love or hate, or any other internal feeling, might, with equal reason, be considered as the object of the supposed amphiboly of the human soul.

The perplexities which arise from the consideration of matter, either as infinitely divisible, or ultimately indivisible, receive no solution from all that M. Villers has stated. Our error, he says, consists in confounding *matter*, as a mere object in space presented by our sensibility, with *matter* as presented by our intelligence in all the aggregate of conceived relations. * 'As an object of sensation, matter must always be reducible to an atom, or first element, which itself also must be in space, and therefore ex-

* We think it necessary to add the whole passage from the original, as we may have been led into a misapprehension of its meaning, by the attention which M. Villers has paid to an excellent rule of rhetoric: a subject, in itself most obscure, he has certainly succeeded in treating with all appropriate obscurity: 'La question agitée si long-tems, et abandonnée ensuite par désespoir, de la divisibilité ou nondivisibilité de la matière à l'infini, ne tirait toute sa difficulté que d'une double amphibolie de cette sorte; les uns voulaient appliquer tout le jeu de l'entendement à la matière comme objet de notre sensibilité; les autres prenaient pour un objet de notre sensibilité la conception de matière; ils confondaient en attribuant l'intuition à l'entendement,

tended; because nothing imperceptible can belong to our sensibility. But, when considered as an object of intelligence, there must always appear a possible division or reduction from the state of matter into that of unextended thought, *since it is already as a thought we consider it;* and as there is no apparent transition from the one state to the other, we connect them by *interposed infinity*, as in the system of monades.' In both cases the *matter* of sensibility is said to be confounded with the *matter* of intelligence, and to be combined with the transcendental ideas of *absolute simplicity* and *reality*. The attempt to explain a difficulty with such increase of difficulty, is like the kindness which would free us from the doubtfulness of twilight, by casting us into utter darkness. In both the cases adduced we see much confusion of another kind; but we do not see that confusion of the representations of separate faculties, which M. Villers condemns. *In both*, the perception of matter, as an object in space, is derived from sensibility; but, *in both*, matter is considered *categorically:* for we cannot think of division, without the conceptions of plurality, possibility, &c. The *atomist*, therefore, does not err, by confounding the representations of separate powers of cognition, but by using, in reference to products of the same power, terms which are contradictory; for that which is in space, having still dimension, must still be potentially divisible; nor does its infinite divisibility arise, in any manner, from the necessity of combining it with thought, by the medium of infinity. If that were the only reason of inferring it, the difficulties which are its consequence, might be very easily obviated by the simple denial of the antecedent: for there is in truth no transition, in such inquiries, from matter to thought, but from matter as existing combined, to matter as existing separately; or, if we be denied the knowledge of any thing but our own affections, from one thought to another. If there were indeed a necessary transition from matter to thought, the interposed infinity, having nothing common with either, could not connect them, more than the sensations of light and fragrance could be connected by

et la conception à la sensibilité. Celui qui opère sur la matière en tant qu'objet *senti* et *perçu*, doit toujours, en résultat, trouver un premier élément qui soit quelque chose d'étendu et de perceptible, qui occupe un lieu dans l'espace, car on ne peut supposer à la sensibilité aucun objet imperceptible; d'où le système des atômes matériels, et la *philosophie corpusculaire* d'*Epicure*. Celui, au contraire, qui opère sur la matière en tant qu'objet *pensé* et *conçu*, doit apercevoir une division toujours possible de l'état de matière jusqu'à l'état de *pensée*, puisque c'est sur une pensée qu'il opère: or comme entre ces deux états, l'esprit ne voit pas de mode de transition, il y met l'infini; d'où le système des monades. Le tort de l'un et de l'autre, c'est de confondre la matière en tant que représentation de la *sensibilité*, avec la matière en tant que représentation de l'*entendement*. Il y a aussi deux *idées* transcendentales, celle du *simple absolu*, et celle du *réel absolu* qui jouent ici un rôle.' P. 297.

a sound. There is therefore no aid to the perplexed metaphysician in the principles of transcendentalism, which, if adopted, only establish with greater force that infinity of parts which he is unable to comprehend: for the conception of an object, *as a whole* in space, is a just application of a category which necessarily involves divisibility; and every object of sensibility, being confessedly reducible to elements which are still extended, 'since we cannot suppose sensibility to have any object which is not perceptible,' must, at every stage, be justly conceivable as a whole in space: and we are therefore entitled, without an error of philosophy, to assert, that matter is infinitely divisible. There is, indeed, one sense, in which the result of the reasoning of M. Villers may be understood, and which, in spite of the laboured antithesis of the opposite opinions, we believe to have been that which suggested confusedly his transcendental explanation. It may be said, that in asserting the infinite divisibility of matter, we take for granted matter as an object known to us, while it is of our own feelings only we have real knowledge; and a feeling, being *one*, is not infinitely divisible. Had this been stated, we should have had less scruple in giving our *verbal* assent; because the argument is, in truth, unanswerable: but it is unanswerable, precisely as the arguments of Berkeley and Hume against an external world. However impossible it be for us to disbelieve it, we certainly are not justified by any process of ratiocination, in assuming the existence of objects without; but, having assumed their existence, it is equally impossible for us to conceive their parts as without dimension, at any stage of potential division. The complete denial of external things is the only shelter to which we can safely have recourse. If that alternative, impossible to our *feelings*, be not adopted, we must submit to the acknowledgement of the infinite divisibility of matter, in all its perplexities of language and of thought.

To the validity of *practical reason*, it is necessary that we admit the objective certainty of *self*, and of all those modifications of self of which we are conscious. That objections may be made to this appeal, M. Villers is fully sensible.—'Perhaps this immediate consciousness, this internal perception of *man*, is but a new product of that speculative reason which has already deceived me; an *ideal* forged by itself; an illusion; a phantom! It seems to me, indeed, that it exists independently of all speculation; that it is the great and *living* being within me. But this very belief may be a mistake. From whom shall I receive a pledge of its reality, a proof that it is something more than a simple conception of fancy?' p. 367. After all this rigour of scepticism, he proceeds to give the desired proof with that com-

plete pomp of demonstration, which is implied in the French *voici*, * for which the more modest English has no corresponding idiom. 'The destiny of my being is not simple knowledge. I am formed also, as its higher development, to will and to act: I must influence, and be influenced by every thing which surrounds me. Hence proceeds an order of realities, which have in me their source and principle. My actions, and the volitions which determine my actions, not given me from without, but created and modified by myself alone, have therefore an existence, to me more truly real than that of external things. They arise from the centre of my being, in the fundamental reality of my own internal consciousness; while external things, arriving at that centre only after the modifying influence of the medium through which they passed, have but a secondary reality, of which I may justly doubt. My actions are determined by my will; and my will is the immediate result of that consciousness in which I exist independently of things. My actions, and their directing volitions, are therefore a proof, that the feeling of *self* is not an illusion. Their reality is the desired pledge of its reality. I will: and by the sublime truths which my volition affords me, I am raised to the rank of a being who lives in all the plenitude of life.' To this parade of language, of which, in abridging the verbal amplitude, we have retained all the reasoning, we must do the justice of saying, that we have seldom seen an objection more magnificently evaded. The position, which was intended to be proved, has indeed been assumed in every sentence; but it has been assumed with such just regard to the principles of harmonics, that, after more than two pages of majesty and melody, we feel something like the remorse of ingratitude, in reverting to the original question. The question was, whether the feeling of self, in all its modifications, be not an illusion like that of the phenomenal world? and we are told, that because man is destined to act, and his action is the immediate result of his will, and of his will he is conscious; there are therefore self, and will, and action. Had M. Villers merely said, that because we are conscious of self, self exists; though we should perhaps have denied the agreement of the position with his general scepticism, we should at least have acknowledged its force as felt by ourselves. But, when he contends, that the mere combination of a series of feelings, which all equally depend on the truth of the question itself, as being all equally real, or equally phenomenal, is a proof of the reality of the feelings combined, we are less disposed to be merciful to inconsistency; and must require, from him who considers consciousness

* Voici la reponſe à ces doutes: voici la garantie demandée.

as a thing to be proved, some mode of reconciling the belief of the reality of a combination of feelings with the previous ignorance of their reality, as separate. It is not because man is an active being, that he has objective certainty of himself; for the same certainty is equally felt in the most passive of our sensations; and, in truth, we know that *we act*, only because we have taken for granted that, which is considered as proved by action. Our *will*, before the experience of action, is to our consciousness a passive feeling; and our knowledge of the *action* is transcendentally less certain, because it can be acquired only from the phenomenal world of space and time, in which the changes produced by our action take place. Even though the explanation were in all its other circumstances just, how many forms of intelligence and sensibility does it consider as realities! The destiny of man, the development of his being, the system of things created by himself, the succession of his will and action, have no meaning, unless we admit time, and causation, and number, and the categories of modality; so that the highest of all realities, the elevating sublimitics of our being, are only the illusions of unsubstantial forms, which are at once the cause and the effect of every certainty we feel.

The doctrines of practical reason are four; the liberty of will, the obligation to virtue, our existence in a future state, and our responsibility to a supreme Creator and Judge. On all these subjects, the transcendentalist has more than usual inconsistency. He declares that they are not objects to be *known* or †*proved*, in the strict sense of the terms. He rejoices that he knows nothing of them. 'He would even fear to know any thing of his duties, of God, and of his soul; convinced, that if they were objects of his knowledge, they must be in themselves illusions, phenomena purely human of his mode of seeing and conceiving.' p. 360. Nothing, therefore, is more evident, than that the forms of cognition are not justly applicable to objects which belong not to cognition. Such an application would be an amphiboly, or a paralogism, or an error of perhaps still longer name; yet there is not an idea of practical reason in which the forms of our *knowledge* are not involved.

Freedom of will implies *number*, because there is choice; it implies *existence*, and *possibility*, and *causation*, because there is power; it implies *time*, because there is the succession of will and action: *it*

† How unfortunate is it for a person, who looks forward with such fear to the knowledge of his duties, that he should afterwards be obliged (though, we make no doubt, with great reluctance) to confess, that they are now irresistibly established by the most rigid *proofs*;—avec une rigueur de *méthode*, et de *preuves*, qui ni laissent nul recours raisonnable à l'opiniâtreté qui ne veut pas être convaincu. P. 388.

is therefore an error to say that the will is free. * But though the application of the categories were allowable, the feeling supposed does not justify the assertion. Consciousness informs us only of the present, or, if memory too may be included, of that which is really past. It does not inform us of that *which might have been the past.* Thus it tells us that we did will a particular action, or that we do will a particular action; or, from that law by which we infer the future from the past, that if we shall will a particular action, the action will ensue. But it is conjecture, and not consciousness, which tells us, that, the circumstances of the past having been the same, we might have chosen a different action. It is not enough, therefore, for Kant to say, that we have freedom of will, because we are conscious of the power of willing; for the most rigid necessarian does not deny that power. He contends for it even more earnestly than the defender of what has been called its freedom: for action, as far as it is not governed by the motive decisions of reason, resembles more the convulsions of the morbid body, than the graceful and spontaneous movements of the healthy limb.

Of moral duty it may be said, in like manner, that *transcendentally* it cannot exist. The voice of conscience, commanding to certain actions, implies succession, causation, existence, and other forms which are applicable only by an error of philosophizing. We have, in certain cases, the feeling of duty; but we have also, in certain cases, the feeling of external independent space. Of this latter, it is at *least equally* difficult to divest ourselves; and we are convinced that in the mind of others, if of others we may be allowed to speak objectively, the feeling of duty can as readily be laid aside as that of external things. The livelieness of conviction, the universality, every circumstance is the same. But there is no really existing space: it is therefore probable, that the voice of conscience is in like manner an illusion. Such appears to us the reasoning of the rigid transcendentalist. But the disciple of Kant, less consistent, admits and rejects with equal readiness where the evidence of both is the same. Nor is the confessed illusion merely of equal strength of evidence: the belief of it seems absolutely necessary to the existence of duty. What room is there for the exertion of virtue, where other beings cannot be known to us as objects? We surely cannot increase the happiness of him of whose desires we are ignorant, nor relieve a misery which exists but in our own forms of thought.

* This species of strict confutation, *ex concessis*, will not appear unmerciful to those who have observed the lavish use which the transcendentalists themselves have made of arguments of a similar kind. The only difference is, that we argue from the principles of him whom we oppose; and that they conceive they have triumphed, when they have merely shown the inconsistency of their own opinions with those of any other theorist.

In the maxims which are given to us as a summary of virtue, we observe no peculiar merit; and on the transcendental theory of morality, which supposes it to be a voice within us, independent of experience in its origin, and incapable of being aided by any maxims, or stilled by any of the seductions of life, the parade of precept seems to have very little meaning. It is not more absurd to command a human being to invest his external sensations with space, than to command him to listen to sounds which are ever speaking to his heart, and from which it is impossible for him, in any situation, to withhold his attention. If any new duty could be taught by it, a maxim might be of value. But duty can receive no addition, since it is wholly independent of experience. It cannot be taught: for we teach only that which can be *known*: and duty is merely *felt*.

If, however, maxims be of importance, the negative part of the first should certainly have been omitted: for, though it be perhaps better, upon the whole, that we should consider every thinking being as an end in himself, so far as *not to injure him* for the good of another, there are innumerable situations in common life, in which an individual may be employed, without injury, but at the same time without reference to himself, for the good of a third person. Even where himself is the great object, it is surely no want of virtue to consider him also as a mean, in the good which our action, with respect to him, may produce to others. The beautiful progression of good, by which a virtuous action is diffused in its effects over a multitude of unknown beings, is at once a delightful contemplation and a powerful excitement to the benevolent mind. Had the first liberators of an injured country, if we may be allowed to take a melancholy example from the recent events of our own time, foreseen a period of future invasion of its rights, and trusted, in rousing their little band, that their example might, after many ages, inspirit their descendants to a similar resistance of oppression; we surely cannot think that their zeal would have been less ardent, or that, as an object of our interest, it would excite feelings of less virtuous sublimity.

The second maxim, when stripped of the mysterious majesty of its terms, is only the common doctrine of *utility*; but with an expression so very complicated and artificial, that it loses all the effect of a proverb, for which alone such maxims are valuable. *An universal law of nature* is not an object apprehensible by the multitude. It might have been more simply, and therefore better stated—*Do that which it would be of advantage, upon the whole, that every one should in a similar situation imitate.* Even this, however, is without that quick felt application to self, which is of such

power in the proverbial Christian maxim, and which much more than compensates the cases to which that maxim is inapplicable.

The belief of the reality of a future state, forms a very inconsistent part of a theory which denies the actual succession of time; nor, omitting this fundamental objection, do we understand the poetry with which the state of future being is described. The mind cannot quit the phenomenal world, unless it cease to exist with all its necessary and independent forms. Though *around* it (for we have yet no noumenal language) be a system of *things in themselves*, there is a subject, as well as objects; and this subject cannot fail to modify the external influences. Our knowledge of external things must be combined, as at present, of objective and subjective elements; and the world may change its laws, but in all its changes it must to us be *phenomenal*.

In reviewing the Transcendental theism, we own, that it is very difficult for us to restrain that feeling of the *ludicrous*, which, on a system so respectable, in its celebrity at least, we are unwilling to indulge. An absolute unity, which is neither one, nor more than one, a creator of all things without causation or priority, a judge of the past without succession of time, a being who does not * exist, are so utterly inconceivable by us, that, if theism depend on the conception of them, we must overcome the strongest reluctance of our nature, and be atheists, when the most delightful of our feelings has ceased to be possible.

The animadversions we have made on the Transcendental theory, have, we trust, justified our assertion, that its originality consists merely in intermingling, as parts of one system, without regard to its general harmony, the practical belief which the sceptic has always felt, with the tenets which he speculatively avows. The critical philosophy has not connected these discordant opinions; it has merely placed them together; and, when thus exhibited, we do not feel more strongly the possibility of their coalescence. It is acknowledged by M. Villers, that Kant is thoroughly acquainted with the metaphysical writings of every country in Europe; and we think we trace in him a peculiar acquaintance with those of our own language. The *egotism* of Berkeley and Hume is largely incorporated in his system, and combined with the opposing tenets of the school of Dr Reid. If, to the *common sense* of that school, we add the *innate susceptibilities* of Leibnitz, and the denial by Hume of *necessary connexion in causation, and of the reality of external perception*, we bring before us the *theory of cognition* of Cant. But the force of common sense, and of the distinction of innate ideas, is invalidated

* M. Villers adds, in a note, as if astonished at the fact, that it was for denying the existence of God, that Fichte was declared an atheist by the theologians of Dresden. P. 341.

by the denial of the reality of our external knowledge; and the denial of the reality of our perception of objects in space, is invalidated by the adoption of the principle of common sense.

It remains to us only to say a few words on that part of the merit which belongs to the exposition of the theory. To its frequency of digressive declamation, we have before alluded: and we can assure our readers, that, whatever terrors may be associated in their mind with the formidable name of Kant, they have little to fear in the summary which his disciple has given them. Instead of being dry and repulsive, it has the contrary fault of too lavish ornament. There is occasionally a richness of metaphor, which would have delighted us in a work of less rigid science; and which, when we consider the genius of the people to whom it was addressed, was perhaps, even in an abstruse investigation, an artifice of prudent skill. Had our limits permitted us, we could have selected many passages of great oratorical interest. We could also have selected many, which, in attempting unusual strength of imagery or expression, have bordered very closely on badness of taste. But in reviewing the exposition of a system, of which, in the different senses of the terms, we have at once heard so much and so little, we thought it of more consequence to examine the merit of the theorist, than of the commentator. At the same time, we readily confess, that the qualities he has himself exhibited in this humbler office, have a just claim to our regard. We are sensible of the zeal and the eloquence, with which he delivers a series of doctrines, that to him appear of no common value; and we applaud the sentiment with which, as a citizen retained unwillingly from the nation which gave him birth, he offers to it the acquisitions of years of absence. 'Prevented,' he says, 'by circumstances, from the glory of attaching my name to those great events, which have produced so memorable a reform in the political situation of my country, it shall be found there, at least among the names of those who, in the calmer labour of intellectual reform, have been assiduous to hasten the development of a purer morality, and a stricter science.' p. lxvii. The enthusiasm with which the effects of the principles of transcendentalism are, on every occasion, exhibited, though it may not have excited our sympathy of admiration, has convinced us at least of the reality of their expounder's esteem: and if our opinion of their value were equal to his own, we should see little occasion for regret in those circumstances, which, withholding the doubtful distinction of attaching his name to the fleeting tumults of the day, enabled him to acquire, and communicate to a great nation, a system of the most important knowledge, and thus to perpetuate his name with the eternal interests of moral and scientific truth.

ART. II. *Travels in Greece and Turkey, undertaken by order of Louis XVI, and with the authority of the Ottoman Court.* By C. S. Sonnini, Member of several Scientific and Literary Societies, of the Societies of Agriculture at Paris, and of the Observers of Men. Illustrated by Engravings, and a Map of those Countries. Translated from the French. 4to. pp. 540. 1801.

'THESE Franks must be great blockheads,' said a Turk, speaking to his companion of M. Sonnini, 'since this one, who, among them is reckoned intelligent, knows nothing of what may be useful to him.' It is our opinion, however, that the belief of this true believer was an erroneous belief; and that our author's discernment both of the *utile* and the *dulce*, is much more extensive than he imagined. For instance, he has discovered, to a certainty, that the possession of the Grecian Isles would be extremely useful to France; moreover, he has discovered that those isles are admirably adapted by nature to flourish under a consular government: and we, not to be left behind in the perception of utility, have discovered, that the government of Crete or Cyprus would be both useful and agreeable to M. Sonnini.

The cowardice, ignorance, and dishonesty of the modern Greeks continued long to be the theme of travellers, and particularly of the French. But it is now discovered, that under these qualities are concealed the germs of every thing great and heroic; that the valour of ancient Sparta, the elegance of Athens, and the refinement of all Greece, wait only to be relieved from the barbarous oppressions of the Turks, to burst forth in all their original splendour.

The French writers were not always so tremblingly alive to the wrongs and misfortunes of the Greeks. Whilst Turkey was an ally of France, the Turks were a brave, an honest, and a generous nation; though it was to be desired they could abate something of their intolerance, together with a certain haughtiness of deportment, by no means characteristic of the best company. But the inconceivable dulness of the Sublime Porte, in not perceiving how infinitely the possession of Egypt by France must have redounded to its advantage, has bereft its subjects of all their virtues, and magnified their iniquities to a degree no longer supportable.

The Ottoman government is vicious in its principles, and still more defective in its administration: we by no means propose to undertake its defence; and if ever we publish plans for a perfect government (which are wonderfully salutary when confined to paper), the members of the Divan are the last politicians we should think of consulting. But the candid and impartial, before they attribute the whole of the change in the situation of Greece

to the Turkish government, would do well to recollect, that, under the Roman dominion, the Greeks had entirely lost their martial spirit, and degenerated to a nation of dastardly sycophants; and that their commerce and industry had undergone a remarkable declension, under the eastern empire. The thirty years drought, which lately desolated the plains of Cyprus, was probably not owing altogether to Turkish oppression; and it is natural to imagine, that those islands (such as Scio), where the Mohamedans do not interfere in the internal arrangements, furnish a tolerably exact measure of the prosperity that would have been enjoyed by Greece in general, had it never been subjected to its present rulers.

The work before us may properly be considered as a sequel to our author's interesting travels in Egypt. On the 17th of October 1778, he set out from Alexandria, and, somewhat prematurely, exhibits a striking portrait of the people and country he had just left, contrasted with those he was about to see.

'A space rather short separates the two countries on which Antiquity prides herself; and after having visited that which passes for the cradle of the arts and sciences, and from which the Greeks derived a part of their knowledge, I resolved to see also the country which may be called the cradle of the graces and of good taste. There, a burning climate does not, as in Egypt, dry up a soil which ceases to produce, as soon as active industry ceases to cultivate it, and cover it with an abundant moisture. There, we see not those vast, sandy and arid plains, those naked and heated rocks, forsaken by nature, and which man does not traverse without considerable difficulty and danger. That frightful nakedness by which habitable Egypt will ever be circumscribed and confined, disfigures not the land of Greece. There, the temperature is mild, the mountains are covered by forests, the atmosphere is cooled by rains, the valleys are watered by numerous streams, and the soil may be adapted to several kinds of culture.

'If, from the comparison of the physical state of the two countries, we pass to that of the men who inhabit them, we shall find no resemblance but in the despotism by which they were both enslaved. The Copt, or the native of Egypt, whose character partakes of the dryness and rudeness of the climate, is short and heavy; his head is big, but empty; his face is broad and flat; his complexion is sallow and dark; and his countenance is mean. His disposition is gloomy and melancholy; his treachery is the more dangerous, as it is in a manner more concentred: having no taste for the arts, no flight of curiosity leads him to instruction; sedentary, because he has no vivacity in his mind, he seeks not to be acquainted with what surrounds him; lazy and slovenly, clownish and ignorant, unfeeling and superstitious, he has no longer any remembrance, nor even any trace remaining, of the greatness of his ancestors.

'What a difference between this nation entirely degenerated, and

that which still inhabits the beautiful countries of Greece! Under a pure sky, in a wholesome, temperate atmosphere, impregnated with the sweetest emanations, on a soil which nature decks with flowers, and clothes with the verdure of an eternal spring, or which may be enriched with crops of every sort, or with delicious fruits, we must expect, among the men, to meet only with amenity of manners, and sweetness of disposition. I am speaking of the men whose generations there succeed each other without interruption; for the ignorant and untractable usurper may, by his stupid ferocity, pollute the most happy climate, the most smiling country; and ages are required for their influence to temper, in a perceptible manner, the rudeness of his inclinations.

'The man of these charming parts of Greece is of a handsome stature; he carries his head high, his body erect, or rather inclined backward than forward; he is dignified in his carriage, easy in his manners, and nimble in his gait; his eyes are full of vivacity; his countenance is open, and his address agreeable and prepossessing; he is neat and elegant in his clothing; he has a taste for dress, as for every thing that is beautiful: Active, industrious, and even enterprizing, he is capable of executing great things; he speaks with ease, he expresses himself with warmth; he is acquainted with the language of the passions, and he likewise astonishes by his natural eloquence; he loves the arts, without daring to cultivate them, under the brazen yoke which hangs heavy on his neck; skilful and cunning in trade, he does not always conduct himself in it with that frankness which constitutes its principal basis; and if we still find in modern Greece many of the fine qualities which do honour to the history of ancient Greece, it cannot be denied that Superstition, the child of Ignorance and Slavery, greatly tarnishes their lustre; and we also discover in their disposition that fickleness, that pliability, that want of sincerity; in short, that artful turn of mind which borders on treachery, and of which the Greeks of antiquity have been accused.'

This passage will afford our readers a general idea of the impressive style successfully adopted by M. Sonnini throughout this work. We will trace him at different stations of his route, which it may be useful previously to describe. From Egypt, our author proceeded to Cyprus and Rhodes, and, by a circuit among the Asiatic isles, brings us to Santorin and Crete. This celebrated country deservedly occupies a large portion of his book; but the small and indigent isle of Argentiera receives an attention proportioned to the length of his residence, rather than its own importance. Nascia, which he recommends for the depôt of French commerce, Samos and Scio, bring us opposite to Chesma, on the continent, whence M. Sonnini journeyed by land to Smyrna, then laid waste by the plague. In the voyage from thence to Salonica, Lesbos, Lemnos, and Mount Athos occur. From Salonica, our author made an excursion to Mount Olympus:

and the work concludes by his arrival at Napoli di Romania, the most flourishing sea-port of the Morea.

Cyprus, sacred to Venus, retains few vestiges of its ancient magnificence. The mines of gold which are said to have been wrought, and those of copper which certainly were, and whence the island derived its name, are lost, through the discouragements given by the Turks to all useful labours. Emeralds and amethysts are still found amongst its mountains; and asbestos continues to be dug from its quarry near Cape Chromachiti. Immense salterns, and reservoirs for oil of olives, attest the industry which formerly enriched the Cypriots, and mock the scanty stores of their descendants. Here the cotton plant attains a perfection nature has denied it in the islands to the north; but its excellence has declined; and the manufacture of sugar, introduced by the Venetians, has not survived the expulsion of that nation. Flights of grasshoppers (sent, no doubt, by the Turks) invade the island from the east, and vegetation disappears before their destructive myriads. Long and cruel droughts frequently banish every appearance of verdure. These, according to our author, are becoming more frequent, and are to be attributed to the extirpation of the forests, which attracted moisture. The same cause will, he thinks, produce a similar effect in his native country; and if timely precautions be not employed to prevent it, France may participate 'in the aridity with which a detestable government has struck the soil of Cyprus.' From this passage, we may learn to appreciate the candour of M. Sonnini with regard to the Turkish government, since it is so severely reprobated for cutting down the forests and thereby occasioning drought. That trees have some effect in promoting rain, is a plausible hypothesis: but what government ever thought of limiting the extent of its plantations by the criterion of a water-gauge? Does not our government quietly behold new plantations rising everywhere around us, though the recent scarcities be chiefly imputable to excess of humidity?

Rhodes, celebrated for the valour of its inhabitants, their activity and skill in navigation, has retained only the city of the same name, of the three which it formerly contained. It is inhabited chiefly by Turks, whose orchards and gardens embellish the environs. The Rhodians are still expert navigators; but the produce of their land bears no proportion to the riches which an intelligent culture might extract from a soil so prolific.

We will here insert the only two geological speculations, in which our author has indulged; only remarking, that neither of them is new.

'When we direct our view over that immenſe number of broad elevated lawns, of ſummits of mountains, of points of rocks, placed without order, and very near to each other, with which the Mediterranean is covered on the eaſt, we cannot avoid thinking that this extent of ſea, thickly ſtrewn with a multitude of iſlands, has formed a continent in times the moſt remote; and that a ſudden irruption of the waters of the Black ſea, earthquakes, and the violent action of volcanoes, have inundated that ancient country of Greece, and torn it into innumerable ſhreds. Vaſt and deep chaſms have ſwallowed up a conſiderable portion of that country; and there has remained of it only peaks of mountains, furrowed by cavities and fiſſures, in which the confuſion of the ſubſtances atteſts that they have been overthrown.

'Each of theſe iſlands, the remains of an ancient land, violently ſhaken, and for the moſt part ingulfed by one of thoſe great cataſtrophes of Nature, the traces of which are ſo ſtrongly imprinted on the ſurface of the globe, has near it, iſlets, rocks emerging from the waters, or concealed beneath them, ledges, ſhoals, fragments of its ancient junction with a neighbouring iſland, or with the continent: it is ſtill eaſy for the obſerver to follow ſome of the lines which connected theſe lands with each other, and to convince himſelf that they all formed but one uninterrupted country. Who knows even whether it be not in this part of the Mediterranean, rather than in the ocean, that we muſt look for the ſite of the famous Atlantis of Plato? That celebrated philoſopher of antiquity has ſaid, in expreſs terms, that it was to the ſouth of Attica, which juſtifies the well-founded preſumption, that it was ſituated towards the coaſt of Libya.' p. 131, 132.

'But what has hitherto eſcaped remark, but which, nevertheleſs, is an important obſervation, is, that all the other iſlands of the ſame ſea, lye, with reſpect to their length, in a north and ſouth direction, with more or leſs inclination towards the eaſt or weſt; whereas the iſland of Candia extends from eaſt to weſt: it appears to be a long baſe, on which the whole Archipelago repoſes. This peculiar direction indicates a different origin. The iſlands of the Ægean ſea are the ſummits of mountains, which belong to a country whoſe plains have been ſubmerged by a ſudden irruption of the waters of the Black ſea. The effects of this vaſt ſubmerſion are diſcoverable in the form of the maſſes which it has ſuffered to ſubſiſt, and which have all preſerved a direction parallel to the current that has inſulated them, and whoſe impetuoſity has been broken againſt the iſland of Candia, on which it has been unable to make any impreſſion. May it not be ſuppoſed that theſe very waters, of a rapidity ſo violent, and a part of which was directed towards the ſouth-eaſt, repelled by the lands of Syria, may have exerciſed their action in a direction contrary to their firſt impulſe, and have detached from Africa the iſland of Candia, by inundating the low lands by which they were united? And this conjecture of the ancient junction of Candia with the coaſt of Barbary, acquires an additional degree of probability, when we pay attention to the ſhallowneſs of the channel

which separates them, and whose bottom every where affords soundings.' p. 210, 211.

Our limits were inadequate to offer, even an indistinct sketch of the various places described by our author, whom we will now take up at the conclusion of his labours.

'The aspect of Salonica, from the harbour, announces an agreeable enclosure; but when you enter it, you presently relinquish the good opinion which you had conceived of it: streets, narrow and ill-paved, as well as crooked; houses, slovenly on the outside, and, in the inside, worse laid out, together with a miserable population, induce the wish of seeing it only at a distance. It is, nevertheless, one of the finest towns of Turkey, and one of the most important, from its position, and the richness of its trade. It is also the seat of one of the first governments of the empire.' p. 512.

M. Sonnini found the Macedonians, now Albanians, in a state of open revolt against the Porte, and the whole country exposed to the depredations of banditti. Infinite address was requisite to disengage our traveller from a variety of dangerous rencounters. Need we say that M. Sonnini possessed the requisite address? The character of a physician was the only one in which it would have been practicable to travel in Macedonia; and, what might formerly have been a passport to Parnassus, now only conducted our author to the summits of Olympus. The solitary convent of St Dennis terminates the habitable region of the mountain: beyond that, are found heaps of snow in the middle of July. He continued to ascend, whilst a few stunted trees and shrubs favoured his exertions; but at last these forsook him, and he was obliged to contemplate, from that station, the rocky and inaccessible summit, covered with eternal snows.

'The reader may easily conceive the immense extent of different countries which our view embraced from the top of Olympus. It seemed to us to touch Pelion and Ossa, which form another chain of mountains; and the vale of Tempè, of which the ancient poets have spoken to us as a place of delight, appeared to us a very narrow gorge; and the river Peneus which waters it, a streamlet of water scarcely perceptible. However, we there remarked every thing that takes place on very lofty eminences; a very sharp cold, waters still colder, enormous shelves of rocks, heaped the one on the other, and alike threatening heaven with their point, and earth with their fall; and at our feet big clouds, which, by separating us from the abode of men, seemed to place us in the habitation of the gods.' p. 532.

Much of the ground over which our author conducts his readers in this volume, we have lately traversed with M. Olivier, a writer of a very different description, in whose artless pages we discover many valuable details, and much specific information,

omitted by M. Sonnini. Both of these travellers spoke Greek, and neither understood Turkish; a circumstance which, even without the help of prepossession, must have influenced the results of their observations in a variety of particulars. Both avoid the description of antique remains, and both attempt to delineate manners, without having recourse to anecdote. A few exceptions to this last remark occur in the work before us; but we recollect none in which the author did not discover a courage, a dexterity, or presence of mind, never sufficiently to be extolled. Such anecdotes, however, are not always the best for illustrating the Grecian manners. They are both naturalists; and, in this department, much pleasing information is afforded by each: in other respects, there is little similarity. The rhetorical tone of M. Sonnini would disdain a comparison with the simplicity of diction observed in his countryman; whilst the candour and persevering research of M. Olivier, stamps a value on his performance, which his rival is usually very far from reaching. As travellers, they bear the same relation to each other, that Arrian and Curtius do as historians of Alexander.

ART. III. *Natural Theology; or, Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature.* By William Paley, D. D. Archdeacon of Carlisle. London. 1802. 8vo. pp. 586.

THE name of Dr Paley, though scarcely to be reckoned among those of the *great* theologians and philosophers of England, is probably associated with as large and as enviable a portion of public approbation, as that of any living ecclesiastic. With less learning and less originality than some of his distinguished predecessors, it would be difficult, perhaps, to point out his superior in soundness of judgment, or in vigilant and comprehensive sagacity. With great strength of reasoning and power of decision, he has also united more moderation and liberality of sentiment, than is usually to be found among disputants; and added weight to his argument by a certain plainness and sobriety of manner, that is infinitely better calculated to produce conviction than the sallies of an ambitious eloquence.

His great merit lies in the clear perception of the strong or the difficult parts of a question, and in the judicious selection and perspicuous arrangement of his arguments: invention is less within his province; and, even when his conclusions appear to partake of originality, it will commonly be found that they have been suggested by a minute and scrupulous examination of pro-

positions that had been furnished by others. His common way is, to break down a subject into as many distinct parts as it really appears to contain, and to make each of them the subject of a separate and rigorous investigation. In consequence of this, his arguments frequently appear to be narrow and circumscribed in their application; and the reader is sometimes apt to wish for the excursive speculation and ample range of a less accurate reasoner. The truth is, however, that, upon many subjects, it is impossible to attain precision, without this formality and detail. Sophistry always delights in generalities; and fallacy is never so safe from detection, as when inquiry is eluded by rapidity of progression, and the mind hurried from one half view of a subject to another, without ever being permitted to reflect upon what has been presented to it.

Almost all the writings of Dr Paley relate to the highest and most important questions upon which human reason can be exercised, and appear to have been composed with suitable caution and deliberation. They are elaborate, rather than ingenious; and seem to have been diligently meditated, and carefully arranged, rather than to have been conceived in any fervour of imagination, or poured forth in any conviction of their infallibility. The utmost pains are taken, therefore, to render every thing intelligible and precise; and more anxiety is shown, that nothing necessary shall be omitted, than that all superfluity should be excluded. All cavil is prevented by a jealous strictness of expression; and a few homely illustrations are commonly sufficient to expose those illusions, by which a false philosophy is supported in so many of her unsubstantial speculations.

The progress of time, and the improving ingenuity of scepticism, have given a new aspect to all our philosophical productions. It is no longer enough for a writer on morality or religion to explain and enforce his own conceptions upon those important subjects; he must make way for their reception by the extirpation of a multitude of errors, and must be upon the alert at every stage of his progress. He must advance with circumspection as well as boldness, and fortify every position against the attacks of a vigilant and formidable adversary. As the forms of error, too, are infinite and contradictory, he must incessantly be changing his posture of defence, or direction of attack; what serves for the confutation of one set of opponents, being frequently the pretext of hostility to a second. In this situation, the management of such subjects can only be entrusted with safety to skilful reasoners, and expert logicians; men, who will neither give quarter to sophistry, nor consume their forces in unprofitable contentions; who will confine their hostility to the proper object of resentment, and neither use their victories with insolence, nor refuse to yield

what they have neither power nor inducement to retain. The great art in all controversies of this nature, is, first, to bring the argument to a point, and then to urge it steadily and closely to an issue. We do not know any writer who has observed both precepts with greater judgment and address than Dr Paley. All this we say in reference to his former publications: that which is now before us will not detract from his reputation, and probably will not extend it.

On the subject of Natural Theology, no one looks for originality, and no one pretends to discovery. Its great disadvantage is its extreme simplicity, and the vast multiplicity of obvious and decisive evidences that may every where be found for its illustration. The great book of the universe lies open to all mankind; and he who cannot read in it the name and the titles of its Author, will probably derive but little benefit from the labours of any commentator: their instructions may elucidate a few dark passages, and exalt our admiration of many that we already perceive to be beautiful: but the bulk of the volume is legible, without assistance; and, much as we may find out by study and meditation, it will still be as nothing, in comparison with what is forced upon our apprehension. No thinking man, we conceive, can doubt that there are marks of design in the universe; and any enumeration of the instances in which this design is manifest, appears, at first sight, to be both unnecessary and impossible. A single example seems altogether as conclusive as a thousand: and he that cannot discover any traces of contrivance in the formation of an eye, will probably retain his atheism at the end of a whole system of physiology. We are apt therefore to suspect, that the chief value of those publications that aim at establishing the being of an intelligent Creator, by a copious induction of the marks of intelligence in the creation, consists, either in their subserviency to the pleasures of devout meditation, or in the novelty, arrangement, and importance of the physical truths they contain. Upon a more mature consideration, however, we are persuaded that this is but a secondary merit in the work that is now before us, and that the reverend author has done a great, and by no means an unnecessary service, to the cause of religion by its publication. It may be worth while to consider in what its utility principally consists, and what is the chief difference between the task of an advocate of natural theology in former, and in the present times.

The ancient sceptics seem to have had nothing to set up against a designing Deity, but the obscure omnipotency of Chance, and the experimental combinations of a chaos of restless atoms. The task of the Theistic philosophers was, therefore, abundantly easy in those days; and though their physical science was by no means very correct or extensive, they seem to have performed it in a

bold and satisfactory manner. They appealed at once to the order and symmetry of nature, and to the regularity and magnificence of the grand structure of the universe. The great phenomena of the heavens, in particular, appear to have arrested their attention; and the magnitude and uniformity of the planetary movements, seem to have afforded a sufficient proof of Divine power and intelligence. It did not appear to them any objection to this argument, that nothing analogous to those phenomena could be found among the products of human intelligence, or that they were unable to explain the means which Divine Wisdom had employed to produce them. '*Quis hunc hominem dixerit,*' says Cicero, '*qui cum tam certos cœli motus, tam ratos astrorum ordines, tamque inter se connexa et apta viderit, neget his ullam inesse rationem, eoque casu fieri dicat, quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus?*'

In this broad and general way did the theists of antiquity propose their evidence of the Divine intelligence; finding it easier, and probably thinking it more magnificent, and better suited to the dignity of the Deity, that the proofs of his existence should be derived from the great and sublime parts of his creation, than from the petty contrivances of animal or vegetable organization. If a sovereign mind was allowed to have planned the great system of the universe, they had no objection to admit, that bees and worms might be generated spontaneously, or even that men and animals might be hatched by the heat of the sun on the fertile banks of the Nile.

In the mean time, physical science was making slow but continual advances; and curious inquirers were able to penetrate into the more immediate causes of many of the appearances of nature. Elated with these discoveries, which ought to have increased their veneration for the supreme Contriver of the whole, they immediately fancied they had found out the great secret of nature; and, ascribing imaginary qualities and energies to different classes of bodies, they dethroned the Deity by the agency of secondary causes, and erected a system of materialism in his stead. It was in those circumstances, we are persuaded, that certain false opinions as to the opposition of religion and philosophy originated, though they have been revived and maintained, in later times, by causes of a different description. Those whose dispositions inclined them to devout contemplation, were accustomed to look upon the wonders of nature in the gross; to consider them as environed with a certain awful mystery; and to discountenance every attempt to pry into their origin, as a presumptuous and profane interference with the councils of Omnipotence. Inquisitive naturalists, on the other hand, were apt to forget the Lawgiver in their zealous admiration of the law; and, mocking at the pious horror of the ignorant, considered the mighty fabric of

the universe as little better than a piece of mechanical jugglery, that could only command our admiration, while the cause of its movements was concealed.

This, however, was an error that was rectified by the progress of those very speculations by which it had apparently been produced. When men began to reason more correctly upon the appearances of nature, they soon learned to perceive that the minute texture of animal and vegetable bodies contained more wonderful indications of contrivance and design than the great masses of astronomy; and that, from the greater complication of their parts, and our more intimate experience of their uses, they were infinitely better fitted to attest the adaptation of means to ends, than the remoter wonders of the heavens. Boyle and Newton carried this principle of philosophical piety along with them into all their speculations. The microscopical observers caught the same spirit. Ray and Derham successively digested all the physics of their day into a system of natural theology. A late editor of Dr Derham has inserted most of the modern discoveries: and, as nothing useful or meritorious can be safe from the zeal of injudicious admirers, a genius of Germany has recently presented the public with a demonstration of the being and attributes of the Deity, deduced from the history and habitudes of *insects*.

In this situation, it may at first sight appear to have been superfluous for Dr Paley to come forward with a new work upon a subject in itself so simple, and already so learnedly discussed. It is to be observed, however, that most of the preceding publications are addressed to readers that are supposed to be already entirely convinced of the existence of a designing Creator, and seem to have been chiefly intended to promote a habit of pious meditation, and to afford materials for devout reflection on the goodness and wisdom of the Deity. They are not constructed, at least, with any express reference to the objections of atheistical writers, and neither guard against the cavils which they have made as to certain parts of the evidence, nor directly confute the false constructions they have attempted to put upon others. A work was still wanted, therefore, in which the evidences of a wise and beneficent Creator might be detailed with sufficient amplitude, while every thing was omitted that the most scrupulous scepticism could challenge, and in which the fallacy of every atheistical hypothesis might be distinctly exposed, both by a strict examination of its principle, and by the selection of such obvious phenomena as were inconsistent with the supposition of its truth. Such a work we conceive Dr Paley had in view to compose when he entered upon this subject, and such undoubtedly is the plan and the tendency of the publication now before us.

After stating, in a very forcible and clear manner, the nature

of the argument that leads us from the marks of design up to a designing Author, and showing that the succession or generation of organized bodies can never account for the original contrivance of their formation, the learned author proceeds to consider the devices that atheistical reasoners have fallen upon to elude the force of the conclusion.

'One atheistic way of replying to our observations upon the works of nature, and to the proofs of a Deity which we think that we perceive in them, is to tell us, that all which we see must necessarily have had some form, and that it might as well be its present form as any other. Let us now apply this answer to the eye, as we did before to the watch. Something or other must have occupied that place in the animal's head; must have filled up, we will say, that socket: we will say, also, that it must have been of that sort of substance which we call animal substance, as flesh, bone, membrane, cartilage, &c.: but that it should have been an *eye*, knowing as we do what an eye comprehends, viz. that it should have consisted, first of a series of transparent lenses (very different, by the by, even in their substance, from the opaque materials of which the rest of the body is, in general at least, composed; and with which the whole of its surface, this single portion of it excepted, is covered): secondly, of a black cloth or canvas (the only membrane of the body which is black) spread out behind these lenses, so as to receive the image formed by pencils of light transmitted through them; and placed at the precise geometrical distance at which, and at which alone, a distinct image could be formed, namely, at the concourse of the refracted rays: thirdly, of a large nerve communicating between this membrane and the brain; without which the action of light upon the membrane, however modified by the organ, would be lost to the purposes of sensation. That this fortunate conformation of parts should have been the lot, not of one individual out of many thousand individuals, like the great prize in a lottery, or like some singularity in nature, but the happy chance of a whole species; nor of one species out of many thousand species, with which we are acquainted, but of by far the greatest number of all that exist; and that under varieties, not casual or capricious, but bearing marks of being suited to their respective exigencies; that all this should have taken place, merely because something must have occupied those points in every animal's forehead; or, that this should be thought to be accounted for, by the short answer, "that whatever was there must have had some form or other," is too absurd, to be made more so by any argumentation. We are not contented with this answer; we find no satisfaction in it, by way of accounting for appearances of organization far short of those of the eye, such as we observe in fossil shells, petrified bones, or other substances which bear the vestiges of animal or vegetable recrements, but which, either in respect of utility, or of the situation in which they are discovered, may seem accidental enough. It is no way of accounting even for these things, to say that the stone; for instance, which is shown to us, (supposing the question to be concerning a petri-

fication), must have contained some internal conformation or other. Nor does it mend the answer to add, with respect to the singularity of the conformation, that, after the event, it is no longer to be computed what the chances were against it. This is always to be computed, when the question is, whether an useful or imitative conformation be the produce of chance or not. I desire no greater certainty in reasoning, than that by which chance is excluded from the present disposition of the natural world. Universal experience is against it. What does chance ever do for us? In the human body, for instance, chance, *i. e.* the operation of causes without design, may produce a wen, a wart, a mole, a pimple, but never an eye. Amongst inanimate substances, a clod, a pebble, a liquid drop, might be; but *never* was a watch, a telescope, an organized body of any kind, answering a valuable purpose by a complicated mechanism, the effect of chance. In no assignable instance hath such a thing existed, without intention somewhere.

'There is another answer, which has the same effect as the resolving of things into chance; which answer would persuade us to believe, that the eye, the animal to which it belongs, every other animal, every plant, indeed every organized body which we see, are only so many out of the possible varieties and combinations of being, which the lapse of infinite ages has brought into existence; that the present world is the relic of that variety; millions of other bodily forms and other species having perished, being, by the defect of their constitution, incapable of preservation, or of continuance by generation. Now, there is no foundation whatever for this conjecture, in any thing which we observe in the works of nature; no such experiments are going on at present; no such energy operates as that which is here supposed, and which should be constantly pushing into existence new varieties of beings; nor are there any appearances to support an opinion, that every possible combination of vegetable or animal structure has formerly been tried. Multitudes of conformations, both of vegetables and animals, may be conceived capable of existence and succession, which yet do not exist. Perhaps, almost as many forms of plants might have been found in the fields, as figures of plants can be delineated upon paper. A countless variety of animals might have existed, which do not exist. Upon the supposition here stated, we should see unicorns and mermaids, sylphs and centaurs; the fancies of painters, and the fables of poets, realized by examples. Or, if it be alleged that these may transgress the limits of possible life and propagation, we might, at least, have nations of human beings without nails upon their fingers, with more or fewer fingers and toes than ten; some with one eye, others with one ear, with one nostril, or without the sense of smelling at all. All these, and a thousand other imaginable varieties, might live and propagate. We may modify any one species many different ways, all consistent with life, and with the actions necessary to preservation, although affording different degrees of conveniency and enjoyment to the animal. And if we carry these modifications through the different species which are

known to subsist, their number would be incalculable. No reason can be given, why, if these deperdits ever existed, they have now disappeared. Yet, if all possible existences have been tried, they must have formed part of the catalogue.' p. 65—70.

'To the marks of contrivance discoverable in animal bodies, and to the argument deduced from them, in proof of design, and of a designing Creator, this turn is sometimes attempted to be given, viz. that the parts were not intended for the use, but that the use arose out of the parts. This distinction is intelligible. A cabinet-maker rubs his mahogany with fish skin; yet it would be too much to assert, that the skin of the dog-fish was made rough and granulated on purpose for the polishing of wood, and the use of cabinet-makers. Therefore the distinction is intelligible. But I think that there is very little place for it in the works of nature. When roundly and generally affirmed of them, as it hath sometimes been, it amount to such another stretch of assertion, as it would be to say, that a the implements of the cabinet-maker's workshop, as well as his fish-skin, were substances accidentally configurated, which he had picked up, and converted to his use; that his adzes, saws, planes, and gimlets, were not made, as we suppose, to hew, cut, smooth, shape out, or bore wood with; but that, these things being made, no matter with what design, or whether with any, the cabinet-maker perceived that they were applicable to his purpose, and turned them to account.

'But again—So far as this solution is attempted to be applied to those parts of animals, the action of which does not depend upon the will of the animal, it is fraught with still more evident absurdity. Is it possible to believe, that the eye was formed without any regard to vision; that it was the animal itself which found out, that, though formed with no such intention, it would serve to see with; and that the use of the eye, as an organ of sight, resulted from this discovery, and the animal's application of it? The same question may be asked of the ear; the same of all the senses. None of the senses fundamentally depend upon the election of the animal; consequently neither upon his sagacity nor his experience. It is the impression which objects make upon them, that constitutes their use. Under that impression he is passive. He may bring objects to the sense, or within its reach: he may select these objects: but over the impression itself he has no power, or very little; and that properly is the sense.

'Secondly, there are many parts of animal bodies which seem to depend upon the will of the animal in a greater degree than the senses do, and yet, with respect to which, this solution is equally unsatisfactory. If we apply the solution to the human body, for instance, it forms itself into questions upon which no reasonable mind can doubt; such as, whether the teeth were made expressly for the mastication of food, the feet for walking, the hands for holding; or whether, these things being as they are, being in fact in the animal's possession, his own ingenuity taught him that they were convertible to these purposes, though no such purposes were contemplated in their formation?

'All that there is of the appearance of reason in this way of considering the subject is, that, in some cases, the organization seems to determine the habits of the animal, and its choice, to a particular mode of life; which, in a certain sense, may be called, "the use arising out of the part." Now, to all the instances, in which there is any place for this suggestion, it may be replied, that the organization determines the animal to habits beneficial and salutary to itself; and that this effect would not be seen so regularly to follow, if the several organizations did not bear a concerted and contrived relation to the substances by which the animal was surrounded. They would, otherwise, be capacities without objects; powers without employment. The web-foot determines, you say, the duck to swim: but what would that avail, if there were no water to swim in? The strong, hooked bill, and sharp talons of one species of bird determine it to prey upon animals: the soft, straight bill, and weak claws, of another species, determine it to pick up seeds: but neither determination could take effect in providing for the sustenance of the birds, if animal bodies and vegetable seeds did not lye within their reach. The peculiar conformation of the bill, and tongue, and claws of the woodpecker, determines that bird to search for his food amongst the insects lodged behind the bark, or in the wood of decayed trees: but what would this profit him, if there were no trees, no decayed trees, no insects lodged under their bark, or in their trunk? The proboscis with which the bee is furnished, determines him to seek for honey: but what would that signify, if flowers supplied none? Faculties, thrown down upon animals at random, and without reference to the objects amidst which they are placed, would not produce to them the services and benefits which we see: and if there be that reference, then there is intention.

'Lastly, The solution fails entirely, when applied to plants. The parts of plants answer their uses, without any concurrence from the will or choice of the plant.' p. 72–76.

Another great objection to the popular argument from the appearances of design, is derived from the imperfection of human faculties, and the consequent impossibility of perceiving in what manner intelligence has been employed in the wonderful works of creation. All our ideas of intelligence being derived from the consciousness of its existence in human creatures, it is plain, that the analogical argument for its existence in the Author of the universe, is more close, and more irresistible, when his works bear some obvious and undeniable analogy to the products of *our* power, industry, and skill; when we comprehend the end, and are able to judge of the efficacy and adaptation of the means. For this reason, Dr Paley has, with great judgment, selected the *mechanical* functions and contrivances in organized bodies, as proofs of design, in preference to those peculiar and inexplicable properties which human art can neither bestow nor make use of. Though these latter undoubtedly produce the most wonderful effects, and afford to a pious mind the

most admirable specimens of God's wisdom and goodness, still they are undoubtedly less serviceable in the contest with atheists; they make the analogical argument more loose and remote, and give occasion to the introduction of delusive and unmeaning phrases. The unbeliever always finds his advantage in referring to a principle, of which it must be admitted that he and his antagonist are equally ignorant, and is enabled at least to perplex and prolong the combat, by attributing the works of the Deity to a principle of *irritability*, or a principle of *aggregation*, which he fancies can be conceived to operate without the controul of intelligence. To *mechanical* phenomena the same evasive reasoning cannot be applied: the end to be accomplished is in these familiar and apparent, and the means by which it is accomplished are distinctly perceived and comprehended. If any arrangement of matter, however, can give us assurance of the agency of intelligence, the arrangement of living and organized bodies must afford that proof in its fullest perfection.

With a view to these observations, the author then proceeds to make a minute survey of the mechanical contrivances in the animal body, and particularly in the human frame; he goes over the admirable arrangement of the *bones*, the *muscles*, the *blood-vessels*, *intestines*, &c. and examines the peculiar structure of the different classes of animals, and the nice adaptation of each to the exigencies of its respective situation. From a detail of this sort, it is not easy to make any extracts. We select the following as instances of the reverend author's acute and vigilant observation.

'The variety, quickness, and precision, of which muscular motion is capable, are seen, I think, in no part so remarkably as in the *tongue*. It is worth any man's while to watch the agility of his tongue; the wonderful promptitude with which it executes changes of position, and the perfect exactness. Each syllable of articulated sound requires for its utterance a specific action of the tongue, and of the parts adjacent to it. The disposition and configuration of the mouth, appertaining to every letter and word, is not only peculiar, but, if nicely and accurately attended to, perceptible to the sight; insomuch that curious persons have availed themselves of this circumstance to teach the deaf to speak, and to understand what is said by others. In the same person, and after his habit of speaking is formed, one, and only one position of the parts, will produce a given articulate sound correctly. How instantaneously are these positions assumed and dismissed! how numerous are the permutations, how various, yet how infallible! Arbitrary and antic variety is not the thing we admire; but variety obeying a rule, conducing to an effect, and commensurate with exigencies infinitely diversified. I believe also that the anatomy of the tongue corresponds with these observations upon its activity. The muscles of the tongue are so numerous, and so implicated with one another, that they cannot be traced by the nicest dissection; nevertheless, which is a great

perfection of the organ, neither the number, nor the complexity, nor what might seem to be the entanglement of its fibres, in anywise impede its motion, or render the determination or success of its efforts uncertain.' p. 141–143.

'Or let a person only observe his own hand whilst he is *writing*; the number of muscles which are brought to bear upon the pen; how the joint and adjusted operation of several tendons is concerned in every stroke, yet that five hundred such strokes are drawn in a minute. Not a letter can be turned without more than one or two or three tendinous contractions, definite, both as to the choice of the tendon, and as to the space through which the contraction moves; yet how currently does the work proceed! and, when we look at it, how faithful have the muscles been to their duty, how true to the order which endeavour or habit hath inculcated! For, let it be remembered, that whilst a man's handwriting is the same, an exactitude of order is preserved, whether he write well or ill.' p. 147, 148.

'Another exquisite structure, differing, indeed, from the four preceding instances, in that it does not relate to the conveyance of fluids, but still belonging, like these, to the class of pipes or conduits of the body, is seen in the *larynx*. We all know, that there go down the throat two pipes, one leading to the stomach, the other to the lungs; the one being the passage for the food, the other for the breath and voice: we know also, that both these passages open into the bottom of the mouth; the gullet, necessarily, for the conveyance of food; and the windpipe, for speech, and the modulation of sound, not much less so: therefore, the difficulty was, the passages being so contiguous, to prevent the food, especially the liquids, which we swallow into the stomach, from entering the windpipe, *i. e.* the road to the lungs; the consequence of which error, when it does happen, is perceived by the convulsive throes that are instantly produced. This business, which is very nice, is managed in this manner.—The gullet (the passage for food) opens into the mouth like the cone or upper part of a funnel, the capacity of which forms indeed the bottom of the mouth. Into the side of this funnel, at the part which lies the lowest, enters the windpipe, by a chink or slit, with a lid or flap, like a little tongue, accurately fitted to the orifice. The solids or liquids which we swallow, pass over this lid or flap, as they descend by the funnel into the gullet. Both the weight of the food, and the action of the muscles concerned in swallowing, contribute to keep the lid close down upon the aperture, whilst any thing is passing; whereas, by means of its natural cartilaginous spring, it raises itself a little, as soon as the food is passed, thereby allowing a free inlet and outlet for the respiration of air by the lungs. And we may here remark the almost complete success of the expedient, viz. how seldom it fails of its purpose, compared with the number of instances in which it fulfils it. Reflect how frequently we swallow, how constantly we breathe. In a city feast, for example, what deglutition, what anhelation! yet does this little cartilage, the epiglottis, so effectually interpose its office, so securely guard the entrance of the

windpipe, that, whilst morsel after morsel, draught after draught, are coursing one another over it, an accident of a crumb or a drop slipping into this passage, (which nevertheless must be opened for the breath every second of time), excites, in the whole company, not only alarm by its danger, but surprise by its novelty. Not two guests are choked in a century.' p. 190–192.

The author then proceeds to what he calls *prospective contrivances.* We give an instance of the excellent use he makes of this division.

'The eye is of no use, at the time when it is formed. It is an optical instrument made in a dungeon; constructed for the refraction of light to a focus, and perfect for its purpose, before a ray of light has had access to it; geometrically adapted to the properties and action of an element, with which it has no communication. It is about indeed to enter into that communication; and this is precisely the thing which evidences intention. It is *providing* for the *future* in the closest sense which can be given to these terms; for it is providing for a future change: not for the then subsisting condition of the animal; not for any gradual progress or advance in that same condition; but for a new state, the consequence of a great and sudden alteration, which the animal is to undergo at its birth. Is it to be believed that the eye was formed, or, which is the same thing, that the series of causes was fixed by which the eye is formed, without a view to this change; without a prospect of that condition, in which its fabric, of no use at present, is about to be of the greatest; without a consideration of the qualities of that element, hitherto entirely excluded, but with which it was hereafter to hold so intimate a relation? A young man makes a pair of spectacles for himself against he grows old; for which spectacles he has no want or use whatever at the time he makes them. Could this be done, without knowing and considering the defect of vision to which advanced age is subject? Would not the precise suitableness of the instrument to its purpose, of the remedy to the defect, of the convex lens to the flattened eye, establish the certainty of the conclusion, that the case, afterwards to arise, had been considered beforehand, speculated upon, provided for? all which are exclusively the acts of a reasoning mind. The eye formed in one state, for use only in another state, and in a different state, affords a proof no less clear of destination to a future purpose; and a proof proportionably stronger, as the machinery is more complicated, and the adaptation more exact.

'What has been said of the eye, holds equally true of the *lungs.* Composed of air vessels, where there is no air; elaborately constructed for the alternate admission and exclusion of an elastic fluid, where no such fluid exists; this great organ, with the whole apparatus belonging to it, lies collapsed in the fœtal thorax; yet in order and in readiness for action, the first moment that the occasion requires its service. This is having a machine locked up in store for future use; which incontestably proves, that the case was expected to occur, in

which this use might be experienced: but expectation is the proper act of intelligence. Considering the state in which an animal exists *before* its birth, I should look for nothing less in its body than a system of lungs. It is like finding a pair of bellows in the bottom of the sea; of no sort of use in the situation in which they are found; formed for an action which was impossible to be exerted; holding no relation or fitness to the element which surrounds them, but both to another element in another place.' p. 277–279.

He then proceeds to the chapter of *relations*, in which he points out the congruity and mutual subserviency of the different parts of the same animal; and of the whole, to the element and occupation to which it is destined. After this comes a section entitled *compensation*. The author explains it in this manner.

'*Compensation* is a species of relation. It is relation, when the *defects* of one part, or of one organ, are supplied by the structure of another part, or of another organ. Thus,

'The short unbending neck of the *elephant* is compensated by the length and flexibility of his *proboscis*. He could not have reached the ground without it: or if it be supposed that he might have fed upon the fruit, leaves, or branches of trees, how was he to drink? Should it be asked, why is the elephant's neck so short? it may be answered, That the weight of a head so heavy could not have been supported at the end of a longer lever. To a form, therefore, in some respects, necessary, but in some respects also inadequate to the occasions of the animal, a supplement is added, which exactly makes up the deficiency under which he laboured.

'If it be suggested that this proboscis may have been produced in a long course of generations, by the constant endeavour of the elephant to thrust out his nose, (which is the general hypothesis by which it has lately been attempted to account for the forms of animated nature), I would ask, how was the animal to subsist in the mean time, during the process, *until* this prolongation of snout were completed? What was to become of the individual, whilst the species was perfecting?' p. 298, 299.

There is an interesting chapter upon *instinct*, in which the author very successfully confutes the opinion of those philosophers, who refer all the actions of animals to a volition excited by a present object; and continues his examination of the structure of *insects* and *plants*. There is a short chapter upon the *elements*, and a long one upon *astronomy*, which the author introduces with the following judicious remarks, which may serve to point out the superiority which his systematic argument possesses over the pious learning of his predecessors.

'My opinion of astronomy has always been, that it is *not* the best medium through which to prove the agency of an intelligent Creator; but that, this being proved, it shows, beyond all other sciences, the

magnificence of his operations. The mind which is once convinced, it raises to sublimer views of the Deity, than any other subject affords; but is not so well adapted as some other subjects are, to the purpose of argument. We are destitute of the means of examining the constitution of the heavenly bodies. The very simplicity of their appearance is against them. We see nothing but bright points, luminous circles, or the phases of spheres reflecting the light which falls upon them. Now, we deduce design from relation, aptitude, and correspondence of *parts;* some degree, therefore, of *complexity*, is necessary to render a subject fit for this species of argument. But the heavenly bodies do not, except perhaps in the instance of Saturn's ring, present themselves to our observation as compounded of parts at all. This, which may be a perfection in them, is a disadvantage to us, as inquirers after their nature. They do not come within our mechanics.

'And what we say of their forms, is true of their *motions*. Their motions are carried on without any sensible intermediate apparatus; whereby we are cut off from one principal ground of argumentation and analogy. We have nothing wherewith to compare them; no invention, no discovery, no operation or resource of art, which, in this respect, resembles them. Even those things which are made to imitate and represent them, such as orreries, planetaria, celestial globes, &c. bear no affinity to them, in the cause and principle by which their motions are actuated.' p. 209, 210.

The next chapter, which we consider as the most important of the whole work, is rather unfortunately entitled, 'Of the *Personality* of the Deity.' Its object is to prove, that the cause of all things is not a general and incomprehensible essence, efficacy, or principle, but a real designing agent, having an existence independent of the beings in which the marks of design have been established. In this view, he first endeavours to show, that *the universe itself* cannot be the Deity, because, in its constitution, it testifies a contrivance; and this necessarily implies a *pre-existing* contriver: the same argument evinces, that the present arrangement of things could not have been eternal. The learned author then observes, that atheistical reasoners frequently endeavour to impose upon their antagonists, by a repetition of mere *names*, instead of argument or conjecture; as when they refer the order of organized bodies to 'a law,' or assert that the whole system of the universe may be explained from 'the *mechanism* of its parts.' A *law* presupposes an agent; for it is only the mode according to which an agent proceeds; and *mechanism* can produce nothing, unless there be *a power* to whose operations it is subservient. The same censure is passed upon those who would substitute such words as 'principle, process, or generation,' for a real explanation of the cause of any existing phenomena. The 'internal moulds,' by which Buffon keeps his organic particles

from running into new combinations, meet with no better treatment; and 'the appetencies' of Dr Darwin are explained and disposed of in this manner—

'Pieces of soft, ductile matter, being endued with propensities or appetencies for particular actions, would, by continual endeavours, carried on through a long series of generations, work themselves gradually into suitable forms; and at length acquire, though perhaps by obscure and almost imperceptible improvements, an organization fitted to the action which their respective propensities led them to exert. A piece of animated matter, for example, that was endued with a propensity to *fly*, though ever so shapeless, though no other, we will suppose, than a round ball to begin with, would, in a course of ages, if not in a million of years, perhaps in a hundred millions of years (for our theorists having eternity to dispose of, are never sparing in time), acquire *wings*. The same tendency to locomotion in an aquatic animal, or rather in an animated lump which might happen to be surrounded by water, would end in the production of *fins*; in a living substance, confined to the solid earth, would put out *legs* and *feet*; or, if it took a different turn, would break the body into ringlets, and conclude by *crawling* upon the ground.' p. 463, 464.

'The scheme under consideration is open to the same objection with other conjectures of a similar tendency, viz. a total defect of evidence. No changes, like those which the theory requires, have ever been observed. All the changes in Ovid's Metamorphoses might have been effected by these appetencies, if the theory were true; yet not an example, nor the pretence of an example, is offered of a single change being known to have taken place. Nor is the order of generation obedient to the principle upon which this theory is built. The mammæ of the male have not vanished by inusitation; *nec curtorum, per multa sæcula, Judæorum propagini deest præputium.* It is easy to say, and it has been said, that the alterative process is too slow to be perceived; that it has been carried on through tracts of immeasureable time; and that the present order of things is the result of a gradation, of which no human record can trace the steps. It is easy to say this; and yet it is still true that the hypothesis remains destitute of evidence.' p. 465, 466.

The analogies upon which it has been supported, are said to be the following.—The bunch of the camel produced, in process of time, by carrying burdens; the naked thighs of the crane, heron, stork, &c. occasioned by their ancient practice of wading in the water; and the pouch of the pelican distended, by the efforts of many generations to cram a large quantity of fish into the mouth. On this statement, Dr Paley remarks, in the first place,

'That the instances themselves are unauthenticated by testimony; and, in theory, to say the least of them, open to great objections. Who ever read of camels without bunches, or with bunches less than

those with which they are at present usually formed? A bunch, not unlike the camel's, is found between the shoulders of the buffalo: of the origin of which, it is impossible to give the account which is here given. In the second example; Why should the application of water, which appears to promote and thicken the growth of feathers upon the bodies and breasts of geese and swans, and other water fowls, have divested of this covering the thighs of cranes? The third instance which appears to me as plausible as any that can be produced, has this against it, that it is a singularity restricted to the species; whereas, if it had its commencement in the cause and manner which have been assigned, the like conformation might be expected to take place in other birds which feed upon fish. How comes it to pass, that the pelican alone was the inventress, and her descendants the only inheritors, of this curious resource?

'But it is the less necessary to controvert the instances themselves, as it is a straining of analogy beyond all limits of reason and credibility, to assert that birds and beasts, and fish, with all their variety and complexity of organization, have been brought into their forms, and distinguished into their several kinds and natures, by the same process (even if that process could be demonstrated, or had ever been actually noticed) as might seem to serve for the gradual generation of a camel's bunch, or a pelican's pouch.

'The solution, when applied to the works of nature *generally*, is contradicted by many of the phenomena, and totally inadequate to others. The *ligaments* or strictures, by which the tendons are tied down at the angles of the joints, could, by no possibility, be formed by the motion or exercise of the tendons themselves; by any appetency exciting these parts into action; or by any tendency arising therefrom. The tendency is all the other way; the conatus in constant opposition to them. Length of time does not help the case at all, but the reverse. The *valves* also in the blood-vessels could never be formed in the manner which our theorist proposes. The blood, in its right and natural course, has no tendency to form them: when obstructed or refluent, it has the contrary. These parts could not grow out of their use, though they had eternity to grow in.

'The *senses* of animals appear to me altogether incapable of receiving the explanation of their origin which this theory affords. Including under the word 'sense' the organ and the perception, we have no account of either. How will our philosopher get a *vision*, or make an eye? How should the blind animal affect sight, of which blind animals, we know, have neither conception nor desire? Affecting it, by what operation of its will, by what endeavour to see, could it so determine the fluids of its body, as to inchoate the formation of an eye? Or, suppose the eye formed, would the perception follow? The same of the other senses. And this objection holds its force, ascribe what you will to the hand of time, to the power of habit, to changes too slow to be observed by man, or brought within any comparison which he is able make of past things with the present: concede what you please to these

arbitrary and unattested suppositions, how will they help you? Here is no inception. No laws, no course, no powers of nature which prevail at present, nor any analogous to these, could give commencement to a new sense. And it is in vain to inquire, how that might proceed, which could never *begin*.

'I think the senses to be the most inconsistent with the hypothesis before us, of any part of the animal frame. But other parts are sufficiently so. The solution does not apply to the parts of animals, which have little in them of motion. If we could suppose joints and muscles to be gradually formed by action and exercise, what action or exercise could form a skull, or fill it with brains? No effort of the animal could determine the clothing of its skin. What conatus could give prickles to the porcupine or hedgehog; or to the sheep its fleece?

'In the last place, What do these appetencies mean, when applied to plants? I am not able to give a signification to the term which can be transferred from animals to plants, or which is common to both. Yet a no less successful organization is found in plants, than what obtains in animals. A solution is wanted for one, as well as the other.

'Upon the whole, after all the struggles of a reluctant philosophy, the necessary resort is to a Deity. The marks of *design* are too strong to be got over. Design must have had a designer. That designer must have been a person. That person is God.' p. 469—473.

With these observations the learned author concludes his evidence of the *existence* of an intelligent Creator; and proceeds, in the remaining chapters of the book, to inquire into the *attributes* which natural religion authorizes us to ascribe to him. Of the *natural attributes*, he observes, that though their ordinary names imply an absolute infinity in the qualities they describe, we merely mean that they exist in a degree beyond all comparison greater than we experience in ourselves, and in a degree to which we are not authorized to assign any limits whatsoever. The *unity* of the Deity he conceives to be sufficiently established by the uniformity of plan that is observable in the universe.

The *goodness* of the Deity forms the subject of the last chapter; and the proof of it is rested upon these two propositions: first, That in a vast plurality of instances, in which contrivance is perceived, the design of the contrivance is beneficial; and, secondly, That the Deity has superadded *pleasure* to animal sensations, beyond what is necessary for any other purpose; or when the purpose, so far as it was necessary, might have been affected by the operation of pain. In the illustration of these positions we meet with a great number of very acute and judicious remarks, and with many traits of the author's simplicity and benevolence of character. The language, also, is more animated, throughout this discussion, than in the other parts of the work. For the existence of evil in the creation of a Being whose power and bene-

volence are unlimited, it is not easy to account satisfactorily; and though many consolatory and profound observations are made upon it in this chapter by Dr Paley, we do not think that this great problem has yet received a complete solution. Without entering at all into the general argument, we may merely observe that the learned author has founded his reasoning for the *absolute* goodness of the Deity, upon the marks of beneficent contrivance, *in a great plurality of instances:* and that he concludes the argument with observing, that 'what is benevolence at all, must in him be *infinite* benevolence, by reason of the infinite, that is to say, the incalculably great number of objects upon which it is exercised.' Now, this, it appears to us, is a very dangerous manner of reasoning, since the infinite *malevolence* of the Deity might be inferred, in the same manner, from the incalculably great number of beings who are occasionally subjected to suffering. The conclusion of the whole work consists of a short and pious exposition of the important benefits and comforts that may be derived from an habitual consideration of the being and attributes of the Deity, and of the facilities which are afforded by a firm belief in the truths of natural religion, both for the reception and the confirmation of our faith in revelation.

As a collection of striking facts and powerful arguments for the existence of a wise and beneficent Creator, this publication is certainly entitled to a very favourable reception. The task, perhaps, was not very difficult, and the materials were certainly abundant: but the very extent of the subject might have perplexed an ordinary reasoner; and the want of method and selection in former compilations had actually rendered a great part of them unserviceable. Dr Paley's chief excellence consists in the judicious disposition of his forces, and the skill and confidence with which he has extended his array to every point which atheism had affected to menace. The champions of natural theology never had any reason, indeed, to doubt of the sufficiency of their force; but it may be questioned if they ever knew so well, before, by what precise movements they might secure the discomfiture of their assailants. If we were inclined to point out any defects in a performance which has gratified us so much, both in its plan and its execution, we would observe, that the *metaphysical* objections of the atheistical philosophers are not perhaps sufficiently weighed and refuted: it is probable that this was thought less necessary in a work intended for general perusal: but as this treatise is announced as the completion of a general system in Ethics and Theology, we cannot help thinking that it ought not to have left any plausible objection unanswered.

The physiology, in so far as we are able to judge, is extremely correct throughout; and it was not without surprise, that we

found the reverend author so accurately and familiarly acquainted with the most recent discoveries in science, and improvements in art. To every well constituted mind, it must be a pleasing and animating spectacle, to see that vigorous understanding, that had been trained and exercised in other studies, turning, at an advanced period of life, towards those researches that were necessary to complete his speculations, and, in spite of the weight of years and infirmities, pursuing with unbroken ardour that detail of information, for the want of which he might so well have been forgiven.

The language of this book is by no means remarkable for dignity or elegance. Perspicuity and conciseness seem to have been the only accomplishments of style which the author was ambitious of acquiring; and to these his praise must be confined. There is a great carelessness of composition throughout the whole volume, and a colloquial homeliness of diction, upon some occasions, that does not seem altogether suitable either to the gravity of the subject, or the dignity of the writer.

ART. IV. *The Picture of Petersburg.* From the German of Henry Storch. 8vo. pp. 590. Longman. 1801.

THE city of Peter the Great, owes much to art, and little to nature. That prince, in order to render his subjects a commercial nation, transferred the Imperial residence from the genial climate, fertile territory, and central situation of Moscow, to the swamps and morasses of Ingria. An unexampled expenditure of money and labour has confined the Neva within lofty banks, in some places faced with granite; stagnant lakes have been converted into useful canals; superb palaces have usurped the place of the Finnish huts; and where the reeds and bulrushes clustered in the marshes, the Dutch garden now displays its clipped hedges, figured yews, and insipid regularity; whilst expensive hot-houses pour forth the most delicate productions of tropical climates.

Few capitals of Europe can boast of a greater number of magnificent mansions; the different royal residences are distinguished from the rest, by the taste displayed in their construction, and by the variety of their styles and decorations. On a marble palace, reared for the accommodation of Gregory Orloff, 'the Empress,' says our author, 'had the confidence to cause this inscription to be cut—*From grateful friendship.*' Should our readers be at a loss to reconcile this remark with the style of the dedication, let them recollect, that, ere the book had assumed its present form, Catharine the Second was no more.

'We should probably come nearest to the truth, if we admit the present (1800) population of St Petersburg at 230,000 persons. This residence,' (for Moscow is still considered as the metropolis), 'consequently, by the amount of its population, holds the sixth rank among the capital cities of Europe; since, in this respect, she stands only below Constantinople, London, Paris, Naples, and Vienna.' Does Professor Storch mean by this arrangement to represent the population of Constantinople as superior to that of London? 'Next to Vienna comes Amsterdam, which, according to Restel and others, contains about 212,000 inhabitants; then follow, in proportion to the greatness of their population, Rome, Venice, Berlin, Madrid, and Lisbon.' Of the population assigned to St Petersburg, 29,000 are foreigners, and of these 17,000 are Germans: the annual mortality is stated so low as 28 in 1000. A hundred marriages are computed to produce in Petersburg 408 children, and one is annually born for every 31 persons. In the last calculation, Professor Storch appears to have overlooked an observation, which results from his own statement, and greatly enhances the acknowledged fertility of the Russian females. By the census of 1789, the number of males was double that of females; and we have no reason to suppose that the proportion has been changed since. The same circumstance certainly does not occur in any other capital of Europe; and since the number of births, in proportion to the whole population, corresponds with that observed elsewhere, it would follow, that the Russian females are vastly more prolific than their neighbours.

With regard to the situation of the lower classes, some inconsistency is perceptible in our author's account. At one time, he commiserates their circumstances, without specifying the causes of their misery: at another he represents them as the most ingenious, most industrious, merriest, and richest of plebeian citizens, since there is always a great demand for labour, and the daily wages amount to half-a-crown, whilst the necessaries of a Russian labourer may be procured for threepence. The women, even of the lowest condition, use rouge; a fact, not very reconcileable with the beauty of their natural complexions, praised by Mr Storch.

Amongst the middle ranks, a taste for dissipation and conviviality is the most prominent characteristic. Commerce has wrought her usual enchantments, in rendering articles of luxury, articles of necessity; and enhancing the price of both, by depreciating the value of specie, and by introducing a style of profusion incompatible with economy. Hospitality is entirely a Russian virtue; but its effects are confined to those who can afford to keep a carriage, and to lose their money at cards. Even a philosopher, if he would philosophize in good company, must, at

Petersburg, take care frequently to recruit his card-purse, and not to discover too much penetration as to the causes of his ill success. Eight hundred pounds a year is the smallest sum on which a family of the slightest pretensions to gentility can be supported. High birth is here in no estimation; a liberal scale of expense is essential to admittance into genteel circles; and rank, derived from station, finds universally a willing homage. This respect for official station, and indifference for noble birth, appears a paradox to Professor Storch. Montesquieu, however, would easily resolve it by the principles of despotic governments, where all dignities emanate from, and revert to the Sovereign. Clubs, where persons of both sexes assemble to dinner, are very generally resorted to; people of the highest rank there mingle with traders and artizans; and the result has been an universal refinement of manners, and much polished urbanity.

The highest class are usually possessed of fortunes which would be considered as princely in other countries. Their domestics consist of boors from their own estates, and sometimes amount to several hundreds. The same magnificence pervades the whole establishment; and their tables display the productions of every climate. The public and charitable institutions we deem it superfluous to particularize, because they are not now described for the first time; and the municipal constitution of Petersburg would afford little amusement.

Professor Storch has drawn his picture with great distinctness, in lively colours, and we presume with an accuracy proportioned to his long residence. His readers will find nothing wanting to complete their idea of this luxurious capital, though they may sometimes complain of prolixity, and sometimes of repetition.

ART. V. *The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri:* Consisting of the Inferno—Purgatorio—and Paradiso. Translated into English Verse, with preliminary Essays, Notes, and Illustrations. By the Reverend Henry Boyd, A. M., Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Charleville. 3 vol. 8vo. London: Caddel junior and Davies. 1802.

THE rude poetry of early ages possesses some high excellences which can never be attained to an equal degree in the more polished state of the art. That energy and simplicity, which are then its characteristics, are apt to be weakened and effaced, as men advance in the refinements of society, and in the arts of composition. True genius, indeed, will always be distinguished by vigour and animation; and good taste will, in every age, reject the glare of artificial ornament. But what poet, studiously com-

posing in his closet, can hope to transfuse into a subject, which perhaps for the first time has presented itself to his fancy, that keenness and natural expression which must distinguish the songs of those bards who, in a circle of brother-warriors, break out into enthusiastic descriptions of the battles and deaths of heroes, which they may either themselves have witnessed, or may recollect from the tales of their fathers?

A great part of the beauty of such compositions perishes, no doubt, with the occasions which produced them; and the extravagance and barbarity with which they are commonly much defaced, render them, upon the whole, unpleasant to a polite reader. But the early history of poetry abounds (like all other early histories) with miracles: and, from the darkness of a rude age, poets have been known to burst forth, who, while they retained the peculiar advantages of the period which produced them, have at the same time anticipated all the refinements which their art was afterwards to receive.

Homer will occur to every one as the most conspicuous example of this kind; and it is surely very remarkable, that the oldest poet with whom we are acquainted should still be by far the most accomplished. A *few* of his successors may have excelled him in certain qualifications; but he has beauties which have never been equalled; and he will, in general, be found to rank second, even in those points in which he may be admitted to have a superior. Without a rival in ardour, vivacity, and eloquence, he is inferior only to Shakespeare in extensive observation, mastery over the passions, abundant fancy, and vigorous expression: Milton alone surpasses him in loftiness of thought, and Virgil in majesty.

It is not, perhaps, so generally understood, that a similar phenomenon distinguished the revival of letters. The rude romancers of the dark ages possessed, in some measure, the same poetical advantages that belonged to the original inventors of antiquity. It was indeed impossible but that, in their productions, the shattered vestiges of a more polished age should sometimes push out from the barbarous simplicity of their own. The contrast may occasionally have a good effect; as we are interested when we meet with the huts of shepherds among the remains of palaces and temples: but this can be the case only when the combination appears to be natural and accidental. We should be offended, were the shepherds to remove the mouldering ruins from their original position, and place them in fantastic shapes about their own paltry hovels. Thus, the simplicity of the romancers, and of many of the earlier poets of modern Europe, is defaced with scraps of learning, and unnatural pedantry. That a great and accomplished poet should arise in this state of the art, is perhaps

even more wonderful, than the occurrence of such an event at the first dawn of letters. It is easier to conceive that a world, replete with harmony and beauty, should spring out of nothing, at the command of the Deity, than that it should be moulded out of a jarring chaos of hot and cold, moist and dry. The mantle of poetry might drop from heaven on the shoulders of Homer; but we do not well comprehend what kind of sorcery was employed to raise from the infernal regions the dark but powerful spirit of Dante.

With a genius perfectly original, and strongly tinctured with the venerable simplicity of ancient times, this great poet possesses a degree of polish and elegance which might have done honour to a more advanced period. It was not in vain that he had studied with so much attention the correct model of his master, Virgil. The Grecian sun of poetry had set upon the polar night of those ages; and it is an eminent proof of Dante's judgment, that he preferred the borrowed beams of this pure luminary to the other more native but smaller fires that sparkled in the Latin sky. Yet he has suffered no trammels to be put on the vigour and boldness of his own conceptions. Harmonious, yet homely; concise, yet clear; he has little vivacity, but is seldom tedious. Conducting his readers through scenes the most horrible, or the most exalted, he is constantly in possession of himself; and can describe the pains of hell and the joys of heaven, with little more emotion, than that with which at other times he enters into scholastic reasonings. A settled gravity pervades all his poem: he writes like a man employed in a serious business: and notions and images, which would transport the generality of poets beyond themselves, seem to pass through his mind like the common objects of his thoughts.

When we found that Dante had met with a translator, we opened the volumes with very humble expectations, and with a disposition for much indulgence. Our expectations, however, have been somewhat exceeded. Mr Boyd has an equable, easy style of versification, commonly somewhat dull, but always fluent. He expresses, in general very correctly, the meaning of his original; but he has an unfortunate habit of using obscure phrases which sometimes make that meaning not very perceptible. Dante, for instance, in the beginning of his poem, says, very simply, 'But that I may treat of the good which I found in this valley, I will mention the other things which I met with there.' Mr Boyd translates these words in the following unaccountable manner:

> 'Yet tell, O Muse! what intellectual store
> I glean'd along the solitary shore;
> And sing in louder strains the *heavenly freight.*'

Upon the whole, however, it appears to us that Mr Boyd has done as much for Dante, as can well be done in English rhyme; and is justly entitled to praise for the diligence and perseverance with which he has executed his laborious task. It is probable, however, that a prose translation would give a better idea of the genius and manner of this poet, than any metrical one. M'Pherson's Homer, indeed, is very heavy, because Homer is a diffuse writer, and is languid, without the help of versification. Dante is remarkably concise, and never uses one word more than is absolutely necessary. There is a naked, severe kind of poetry, to which verse seems no very necessary appendage. The poetry of the Scriptures would lose much of its *effect* if it were *done into metre*, as is evident from the versions of the psalms in common use. But as we scarcely expect that any one will set about this task, though a much easier one than that which Mr Boyd has accomplished, we recommend his translation of Dante to the attention of our readers.

The dissertations which he has prefixed to the several poems might have been omitted, without much detriment to the work. As a specimen of the translation, we subjoin the following passages, selected from each of the three poems.

I.

" *Thro' me the newly-damn'd for ever fleet,*
In ceaseless shoals, to Pain's eternal seat;
Thro' me they march and join the tortur'd crew,
The mighty gulph offended Justice made;
Unbounded Pow'r the strong foundation laid,
And Love, by Wisdom led, the limits drew.

II.

" *Long ere the infant world arose to light,*
I found a being in the womb of night.
Eldest of all—but things that ever last!—
And I for ever last!—Ye heirs of Hell,
Here bid at once your ling'ring hope farewell,
And mourn the moment of repentance past! "

III.

" This salutation sad mine eyes amaz'd,
As on the high PLUTONIAN arch I gaz'd,
In dark and dreadful characters pourtray'd.
" How dire the menace of the STYGIAN scroll! "
With deep concern I cry'd: The MANTUAN soul,
With friendly words, my sinking spirits stay'd—

IV.

" Let no unmanly thought the place profane;
The fated hour commands you to restrain

The sickly fancies bred by wayward fear!
This is the scene I promis'd to unfold:
The regions of eternal Wrath behold!
Nor tremble to survey her terrors near!

V.

"Here those, in search of bliss who madly stray'd
From Reason's path, by Passion's lure betray'd,
Lament the sad result!" then down the steep
With new-born hope his mate the Mantuan led,
Where wide before my wondering eyes were spread
The horrid secrets of the boundless deep.

VI.

'Thence, oh! what wailings from the abject throng,
Around the starless sky incessant rung;
The short, shrill shriek, and long resounding groan,
The thick sob, panting through the cheerless air,
The lamentable strain of sad Despair,
And blasphemy, with fierce relentless tone.

VII.

'Volleying around, the full, infernal choir,
Barbarian tongues, and plaints, and words of ire,
(With oft' between the harsh-inflicted blow)
In loud discordance from the tribes forlorn
Tumultuous rose, as in a whirlwind borne,
With execrations mix'd, and murmurs low.'

Inferno—the entrance into Hell: Canto 3. vol. i. p. 109–11.

I.

"Say, thou that droop'st beyond the sacred flood,"
The Holy Virgin thus her theme pursu'd,
But with a solemn brow, and piercing tone,
"Have I spoke truth? the sanction of thy voice
Must clear my charge, and vindicate the Skies;
Thy innocence or guilt must now be shown."

II.

'My faculties I felt so much confus'd,
My organs falter'd, as to speech disus'd,
Tho' oft I tried to answer to the charge:
A while she stood; then with indignant look,
She cry'd, "You have not drunk of Lethe's brook,
Your Mem'ry yet displays your deeds at large."

III.

'Slow from my lips the sad confession flow'd,
More to the eye than ear their movement show'd

My deep contrition for my early fault:
As when the Bowman's hand o'er-strains the string,
Wide flies the flutt'ring shaft on languid wing;
Thus fail'd my words to paint my guilty thought.

IV.

'Deep groans and tears the pow'rs of speech suppress'd,
The deep concealment labour'd in my breast,
Too big for utt'rance, while she thus declaim'd:
"I wing'd thy soul to that empyreal Height,
Where the CHIEF GOOD, the Source of true Delight,
Thy nascent Faith with Heav'nly hope inflam'd.

V.

"What deep Gulph, or insuperable Mound,
Cross'd thy plain path? declare what Magic bound
Thy falt'ring progress in CIRCÆAN chain;
What spell could bid the beam of Hope delay,
Before its light was lost in heav'nly day;
Why was her beamy torch illum'd in vain?

VI.

"What charms could those unreal Phantoms show,
Which fill yon' deep nocturnal Vale of Woe
With orgies foul, or fix in torpid trance
The sleepy Soul, that you should leave the Streams
Of Life, to follow to the Land of Dreams
The fairy measures of their moonlight dance?"

VII.

'In bitterness of soul I heav'd a sigh,
And with low voice essay'd a faint reply;
Scarce could my lab'ring lips the accents mould,
As with warm tears, I thus confess'd my fault:
"Their well-feign'd looks of Love my Fancy caught,
When you were summon'd to EMMANUEL's Fold."

Purgatorio—the accusation of Dante by Beatrice.
Canto 31. vol. 2. p. 351—353.

XIII.

'As when the faculties, arous'd from sleep,
Of some wild dream the strong impression keep,
Till o'er the awful scene Oblivion holds
Her cloudy palm, and blots the Vision fair,
Then gradual draws a veil of formless air,
Which soon each evanescent Shape enfolds.

XIV.

'Such was my feeling as the Vision fled,
A mingled thrilling sense of love and dread;

It vibrates in my heart, and burns my brain
Ev'n now; and oh! how quick it seem'd to go,
As to an APRIL Sun the drifted snow,
In vapours rising from the vernal plain.

XV.

'The pictur'd Series thus of times to come,
On leaves design'd, within her lonely room,
By SYBIL'S hands, the wanton breeze destroys
" O all-surpassing Source of raptures high,
One scintillation to my Mind supply,
One glimpse, to show the Source of heavenly joys!

XVI.

" O tune my tongue to that seraphic strain,
That bids the Image, duly press'd, remain
Upon the gen'ral Mind, and on my own!
That some faint trace, tho' by reflection view'd,
May give a Semblance of the SOV'REIGN GOOD
To the dark Souls confin'd beneath the Moon.

XVII.

'With Beam direct, I fac'd the vivid Light,
By Instinct led; for had I turn'd my sight
The least degree askance, the blinding Beam
In sudden Night had quench'd my visual powers;
But this I met with more collected force,
The noon-tide Glory in its fierce extreme.

XVIII.

'By uncreated energy refin'd,
Boldly I dar'd to scan th' ETERNAL MIND:
O heavenly Grace, that thus benignant bore
A Mortal's daring eyes, that travell'd far
Amid thy wonders, till th' eternal Bar,
Uprais'd by Mercy, bade me look no more.'—

XXI.

'One moment of Oblivion swept away
More from the mind, on that distinguish'd day,
Than the whole course of Time's o'erbearing tide
Could drown, from the first dawn of op'ning Light,
Till then, when NEPTUNE saw, with new delight,
Tall ARGO's shadow on his surges ride.

XXII.

'The splendid Scene with strong attraction drew
My pow'rs, all centred in the glorious view;
And as I gaz'd, I kindled at the sight:
No Mortal from the glorious view could turn,
Tho' Worlds should dance, and Planets round him burn,
And ev'ry charm to lure his eyes unite.'

Paradiso—the Beatific Vision: Canto 33. vol. iii. p. 366-68.

ART. VI. *Alfonso, King of Castile.* A Tragedy, in five Acts. By M. G. Lewis. Price 2s. 6d.

ALFONSO, king of Castile, had, many years previous to the supposed epoch of the play, left his minister and general, Orsino, to perish in prison, from a false accusation of treason. Cæsario, son to Orsino, (who by accident had liberated Amelrosa, daughter of Alfonso, from the Moors, and who is married to her, unknown to the father), becomes a great favourite with the King, and avails himself of the command of the armies with which he is entrusted, to gratify his revenge for his father's misfortunes, to forward his own ambitious views, and to lay a plot by which he may deprive Alfonso of his throne and his life. Marquis Guzman, poisoned by his wife Ottilia in love with Cæsario, confesses to the King that the papers upon which the suspicion of Orsino's guilt was founded, were forged by him: and the King, learning from his daughter Amelrosa that Orsino is still alive, repairs to his retreat in the forest, is received with the most implacable hauteur and resentment, and in vain implores forgiveness of his injured minister. To the same forest, Cæsario, informed of the existence of his father, repairs, and reveals his intended plot against the King. Orsino, convinced of Alfonso's goodness to his subjects, though incapable of forgiving him for his unintentional injuries to himself, in vain dissuades his son from the conspiracy; and at last, ignorant of their marriage, acquaints Amelrosa with the plot formed by her husband against her father. Amelrosa, already poisoned by Ottilia, in vain attempts to prevent Cæsario from blowing up a mine laid under the royal palace; information of which she had received from Ottilia, stabbed by Cæsario to avoid her importunity. In the mean time, the King had been removed from the palace by Orsino, to his ancient retreat in the forest: the people rise against the usurper Cæsario; a battle takes place: Orsino stabs his own son, at the moment the King is in his son's power; falls down from the wounds he has received in battle; and dies in the usual dramatic style, repeating twenty-two hexameter verses. Mr Lewis says in his preface,

'To the assertion, that my Play is *stupid*, I have nothing to object; if it be found so, even let it so be said: but if (as was most *falsely* asserted of Adelmorn) any anonymous writer should advance that this Tragedy is *immoral*, I expect him to prove his assertion by quoting the objectionable passages. This I demand as an act of *justice*.'

We confess ourselves to have been highly delighted with these symptoms of returning, or perhaps nascent purity in the mind of Mr Lewis; a delight somewhat impaired, to be sure, at the

opening of the play, by the following explanation which Ottilia gives of her early rising.

'ACT I. SCENE I.—*The palace garden.—Day-break.*

'OTTILIA *enters in a night-dress: her hair flows dishevelled.*

'OTTIL. Dews of the morn, descend! Breathe, summer gales;
My flushed cheeks woo ye! Play, sweet wantons, play
'Mid my loose tresses, fan my panting breast,
Quench my blood's burning fever!—Vain, vain prayer!
Not Winter, throned 'midst Alpine snows, whose will
Can with one breath, one touch, congeal whole realms,
And blanch whole seas: not that fiend's self could ease
This heart, this gulph of flames, this purple kingdom,
Where passion rules and rages!'

Ottilia at last becomes quite furious, from the conviction that Cæsario has been sleeping with a second lady, called Estella; whereas he has really been sleeping with a third lady, called Amelrosa. Passing across the stage, this gallant gentleman takes an opportunity of mentioning to the audience, that he has been passing his time very agreeably, meets Ottilia, quarrels, makes it up; and so end the first two or three scenes.

Mr Lewis will excuse us for the liberty we take in commenting on a few passages in his play which appear to us rather exceptionable. The only information which Cæsario, imagining his father to have been dead for many years, receives of his existence, is in the following short speech of Melchior.

'MELCH. The Count San Lucar, long thought dead, but sav'd,
It seems, by Amelrosa's care.—Time presses—
I must away: farewel.'

To this laconic, but important information, Cæsario makes no reply; but merely desires Melchior to meet him at one o'clock, under the Royal Tower, and for some other purposes.

In the few cases which have fallen under our observation, of fathers restored to life after a supposed death of twenty years, the parties concerned have, on the first information, appeared a little surprized, and generally asked a few questions; though we do not go the length of saying it is natural so to do. This same Cæsario (whose love of his father is a principal cause of his conspiracy against the King) begins criticizing the old warrior, upon his first seeing him again, much as a virtuoso would criticize an ancient statue that wanted an arm or a leg.

'ORSINO *enters from the cave.*

'CÆSARIO. Now by my life
A noble ruin!'

Amelrosa, who imagines her father to have banished her from his presence for *ever*, in the first transports of joy for pardon, obtained by earnest intercessions, thus exclaims.

'Lend thy doves, dear Venus,
That I may send them where Cæsario strays:
And while he smooths their silver wings, and gives them
For drink the honey of his lips, I'll bid them
Coo in his ear, his Amelrosa's happy!'

What judge of human feelings does not recognize, in these images of silver wings, doves and honey, the genuine language of the passions?

If Mr Lewis is really in earnest in pointing out the coincidence between his own dramatic sentiments, and the gospel of St Matthew, such a reference (wide as we know this assertion to be) evinces a want of judgment, of which we did not think him capable. If it proceeded from irreligious levity, we pity the man who has bad taste enough not to prefer honest dullness to such paltry celebrity.

We beg leave to submit to Mr Lewis, if Alfonso, considering the great interest he has in the decision, might not interfere a little in the long argument carried on between Cæsario and Orsino, upon the propriety of putting him to death. To have expressed any decisive opinion upon the subject, might perhaps have been incorrect; but a few gentle hints as to that side of the question to which he leaned, might be fairly allowed to be no very unnatural incident.

This tragedy delights in explosions. Alfonso's empire is destroyed by a blast of gunpowder, and restored by a clap of thunder. After the death of Cæsario, and a short exhortation to that purpose by Orsino, all the conspirators fall down in a thunderclap, ask pardon of the King, and are forgiven. This mixture of physical and moral power is beautiful! How interesting a water-spout would appear among Mr Lewis's Kings and Queens! We anxiously look forward, in his next tragedy, to a fall of snow three or four feet deep; or expect that the plot shall gradually unfold itself by means of a general thaw.

All is not so bad in this play. There is some strong painting, which shows, every now and then, the hand of a master. The agitation which Cæsario exhibits upon his first joining the conspirators in the cave, previous to the blowing up of the mine, and immediately after stabbing Ottilia, is very fine.

'CÆSARIO.

'Aye, shout, shout,
And kneeling greet your blood-anointed king,
This steel his sceptre! Tremble, dwarfs in guilt,

And own your master! Thou art proof, Henriquez,
'Gainst pity; I once saw thee stab in battle
A page who clasped thy knees: And Melchior there
Made quick work with a brother whom he hated.
But what did *I* this night? Hear, hear, and reverence!
There was a breast, on which my head had rested
A thousand times; a breast, which loved me fondly,
As heaven loves martyred saints; and yet this breast
I stabbed, knaves—stabbed it to the heart!—Wine! wine there!
For my soul's joyous!' p. 86.

The resistance which Amelrosa opposes to the firing of the mine, is well wrought out; and there is some good poetry scattered up and down the play, of which we should very willingly make extracts, if our limits would permit. The ill success which it has justly experienced, is owing, we have no doubt, to the want of nature in the characters, and of probability and good arrangement in the incidents: objections of some force.

ART. VII. *The History of England, from the Accession of King George the Third to the Conclusion of the Peace* 1783. By John Adolphus Esq. F.S.A. 3 vol. 8vo. London. T. Cadell jun. & W. Davies.

If the value of history is to be estimated from the instruction it affords to the statesman and politician, histories of recent events are certainly of greater importance than those of the transactions of distant ages. Every difference in manners, in civilization and in government, increases the difficulty of making any application of the facts. It must be admitted, that a profound knowledge of the dynasties of Persia, or the constitution of Sparta, would afford but little assistance in the government of modern states; and the wisest statesman of the fifteenth century would now find the direction of affairs, even in the same country, a new and arduous undertaking. The progress of history is, however, extremely slow. The very excellence of some modern historians affords a convincing proof of this. Some of their most valuable materials, consisting of the memoirs and letters of the great actors in the scenes related, had remained unknown to the public for ages. It does not detract from the merit of these historians, to state, that their highest merit consists in concentrating the wisdom, the policy, the eloquence of former ages, and at the same time availing themselves of whatever light has been thrown upon them by the discussions of succeeding writers. As but a small part of the documents which descend to posterity can be obtained by those who write within twenty or thirty years after the events they relate, it

would be unreasonable to exact the same excellence of execution, or extent of views, from the first compiler of the rude materials, as we expect from an author who may avail himself of all the faults and excellences of a long train of persons who have preceded him. Many allowances are therefore to be made for the history of the period included in the work before us; and we have no hesitation in saying, that the fidelity and industry with which it has been executed, entitle it to the attention of the public.

Mr Adolphus, in his preface, states the views and sentiments with which he has composed this work. The praise of diligence and impartiality is that to which he chiefly aspires. He declares, that he is not of opinion that the views of different administrations have been directed to destroy the liberty or constitution of the country; that he will endeavour to rescue some conspicuous characters from calumnies, which have obtained some credit with the public from frequent repetition; and he expresses a hope, that a warm attachment to the constitution, which has ever been present to his mind, has not betrayed him into any indecent violence against those whom he has considered as its assailants. From the general tone of the preface, we were prepared to find a considerable bias in favour of the measures pursued by the successive administrations during the period to which this work extends. Though there are certainly some passages which are not free from this charge, we must at the same time give our author the praise of perfect impartiality, as far as we could discover, in narrating events, and selecting information. Careful references are made to the authorities on which he proceeds; and where the facts are related on the authority of private information, the reader is informed of that circumstance. We should hardly have thought it necessary to take particular notice of this, had we not seen instances of persons pretending to write histories, who disclaim all reference to authorities, and seem to think themselves entitled to compose histories, like epic poems, by inspiration, and mere force of genius. Some of these writers have even had the effrontery to assume a tone of indignation, and complain, that after the profound investigations they assure their readers they have made, any person should presume to question their assertions. In writers of that description we have found such gross misrepresentations and falsehoods, stated as facts, that the most charitable conclusion seems to be, that they have never consulted the authentic sources of information; as, if they have done so, they are certainly guilty of a greater fault than ignorance and presumption. Whatever temporary reputation they may acquire, by weaving together a tissue of party pamphlets, it cannot be of long duration. They can be of no assistance to future inquirers, who, though they may be desirous to acquire a knowledge of the

statements of parties, will not take them at second hand. The partial accounts of a Burnet, a North, or a Ludlow, are useful to those who wish to form an estimate of the times; but the scurrility of a compiler must always be unworthy of attention. After submitting to the disagreeable drudgery of perusing some other accounts of the same period, we were still more strongly impressed with the general spirit of candour and fidelity which prevails in this work.

To the introduction of facts, upon the authority of private information, we do not object, where that is pointed out to the reader, as in the present work. It is, however, a source of information which we think ourselves entitled to regard with distrust. Few persons can make communications of any value, who have not had such a share in the transactions as will dispose them to be extremely partial: They incur no personal responsibility to the public; and the reader, who is ignorant of the persons concerned, is unable to estimate, as he might otherwise do, the influence which party connexions, or other causes, may have had on their statements. Even the author, who is in possession of these circumstances, will not always subject information, which he must receive with a certain degree of prepossession, (sometimes perhaps increased by the influence of superior birth or station), to the same scrutiny which he extends to information which he collects without incurring any obligation. There is perhaps less reason for the caution we have given, as it may be expected that any defects which exist in these parts of the work, will provoke discussion, and eventually add to the stock of public information. The passages of this description, which will probably be most interesting to our readers, relate to Lord Bute's administration.

The following anecdote, with regard to the treaty of peace, which is calculated to convey a higher idea of his Lordship's talents than has been generally adopted, is stated on the authority of private information.

'The importance of the acquisitions made by the English East India Company were fully appreciated by the Minister, and he was properly tenacious of their interests. At an early period of the negotiation he applied to the Court of Directors for instructions in settling the affairs of India.* Before the Court gave the required determination, the Duke of Bedford signed the preliminaries; and an article contained in them relative to the Carnatic, appearing to Lord Bute subversive of the benefits to be expected from the successes of the British arms, he immediately informed the Duke it was inadmissible. "Worn out," he said, "as we are, and loaded with debt, we must however continue the war, if that article is not altered." This reso-

* Smollett's complete History of England, vol. xvi. p. 209. *Author.*

lute remonſtrance had the deſired effect; the treaty was reviſed, and rendered agreeable to the Eaſt India Company.* Vol. i. p. 249.

Our author does not appear to be acquainted with what was always understood to be the state of the fact. The blunder in the preliminaries was discovered at Paris by Mr Pinto, a Portuguese Jew, author of a celebrated treatise on circulation and credit. He communicated it to the English ambassador, and afterwards received a pension of 500*l.* a year from the East India Company, for the important service he had done them.† Lord Bute does not appear entitled to any farther praise than that of supporting the Duke of Bedford (who is said to have acted with laudable zeal and spirit) with all the stately and measured dignity of ministerial language.

In the appendix to the first volume, we have a correspondence which passed between Lord Bute and Bubb Dodington (afterwards Lord Melcombe.) The character and intrigues of the latter are pretty well known, from the publication of his Diary. He appears to have been one of Lord Bute's principal advisers, though he seldom goes farther than hinting his opinion, and even then qualifies it, if different from Lord Bute's, with the most ample apology. In one of his letters, after stating with due hesitation some doubts as to the propriety of continuing the war on the same footing, in case he had gone too far, he adds the following declaration.

'As you approve of the war, in what manner ſoever you carry it on, I ſhall never ſay one word more againſt it public or private, but will ſupport it whenever I am called on, as well as my diſtance from the ſcene of buſineſs will allow me. I told you I would do ſo (after having told you my opinion), when you did me the honour to command me to be your friend. Indeed, my dear lord, I wiſh and mean to ſerve you, and I am ſure I will never diſſerve you, which is, I fear, as far as my poor abilities are likely to go. I am glad the King has given the ſeals; and, as you approve of it, I ſuppoſe they are well diſpoſed of.' Vol. i. p. 550.

However amiable this system of passive obedience might be in the eyes of a Premier, it appears to have been accompanied with a very troublesome importunity in making requests, which occasionally obscured its merits. Lord Melcombe even went the length of writing a letter of remonstrance to Lord Bute (which is not published): and we have the following fragment of a homily in praise of himself, which Lord Bute composed on the occasion.

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* From private information. *Author.*

† Preface to a tranſlation of Pinto on Circulation and Credit, by the Reverend S. Baggs. London, 1774.

'* * * In short, my Lord, though I cannot prevent umbrage being taken at my not satisfying every wish, I shall certainly hinder any reasonable ground of complaint concerning things I have once promised. I own, and without blushing, I have been very unfortunate in the means I have for years taken, of cementing friendships, and procuring attachments. Others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my sincerity, succeed better: but I repine not. Conscious of my own feelings, conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my king and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed, and placed on other shoulders.' Vol. i. p. 551.

It can hardly be supposed that this languid declamation would contribute much to sooth the crafty politician to whom it was addressed. The letters written by Dodington are in the same style as that which we have quoted, and are additional proofs of the meanness and duplicity of his dissembling, artful, intriguing character. It is not unworthy of notice, how different an appearance a person may make to succeeding ages in his own prose, and in the laudatory strains of contemporary poetry. Who, after reading the following verses—

'And thou, my youthful Muse's early friend
'In whom the youthful graces all unite:
'*Pure light of mind*, and tenderness of heart,
'Genius and wisdom; the gay social sense,
'By decency chastised; goodness and wit,
'In seldom-seeming harmony combin'd;
'*Unblemish'd honour*, and *an active zeal*
'For BRITAIN'S glory, LIBERTY, and MAN'—

would expect to find from the next line, that they were addressed by a poet of Thomson's genius and integrity, to a character as much distinguished for political profligacy as any which has been unmasked to posterity?

Our author afterwards enters into a discussion of the different motives assigned for Lord Bute's retreat from the management of public affairs. Without entering into the others, we lay before our readers what Mr Adolphus considers as the real cause of his Lordship's resignation.

'In fact, the principal cause of his resignation was the want of support in the cabinet. In a private letter to one of his friends, before he retired from the helm, he more fully explained the real motives of his conduct: "Single," he said, "in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the House of Lords to support me, except two Peers, (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I myself brought into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I

der might have been reformed, their wealth diminished, their power abridged, and their numbers reduced. But the destruction of a society which included so much learning and ability, and respectable from connexions and able publications in literature and theology, diminished the general credit of the established religion, and gave new spirit to those who already meditated the destruction both of Christianity and Monarchy.' Vol. I. p. 338.

We have before heard the idea, that many events which afterwords happened, would not have taken place, if the Jesuits had not been suppressed; and that it was one of the causes of the subsequent convulsions of Europe. This is so completely contradicted, however, by the state of depression, both in talents and activity which the society had reached before that period, that we were astonished to find so childish a notion countenanced by a person of any information. The Jesuits were first expelled from France, in 1594, (though afterwards reestablished); from Venice, in 1606; from England, in 1604. Was all that done by free-thinking philosophers? The ablest work that was ever published against them, or indeed in any controversy whatever, and which was the chief cause of the odium and contempt into which they afterwards fell, was certainly the work of one of the most religious men that ever existed. * Whatever share the French *philosophers* had in the suppression of that society, their object was to acquire popularity, by supporting a measure which had been wished for by the Parliaments and a great proportion of the people, for more than a century. The King of Prussia seems to have been fully as much of a free-thinking philosopher as the Duke de Choiseul; and yet he appears to have been the only person who took the part of the Jesuits. If the general credit of the established religion was diminished by the abolition of the Jesuits, in how degraded a state must religion be in those countries in which the reformed religion is adopted, where no religious orders are established? In fact, the odium attached to the order, their intrigues, and the bad tendency of many of their writings, did more harm to the cause of religion, than their declining vigour and talents could have done service; and, if they had subsisted to the year 1792, any unavailing efforts they might have made, would only have furnished pretences for the barbarities that were practised: though, if coincidence of opinion would have been any protection, they appear, in their ideas both of government and morality, to have resembled, in many respects, the wildest projectors who disorganized France.

In another respect, our author's ideas do not appear to us much more profound. He seems to think, that even after Lord

* Pascal, Lettres Provinciales.

Cornwallis's surrender, the independence of America was doubtful; and states, on the authority of Sir Henry Clinton, that the conquest of that country might have been secured by a reinforcement of 10,000 men.

'The resources of America were exhausted; the long interruption of commerce produced a lamentable want of all necessaries; a want felt from the highest to the lowest classes throughout the colonies. No art or coercion could give circulation to the paper currency; and not only the friends of Great Britain, but the warmest adherents of America, considered the maintenance of the army for another year, and still more the establishment of independency, as utterly impossible, and hardly desirable.* Sir Henry Clinton himself, after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, forwarded an assurance to administration, that with a reinforcement of ten thousand men only, he would be responsible for the conquest of America.† But before this offer could be made, the ministry, who alone could be expected to give it effect, were shaken; a new system was adopted; active hostilities were no more to be pursued; and Sir Henry Clinton, being allowed to retire, was replaced by Sir Guy Carleton.' Vol. iii. p. 507–8.

We beg Mr Adolphus would just consider, whether there is any one year of the American war, in which this might not have been said with equal plausibility.

The length to which our criticisms have already extended, obliges us to abridge any further remarks we meant to offer. Though the execution of this work is, upon the whole, good, the conduct of the narrative is in some respects defective. The facts are not always stated in a connected or comprehensive manner, or brought forward according to their relative importance. This appears particularly in the statement of political arrangements, and in the detail of military matters, though more in the former than in the latter. The language is in general perspicuous, though not always correct. In many instances it is deficient in simplicity; and our author seems more desirous of enriching his style with a redundancy of words, than by nervous simplicity of language, or strength of ideas. The characters appear fairly drawn, though they chiefly consist of the most brilliant and favourable features of each character. It must be confessed, that they are not so interesting as they would be, if they had their due proportion of shade. We are, however, far from blaming Mr Adolphus on this account. It is more prudent, perhaps, for a contemporary to leave the province of bestowing blame, to posterity, and to rest contented with stating facts, and mentioning the most

* See intercepted Letters of Silas Deane, Remembrancer. Vol. xiii. p. 71. *Author.*

† From private information. *Author.*

eminent personal qualities of the different characters who appear on the scene described. We agree with Tacitus, * that even flattery and adulation is less apt to mislead, than satire and abuse; as the reader is fully on his guard against the meanness of the one, but may be so far deceived as to believe that the other proceeds from a bold and indignant spirit of independence. We do not mean to accuse Mr Adolphus of falling into the other extreme; and we think he has adopted the safest course, in avoiding that which was most likely to flatter the vanity of a writer.

As our readers will be desirous of judging of his style for themselves, we select the two following characters out of a number of others, as those which appear to be written with most care.

'William, Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, had long maintained an unrivalled reputation as a lawyer, and an exalted character as a statesman. He was perfectly acquainted with the history and constitution of England; versed in the practice of its laws; and enlightened by all the information necessary to form a comparison and connexion between them and the best of antient and modern systems. He obtained a seat in the House of Commons in the year 1742, when he was in his thirty-eighth year; his faculties no less matured by experience than improved by study. He commenced his parliamentary career as a supporter of Lord Bath's administration, which was vehemently opposed by Mr Pitt; and his eloquence was no less celebrated in the senate than at the bar. His language was natural, yet elegant; arranged with method, and applied with the utmost ingenuity; his images were often bold, always just; his eloquence flowing, perspicuous, convincing, and impressive. He was endowed with a most retentive memory, which rendered his replies irresistible, from the facility of repelling the arguments of his adversaries, and exposing their fallacy, weakness, or absurdity. He affected no sallies of imagination, or bursts of passion; but made his appeal rather to the reason than the feelings; and did not, even when attacked, condescend to personal abuse, or petulant altercation. His speeches were characterized by acuteness, and recommended by clearness and candour; his reasoning introducing itself so easily into the minds of his hearers, as to convey information and conviction; occasionally forming a continual chain; and sometimes separated into regular divisions. His manner was moderate and decent, not presuming and dictatorial; but expressive of that dignity which, arising from superiority, does not produce disgust. Though of low stature, his person was remarkable for ease and grace; he possessed a piercing eye, a voice finely toned; his action was at once elegant and dignified, and his countenance replete with fire and vivacity. He supported through life the utmost consistency of political conduct, never courting

* Ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris: obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur. Quippe adulationi fœdum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. Tacit. lib. i. Histor.

popular applause so much as the approbation of the wise and good; yet not intimidated by the appearance of danger, or the fury of party, from pursuing that conduct, or enforcing those sentiments, which were dictated by his own conviction. Too mild to be the leader, too wise to be the dupe of any party, he was believed to speak his own sense of public measures. The House of Lords paid greater deference to his authority, than to that of any other individual; and he was frequently consulted by the King. The perspicacious eye of envy and jealousy could not establish a fault in his political conduct;* and malignity was reduced to the miserable resource of extorting from his descent the means of indirect implication, imputing to him those attachments and principles by which his relatives were influenced; but which he had not, in his juridical or senatorial capacity, ever adopted. Lord Mansfield was a conspicuous and constant supporter of administration in the American contest; in the year 1766, he had delivered his opinions on the subject of British authority, and American resistance, in the House of Lords; † and the judgment he then professed, appears always to have swayed him in every subsequent crisis.' ‡ Vol. II. p. 182–4.

'Fox displayed at Eton and at Oxford an ardent attachment to classical literature, and gave presage of his future genius, by unwearied application to Cicero and Demosthenes, and by preferring the Athenian to the Roman orator. Even in the earliest periods of life, and during all the vicissitudes of pleasure and dissipation, he was indefatigable in the exercise of his argumentative faculty. The indulgent partiality of his father supplied abundant means of gratifying inclinations natural to a youth of warm passions, totally exempt from restraint; and his great talents were shrowded from the view of those who could not discern them through the veil of unbounded dissipation. He obtained a seat in Parliament before the period of legal maturity, and was, in 1770, appointed a Lord of the Admiralty: but his support, though marked with all the ardour of his temper, and energy of his genius, was not yet deemed essential to the cause of government: he had more than once participated in the unpopu-

* He was severely attacked by Wilkes, Junius, Andrew Stewart, and others; but even when party rage was highest, their efforts produced only a clamour of the populace: men of sound judgment in every rank, and of all parties, have since concurred in acknowledging the futility of the accusations. *Author.*

† "Proceed then, my Lords," he said, "with spirit and firmness; and when you shall have established your authority, it will "then be time to show your lenity." See Holliday's Life of Lord Mansfield. *Author.*

‡ This delineation is derived from the characters of Lord Mansfield, by Bishop Newton, Dr Johnson, Bishop of Worcester, and various other authorities collected by Holliday in his Life of Lord Mansfield, p. 456. et seq. and from private information. *Author.*

larity of administration, without the credit of sharing the direction of their measures. In 1772, he resigned his situation at the Admiralty with marks of disgust, and was then expected to join the ranks of opposition. * The difference was, however, accommodated; and he soon afterwards † received a seat at the Treasury Board, from which he was dismissed in March 1774, with circumstances which occasioned the most lively indignation. To the period of his quitting the side of the minister, Mr Fox was considered by some, as a man for whose political errors, and levity of conduct, youth and inexperience afforded charitable excuses: ‡ but he soon "discovered powers for regular debate, which neither his friends had hoped, nor his enemies dreaded." § The force of Fox's oratory cannot be adequately described, and can be felt only by those who have heard him on important occasions. His speeches were luminous, without the appearance of concerted arrangement; his mind seemed, by its masterly force, to have compressed, reduced, and disposed the whole subject, with a confident superiority, to systematic rule. The torrent of his eloquence increased in force, as the subject expanded; the vehemence of his manner was always supported by expressions of correspondent energy; and the decisive terms in which he delivered his opinions, by precluding the possibility of evasion, impressed a full conviction of his sincerity, and gained regard even from the most inveterate opponent. The distinguishing characteristic of his arguments was profoundness; his general aim was the establishment of some grand principle, to which all the other parts of his speech were subservient; and his genius for reply was singularly happy. He not only combated the principal reasonings of his adversaries, but, extending a generous protection to his own partizans, rescued their speeches from ridicule or misrepresentation. The boldest conceptions, and most decided principles, uttered by him, did not appear gigantic: he seldom employed exaggerated or tumid phraseology; and, in the greatest warmth of political contest, few expressions escaped him, which can be cited to the disadvantage of his character as a gentleman. Rhetorical embellishments, though frequently found in his harangues, did not seem the produce of laborious cultivation, but spontaneous effusions. Superior to art, Fox seemed to illustrate rules which perhaps he had not in contemplation; and the bold originality of his thoughts and expressions would rather entitle him to be considered the founder of a new style of eloquence, than a servile adherent to any established practice. Burke, studious and indefatigable, from his continually augmenting stores, poured knowledge into the mind of Fox; but, in debate, their manners were widely dissimilar. Fox depended on his natural and daily improving genius for argumentation; Burke on those

* See Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. I. p. 449. *Author.*

† 9th January 1773. *Author.*

‡ See Debates on Mr Grenville's Act, 25th Feb. 1774. *Author.*

§ The expression of Gibbon.—See Posthumous Works, vol. I. p. 489. *Author.*

beauties which his taste and learning enabled him to collect and dispose with so much grace and facility: His speeches were listened to with admiration, as elegant pleadings; but Fox was always elevated above his subject; and by energy of manner, and impetuosity of oratory, staggered the impartial, animated his adherents, and threw uneasiness, alarm, and astonishment, into the minds of his opponents.' Vol. ii. p. 194-7.

One of the most important parts of the work, is the account given of the debates in Parliament. It is executed with judgment and industry; and the eloquent extracts from some of the speeches add very much to the value of the work.

We have already had occasion to praise the labour and industry which has been shown by Mr Adolphus in the book before us. It must, however, be observed, that there are some departments in which it appears defective, particularly in what relates to finance, to the internal government of the country, and the other details of legislation. The mere events of a campaign give but an imperfect idea of the state and strength of contending powers. In modern nations, more particularly in England, the state of public credit; the operations of budget; the means of supplying the armies; the effect of the different systems adopted in war and peace, upon trade and commerce; are all of the highest importance. Though our author gives a very full account of political events, he is very sparing of information upon these subjects, even of the military force employed by the contending powers. Much valuable information might be collected from the reports made to Parliament, and other sources. With the assistance of tables it might be detailed, without adding much to the size of the book; and, without further information on that subject, a history of England, especially during that period, must be very imperfect.

Our author intimates his intention of bringing his history farther down. The farther he goes, he will find a greater want of materials; and we will venture to predict, that, if he perseveres, his work, in the course of a few years, will be of little value. It would give us pleasure to hear, that Mr Adolphus's industry and judgment were employed in completing a history of George the I. and II., where we conceive there is a much better field for his exertions. Many important materials are already known to the public, which would add greatly to the interest of his work; and we are confident, that valuable additions might be made to them. The events are certainly sufficiently interesting; and a comprehensive, accurate, and candid account of them is much wanted.

On the whole, we have no hesitation in recommending the volumes before us to the public, as an useful and interesting work. The future historian will not perhaps consult it for profound re-

marks, or extensive views: He will, however, recur to it as a valuable magazine of facts, which will tend much to diminish the labour of his investigations.

ART. VIII. *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte, pendant les Campagnes du General Bonaparte.* Par Vivant Denon. Paris. Didot. 2 tom. Folio. 1802.

FEW publications, we believe, have ever obtained so extensive a circulation in the same space of time as these travels. The country to which they relate stands at the beginning of sacred and profane antiquity: the splendid periods of its history were all gone by, before the barbarians of Europe had learned either to observe or record; and the monuments that employed the pencil of M. Denon, had assumed the appearance of deserted ruins in the days of Strabo and Diodorus.

Since the origin of correct observation and minute inquiry in modern Europe, the political situation of Egypt has been such as to place all our travellers in circumstances of great disadvantage. Exposed to continual insult and suspicion on account of their religion and their curiosity, they have been obliged to pursue their researches amidst a nation of bigots and banditti, and to snatch a hasty and imperfect view of objects that required the most deliberate meditation. It is not easy for an infidel and an alien to travel at all among a people without police, and without morals; and the fruits of his hasty and perilous expeditions, cannot often be very valuable, where his informers are equally destitute of knowledge and veracity.

At length, however, a civilized nation possessed itself of this wonderful country; a whole college of philosophers was transported to the city of the Ptolemies; a printing-press was established at Cairo; and the scholars of Europe consoled themselves for the violation of the balance of power, by anticipating the sublime discoveries of the Egyptian institute. The appearance of some scattered memoirs served only to exalt these expectations; and at last the present superb publication was announced, under the patronage of the Chief Consul, and at a price that could only be justified by the combination of splendour and utility.

The book is certainly sufficiently splendid; and yet it has disappointed us extremely. The author writes like a brisk little old Frenchman, with more vivacity than judgment, and more ease than perspicuity. His narrative is exceedingly perplexed, from the want of dates, and the irregularity of his military movements; and the reader must be contented to take his skill in drawing as

an apology for his defects in erudition, and his admitted ignorance in all the branches of physical science. As to his *opportunities*, there is no doubt that he talks of them very magnificently in the outset of his expedition.

'I was going to break up, as it were, a new country; to be the firſt to ſee, and to ſee without prejudice; to make reſearches in a part of the earth hitherto covered with the veil of myſtery, and for two thouſand years ſhut out from the curioſity of Europeans. From the time of Herodotus to the preſent, every traveller, following the ſteps of his predeceſſor, had only rapidly aſcended the Nile, not daring to loſe ſight of his boat; and only quitting the ſhore for a few hours to hurry a few hundred yards off, and viſit, with anxiety, the neareſt objects. For every thing beyond the vicinity of the river, the oriental hiſtories alone have been conſulted.' Vol. i. p. 360, 361.*

The truth is, that, beyond the vicinity of the river, there is nothing to be seen; but our author himself was not long in discovering, that the advantage of being guarded by the division of an army might be more than compensated by the imperious neceſſity of marching and halting along with it; and by the perils to which he was exposed, by the hostility which the invasion of his countrymen had excited among the natives. The following passage is altogether in the French taste.

'Here the pitileſs reader, ſitting quietly at his table with his map before him, will ſay to the poor, hungry, haraſſed traveller, expoſed to all the trouble of war: "I ſee no account of Aphroditopolis, Crocodilopolis, Ptolemais—what is become of all theſe towns? What had you to do there, if you could not give any account of them? Had you not a horſe to carry you, an army to protect you, and an interpreter to anſwer all your queſtions—and have I not relied upon you to give me ſome information on all theſe ſubjects?" But, kind reader, pleaſe to recollect, that we are ſurrounded with Arabs and Mamelukes, and that, in all probability, I ſhould be made priſoner; pillaged, *and very likely killed, if I had thought proper to venture only a hundred paces from the column*, to fetch ſome of the bricks of Aphroditopolis. The embanked quay which I ſaw in galloping to Minchia, was Ptolemais; and no other remains of this town exiſt.' Vol. ii. p. 22, 23.

This does not happen to be very correctly true; because Pococke observed various pedestals, cornices, and other ruins of granite in the same place; though it may easily be supposed that they escaped the notice of a galloping philosopher. In fact, the harassing service upon which the detachment of the army that aſcended the Nile was employed, and the rapid marches and countermarches it was obliged to perform, made the opportunities of an

* We quote from the tranſlation of Dr Aikin.

artist extremely precarious; and the universal detestation in which the invaders were held by the natives, rendered the condition of a straggler a thousand times more hazardous than that of those solitary but pacific travellers, whose condition our author is pleased so frequently to commiserate. From this circumstance it has happened, that many of the splendid objects, which other European travellers have described, did not fall under the observation of M. Denon. He did not visit Arsinoe, for instance, nor Antinopolis, Hypsele, nor Abydos. The fine ruins of Ombos, which are delineated both by Poccoke and Norden, he only sketched as the flotilla carried him past them on the river; and twice passed through Thebes at the gallop, after being imprisoned for two months among the rubbish of Zaoyeh and Girgeh.

Though we cannot consider this book, therefore, as having made any very important addition to our knowledge of the Egyptian history or monuments, it would be unfair to allege that it is destitute of interest or information. It contains many beautiful engravings, and many striking and animated specimens of description: it gives us, incidentally, at the same time, a great number of curious traits of the character of the inhabitants; and certainly affords the most candid and authentic detail of the situation and conduct of the French army, during the progress of their Egyptian conquest, that has yet been presented to the public. In endeavouring to lay before our readers a short abstract of what is most valuable in its contents, we shall separate the author's observations, as an artist and a student of antiquity, from his narrative as a sharer in this memorable expedition, and an observer of manners and events, that cannot fail to interest by their novelty or importance. The history of his adventures as a soldier and a Frenchman will naturally go before the slight sketch we shall be able to give of his observations on the antiquities of the country.

The republican army sailed, it is well known, for the generous purpose of redressing grievances: and had nothing farther in view, than the deliverance of the Egyptian innocents from the oppressions of their Mameluke governors. It is also pretty generally known, that their exertions were repaid with the most signal ingratitude; and that this perverse generation persisted in rejecting their offers of fraternity with the most unaccountable animosity; they even fabricated calumnies against their heroic deliverers, and circulated stories of their outrages and injustice, that found credit with the ill-informed or malignant. In the mean time, however, the crusaders said little for themselves: we heard, indeed, of their victories and proclamations, but could learn nothing of their treatment of the conquered people, or of the progress of their Coptic disciples in civilization and morality. The

work of M. Denon presents us with much of this valuable information; and the most interesting passages in his narrative are probably those which contain the most characteristic traits of the dispositions and demeanour of his companions.

The voyage from Europe need not detain us very long; though there is something so characteristic, both of the man and of the nation, in our author's remarks on the capture of Malta, that we must extract two sentences. When the surrender was announced, he breaks out into an encomium on the gallantry and ancient splendour of the Knights of Jerusalem; and adds—

'When I figured to myself this accumulated glory, acquired and preserved during several ages, melt away when opposed to the fortune of Bonaparte, I thought I heard the ghosts of Lisle-Adam and Lavallette vent their dismal lamentations; and I fancied I saw Time make to Philosophy the illustrious sacrifice of the most venerable of all illusions.' Vol. I. p. 53, 54.

At a supper given to the Maltese Captains, he observes—

'They saw, with equal surprise and admiration, the martial elegance of our generals, and the assemblage of officers, on whose countenances beamed health and vigour, glory and hope. They were struck by the noble physiognomy of the commander in chief, the expression of which seemed to augment his stature.' Vol. I. p. 59.

This is only absurd; but, in the following page, we read with sentiments of more serious reprobation—

'The more respectable inhabitants, not yet recovered from their astonishment at the events which had taken place, kept themselves within doors; while our soldiers, *heated by wine and by the climate*, inspired so much terror among the trades people, and the lower classes, that they shut up their shops, and hid their females.' Vol. I. p. 60.

The critical escape of the French armament from the fleet of Lord Nelson is sufficiently known; but it is not perhaps very generally understood, how easy and how complete our victory would then have been. Two days after our fleet had sailed from Alexandria, Bonaparte appeared before that port; and M. Denon says 'it blew a fresh gale; and the convoy was blended with the fleet in such confusion, that the most terrible defeat would have ensued if the enemy had appeared.' The soldiers, however, were landed, and appear to have experienced a pretty vigorous resistance; as our author very coolly observes, 'that they were under the necessity of putting *the whole of their adversaries* to death at the breach.' The greater part of the troops were marched off the very moment they were landed; and, in passing through the desert that extends from Alexandria to Rhamania, experienced, for the first time, that optical deception

which makes the burning surface of the sand assume the appearance of a lake of water. This appearance the French have denominated *mirage*; and the nature of it is thus learnedly explained by M. Denon—

'It is an illusion produced by the *mirage* of salient objects on the oblique rays of the sun, refracted by the heat of the burning soil.' Vol. I. p. 122.

This explanation is, no doubt, completely satisfactory; though it is rather a new notion, we believe, that the rays of the sun can be *refracted by heat*. The Mamelukes made their first attack on the invaders at the village of Embabey, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Our author breaks out, upon this occasion, into the following rapture.

'In the midst of this carnage, the sublime contrast, which, on looking upwards, was afforded by the clear sky of this fine climate, was very striking. A handful of French, led by a hero, had just subdued a quarter of the globe; an empire had just changed its ruler; and the pride of the Mamelukes had been completely humbled by the bayonets of our infantry. During this great and terrible scene, the result of which was to become so important, the dust and smoke scarcely obscured the lower part of the atmosphere. The morning star, revolving over a spacious horizon, peaceably terminated its career;—a sublime testimony of that immutable order of nature, which obeys the decrees of the Eternal, in the calm stillness that renders it still more awful.' Vol. i. p. 129, 130.

M. Denon next proceeds to Rosetta with General Menou; and the only exploit performed in that quarter seems to have been the burning and fusilading of a defenceless village, in consequence of some vague information, that a few straggling Frenchmen had been put to death by some of its inhabitants. After this, it is added, that some of the surviving fugitives 'came and presented all the fowls and geese they had to the soldiers, *who had put a period to the remorse* by which they had been tormented for three weeks before.' From the shores of Rosetta, M. Denon was a witness of the memorable engagement of Aboukir; and describes, in a very picturesque manner, the awful spectacle of the night combat. It was not till four days after the battle, that the result of it was known in that quarter. A considerable time after this, the author, having occasion to go to Alexandria, passed by the scene of this terrible action. The following passage is in a better style than any we have yet extracted.

'We reached the sea-side at midnight, when the rising moon lighted up a new scene. The shore, to the extent of four leagues, was covered by wrecks, which enabled us to form an estimate of the loss we had sustained at the battle of Aboukir. To procure a few nails, or a few iron hoops, the wandering Arabs were employed in burning on the

beach the maſts, gun-carriages, boats, &c. which had been conſtructed at ſo vaſt an expenſe in our ports, and even the wrecks of which were a treaſure in a country where ſo few of theſe objects were to be found. The robbers fled at our approach; and nothing was left but the bodies of the wretched victims, drifted on the looſe ſand, by which they were half covered, and exhibiting there a ſpectacle as ſublime as terrific. The ſight of theſe diſtreſſing objects plunged my ſoul, by degrees, in a deep melancholy. I endeavoured to ſhun theſe terrifying ſpectres, but in vain: all thoſe that came acroſs me attracted my attention by their various attitudes, and made different impreſſions on my mind. But a few months before, young, replete with health, courage and hope, they had, by a noble effort, torn themſelves from the embraces of their weeping mothers, ſiſters and wives, and from the feeble ſtruggles of their tender infants. All thoſe by whom they were cheriſhed, ſaid I to myſelf, and who, yielding to their ardour, had allowed them to depart, are ſtill offering up prayers for their ſucceſs, and for their ſafe return: waiting with avidity the news of their triumphs, they are preparing feaſts for them, and counting the moments as they paſs, while the objects of their expectation lye on a diſtant beach, parched up by a burning ſand, and having their ſkulls already bleached.' Vol. i. p. 180—182.

From Roſetta, M. Denon ſet out with a party of ſavans upon an excurſion into the Delta; but, after creeping a little way along among filthy and obſcure villages, they were attacked by the natives, in a diſorderly manner; and ſcampered back, very much terrified, to head-quarters. He then ſails up the Nile to Cairo, without giving any deſcription of his route;—viſits the pyramids, and is beſieged in the quarter of the Inſtitute, during a very alarming inſurrection that took place in the city. The cauſe and the conſequences of this diſaſter M. Denon explains in this manner.

'The timid and indolent Egyptians had ſmiled with ſatisfaction at the expulſion of their oppreſſors, who had haraſſed them with numberleſs vexations and acts of injuſtice; but when they were called on to pay their deliverers, *they ſoon began to regret their former tyrants:* and, on recovering from their firſt panic, they had liſtened to their mufti, who found means to animate them againſt us with a fanatic enthuſiaſm, and they had conſpired in ſilence. For our own ſecurity we ought, perhaps, to have ſpared none who had ſeen French ſoldiers retire diſcomfited; but our clemency anticipated their repentance; and thus the deſire of revenge in our enemies was not extinguiſhed by their conſternation, which I could read the next day in the attitude and countenance of the malecontents; and I was convinced, that if, before the day of this engagement, we had been encompaſſed by a circle of Arabs, we were now confined within narrower limits, and ſhould always be obliged to march through domeſtic foes.' Vol. i. p. 289, 290.

To ſecure themſelves as much as poſſible againſt theſe misfortunes, General Dumas made 'a great carnage of the rebels;' and

guns were placed in such a manner as to command the chief avenues of the city.

Murad-Bey, the great leader of the Mamelukes, had retired to Upper Egypt, after his discomfiture at Embabey; and General Desaix was now despatched with a force of 7000 infantry and 1200 cavalry to pursue him, and reduce that country to subjection. M. Denon, whose principal object was the delineation of the superb monuments in that region, was attached to this division, and set out along with it in the beginning of August 1799. The day after his arrival at head quarters, a column of 300 men was sent out to raise a requisition of buffaloes and horses, over and above the antient *miri*, or land-tax: and this oppressive conduct is justified by the example of the Mamelukes, and by a sentence from Diodorus, purporting, that it is always necessary to beat an Egyptian, in order to get any thing from him!—On the 26th of August, the French and Mameluke armies approached each other in the neighbourhood of Sedinam, and engaged in the severest conflict that seems to have taken place in the course of the whole expedition. The following description is probably a little exaggerated; but it is animated, at least, and extraordinary.

"At the first dawn of day we formed in a hollow square battalion, with two platoons on our flanks. Soon after we saw Murad-Bey at the head of his formidable Mamelukes, and eight or ten thousand Arabs advancing to us, covering a league of the plain. A valley separated the two armies, which we had to cross to reach our enemies. We were hardly got to this unfavourable position, when the enemy surround us on all sides, and charge us with an intrepidity approaching to fury. Our close files render their numbers useless; our musketry keep up a steady fire, and repel their first attack; they halt, fall back, as if retiring from the field, and suddenly fall upon one of our platoons, and overwhelm it. All who are not killed, immediately throw themselves on the ground, and this movement uncovers the enemy to our grand square; then we take advantage of it, and pour in our fire, which again makes them halt and fall back. All that remain of the platoon enter the ranks, and we collect the wounded. We are again attacked in mass, not with the cries of victory, but of rage: the courage is equal on both sides: they are animated by hope, we by indignation. Our musket barrels are cut with their sabres; their horses fall against our files, which receive the shock unshaken. The horses are startled at our bayonets; and their riders turn their heads, and back them upon us, to open our ranks by their kicks: our people, who knew that their safety consisted in remaining united, press on without disorder, and attack without breaking their ranks: carnage is on all sides; but each party fight without mixing with the other. At last, the fruitless attempts of the Mamelukes urge them to a madness of rage; they throw at us their arms, which otherwise could not reach us; and, as if this were to be their last battle, they shower upon us their guns, pistols, hatchets, and the

ground is strewed with arms of all kinds. Those who are dismounted, drag themselves under our bayonets, and cut at our soldiers' legs with their sabres: the dying man summons his last effort to throttle his adversary. One of our men lying on the ground, was seizing an expiring Mameluke, and strangling him: an officer said to him,—"How can you, in your condition, do such an act?" "You speak much at your ease," the man replied, "you who are unhurt; but I, who have not long to live, must have some enjoyment while I may." Vol. I. p. 333–6.

This M. Denon calls a great victory; but from his own account it appears rather to have been a great escape, since the enemy was not pursued in his retreat, and since Desaix found himself under the necessity of returning to Cairo immediately after, for reinforcements. Upon resuming his march, he advanced from Faium to Benesuef; and from that station by Hermopolis to Siut, levying contributions according to the prescription of Diodorus, and using every exertion to come up with the fugitive and indefatigable enemy. From Siut, however, the column was again forced to advance; and—

'After marching thirteen hours, we came in the evening to Gamerissiem, unfortunately for this village; for the cries of the women soon convinced us that our soldiers, profiting by the darkness of the night, under pretence of seeking provisions, and notwithstanding their weariness, were enjoying, by violence, the gratifications which the place offered them. The inhabitants, pillaged, dishonoured, and urged to desperation, fell upon the patroles whom we sent to defend them; and these, attacked by the furious natives, were killing them in their own defence, for want of being able to explain their object, and to make themselves understood.' Vol. II. p. 12, 13.

This was rather disorderly for the most generous and best disciplined troops in the universe. But we should suspect that something still worse took place on another occasion, from M. Denon's silence as to the particulars; he says—

'We arrived at eleven at a large village, the name of which I could never learn, and where, unfortunately for their reputation, and to the great misfortune of the inhabitants, our soldiers misbehaved.' Vol. II. p. 61.

At Girgeh, the modern capital of Upper Egypt, the army found great plenty of every thing.

'Bread was one sous the pound; twelve eggs, two sous; two pigeons, three sous; a goose weighing fifteen pounds, we got at twelve sous:—could this be poverty? Such too was the abundance of these articles, that after more than five thousand of us had remained here three weeks, and had increased the consumption, and scattered out money, no rise in the demand for these necessaries had taken place.' Vol II. p. 25, 26.

Upon leaving this place, information was received of the arrival of a great multitude of zealous Mussulmans from Mecca, who had joined themselves to Murad-Bey, to assist in driving the French out of the country. The following passage may help to explain the causes of this irreconcileable hostility.

'On the 13th, we were informed that our cavalry had fallen in with a number of the enemy at Menshieth, had put to the sword a thousand of these deluded people, and had pursued their march. This was certainly not a lesson of fraternization; but our position perhaps rendered an act of severity necessary. This province, which had always the reputation of being very turbulent and very formidable, required to be taught that they could not brave us with impunity: it was, besides, our policy to conceal from them, that our means were small, and our resources dispersed; and to give them the impression of our being as vindictive when provoked, as mild when treated with respect; and that we should punish severely *those who were disposed to doubt that all we did was finally for their own good.*' Vol. II. p. 37, 38.

The army proceeding to the southward had a rencounter with 2000 Arabs on horseback, and 6000 peasants on foot. The horsemen galloped off after a few discharges, "deserting their poor infantry," says M. Denon, "who were sabred *as usual.*" The French then pillage the unoffending town of Farshiut; and a forced march is ordered at midnight, to escape from the clamour and reproaches of the inhabitants. M. Denon then passes by Dindera, where he examines the ruins, and pays a hasty visit to Thebes and Latopolis. The troops then pursued their desolating march to Elephantine and Syene, where their head-quarters were established for a considerable time. In an excursion up the river, by which the Egyptian Fabius had retreated into Nubia, a cruel and unnecessary attack was made upon the little island of Philoe, when such was the horror that had been excited by the deportment of the invaders, that "parents were seen drowning the children they could not carry away, and mutilating their daughters to save them from the violence of the victors." The termination of the march of the French through Egypt was inscribed on a granite rock beyond the cataracts; and intelligence having been received that the Mamelukes had gone down by the Desert, and were again collecting on the river, Desaix abandoned Syene, and embarked upon the stream to overtake them. M. Denon now passed Latopolis and Thebes by water; and after slightly inspecting Hermontis, came down to Kous, where the whole division halted. At this place they learned that the flotilla, with a great part of their baggage and artillery, had been captured by the Meccan auxiliaries; and that they were drawn up in force to receive them on the plain of Benhute, in the

neighbourhood. A very desperate action ensued. The enemy fired upon the French with their own artillery and ammunition; and, after an obstinate resistance, retired to a large fortress, after killing sixty of their opponents. The French were twice repulsed in an attempt to storm their fortress. At length they endeavoured to set it on fire; and this horrible expedient succeeded.

'As they were without water, they extinguished the fire with their feet and hands, and even endeavoured to smother it, by throwing themselves on it. They were seen black and naked, running through the flames, and resembling so many devils in hell.' Vol. ii. p. 212.

This terrible situation they endured for the whole night.

'During the last twelve hours. the besieged had been without water; their walls were heated through; their swollen tongues choked up the passage of the air; and, in short, their situation was terrible. In reality, a few minutes after, and an hour before the break of day, thirty of the besieged, who were the best armed, forced a passage through one of our advanced posts. At day-break, our troops entered by the breaches the fire had made, and put to the sword those who, notwithstanding they were half roasted alive, still offered a resistance. One of them, who appeared to be a chief, was brought to the general. He was in so swollen a state, that, in endeavouring to stoop to seat himself, his skin cracked in every part. "If," said he, "I am brought hither to be killed, I beg that you will hasten to put me out of my misery." Vol. ii. p. 215, 216.

The French lost nearly 200 men in those encounters, and were almost totally destitute of ammunition. They entrenched themselves, therefore, at Kench, till supplies were received: and seem afterwards to have dispersed over the adjoining country in quest of their flying enemies. The sufferings of the unoffending natives, in consequence of these operations, seem to have been such as to excite the regrets of M. Denon. After observing that the difficulty of distinguishing their enemies by their complexion, &c. was the cause of their 'continually putting the innocent peasants to the sword,' he makes the following reflections upon the condition and treatment of these poor people, which present a most extraordinary, and, we believe, an impartial picture of the general conduct of the French in this country.

'The situation of the inhabitants, for whose happiness and prosperity we were no doubt come to Egypt, was no better. If, through terror, they had been obliged to quit their houses on our approach, on their return, after we were withdrawn, they could find nothing but the mud of which the walls were formed. Utensils, ploughs, doors, roofs, every thing, in short, of a combustible nature, had been burned for cooking; and the earthen pots broken, the corn consumed, and

the fowls and pigeons roasted and devoured. Nothing was to be found, except the bodies of their dogs, killed in endeavouring to defend the property of their masters. If we made any stay in a village, the unfortunate inhabitants, who had fled on our approach, were summoned to return, under penalty of being treated as rebels who had joined the enemy, and of being made to pay double contributions. When they submitted to these threats, and came to pay the *miri*, it sometimes happened, that they were so numerous as to be mistaken for a body of men in arms, and their clubs considered as muskets; in which case, they were sure of being assailed by several discharges from the riflemen and patroles, before an explanation could take place. Those who were killed were interred; and the survivors remained friends with us, until a proper opportunity presented itself for retaliation. It is true, that, provided they did not quit their dwellings, but paid the *miri*, and supplied the wants of the army, they not only spared themselves the trouble of a journey, and avoided the unpleasant abode of the Desert, but saw their provisions eaten with regularity, and might come in for their portion of them, preserving a part of their doors, selling their eggs to the soldiers, and having few of their wives and daughters ravished.' Vol. II. p. 44–46.

After this, it is needless to pursue our detail of cruelties and disorders any farther. We shall add one other specimen, however, of the rigour with which the work of regeneration was pursued. The indefatigable Murad had excited some disturbance in Beneadi, a town in the neighbourhood of Coptos, containing 12,000 inhabitants. To repress these, a detachment of cavalry and artillery was despatched.

'The troops, animated with the hope of plunder, in an instant swept away the whole village: those of the inhabitants that escaped, joined the remnant of the Meccans, marched against Miniet, and were put to the sword in a second encounter.' Vol. II. p. 305.

M. Denon, after visiting once more the ruins of Tentyra and Thebes, accompanied a detachment of the army from Keneh to Cosseir, upon the Red Sea; and, after a stay of no more than two days, returned by the same route, accomplishing the whole expedition in the short space of a single week. He afterwards accompanied a division that was appointed to make a circuit through the conquered country; and found many opportunities of making drawings of ruins and hieroglyphics, at Luxor, at Etfu, and among the tombs of the kings at Thebes.

Immediately after his return from this excursion, he embarked on the Nile for Cairo, where he arrived just as the commander in chief was setting out to give battle to the Turks, who had disembarked at Aboukir. Out of 20,000 men, who were encamped in that spot, 6000 were made prisoners, 4000 left dead on the field, and 10,000 driven into the sea and drowned.

Within twelve days after this signal victory, Bonaparte embarked in the night at Alexandria, along with M. Denon; busied himself with chemistry and geometry during the passage; and arrived safely at the port of Frejus, after passing through the British squadron in a fog.

Such, in the abstract, is M. Denon's account of this memorable expedition; and such are a few of the new lights which his narrative has thrown on the conduct of it! We feel much admiration for the magnanimity of the Chief Consul, in patronizing the work that contains them; and leave them, without commentary, to the meditation of our readers. M. Denon, however, did not go to Egypt as the historiographer of his patron's exploits: he went to describe and delineate the monuments of its ancient grandeur. And it is time to make a few observations upon the manner in which this part of his task has been performed.

The characters of the Egyptian architecture have long been known to the inquisitive. Gigantic in all its proportions, it seems rather to have aimed at overwhelming the imagination by vastness, than at enchanting it by elegance; and while ideas of grandeur and of power are irresistibly excited by the enormous masses that are piled into regularity by human labour, we are oppressed by a certain cumbrous and severe uniformity of execution, that banishes every idea of inventive freedom, and indicates the designs of an insulated and monastic corporation. A temple upwards of two miles in circumference, constructed of stones from 15 to 36 feet in length, supported by columns 50 feet high, and 12 in diameter, and adorned with obelisks of a single stone 100 feet in elevation, and with colossal statues measuring from 50 feet to 80, may serve to give some idea of those stupendous structures, the memory of whose origin has been forgotten for centuries, and which still promise to survive all the generations of mankind. We have already insinuated that M. Denon's publication has not added very materially to our knowledge of those monuments. We do not know, indeed, that he pretends to have made a single discovery. He has given fewer *plans* than either Poccoke or Norden, and is infinitely less distinct in his descriptions, and less learned in his references, than the former of these travellers. He has made much better, and more numerous drawings, however, than any of his predecessors, and has presented the groups of objects in a much clearer and more picturesque manner. His views in the islands of Philoe and Elephantine are a great deal more perfect; and he has copied the paintings and engraved hieroglyphics in the tombs at Thebes, and the temple of Tentyra, much more correctly and extensively. He has intermingled a variety of critical remarks and ani-

mated reflections also, that give a certain dramatic interest to his descriptions, and indicate a cultivated taste and an inflamed imagination. We shall give a very short sketch of his observations.

Lower Egypt afforded but few materials for his art or his enthusiasm. The pillar at Alexandria he supposes to have been erected in the time of the Caliphs, and imagines it to have belonged to some gigantic edifice, the portico or atrium of which he thinks may still be discovered, by digging in the loose ground in the vicinity. Some mutilated fragments of cornices and colossal statues led him to fix the site of Canopus a few leagues to the westward of Alexandria. To our former description of the pyramids he has added nothing; he is enchanted, however, with the 'mild, gracious and tranquil expression,' in the countenance of the sphinx, and does not stay to peep into the catacombs. The first entire specimen of Egyptian architecture he meets with in the famous portico of the temple of Hermopolis; and his raptures are sufficiently high.

'A peasant who should be drawn out from his cottage, and placed before such a building as this, would believe that there must exist a wide difference between himself and the beings who were able to construct it: and, without having any idea of architecture, he would say this is the work of a god; a man could not dare to inhabit it.' Vol. I. p. 380, 381.

The degenerate natives do not carry their ideas quite so high; but M. Denon assures us, that while sitting among the ruins of Luxor, he was seriously asked by one of their Sheiks, whether it was the French or the English that had erected these monuments?

He comes next to Tentyra, which he has drawn with great elegance and distinctness, to Latopolis and Thebes. The following reflections seem natural and judicious.

'Our national impatience was dismayed with the constancy of application exhibited by the people who had executed these monuments: Throughout was shown equal care and equal assiduity; which would make one believe that these edifices were not the works of their kings, but that they were constructed at the expense of the nation, under the direction of colleges of priests, and by artists whose labours were circumscribed by invariable rules. A series of years might, indeed, have brought the arts to a higher degree of perfection in some particulars; but each temple is so equally finished in all its parts, that they appear all to have been executed by the same hand; no one portion is better or worse than any other; there appears neither negligence, nor the bold strokes of a more exalted genius; uniformity and harmony prevail throughout. The art of sculpture, here made subservient and attached to that of architecture, appears to

have been circumscribed in principle, in method, and in style of execution; a single figure expresses nothing, when taken out of its exact station in the group in which it is a part; the sculptor had his design chalked out for him, and could not introduce any deviation which might alter the true meaning that it was intended to convey: it was with these figures, as with the cards that we use for our games, the imperfection of design is overlooked, that no obstacle may arise in instantly distinguishing the value of each. II. 72, 73.

With the huge temples of Carnac and Luxor he seems somewhat out of humour, because they are too large to be distinctly represented upon paper. A village containing 3000 souls has been erected on the ruins of a part of the latter; and yet M. Denon informs us, that its vast courts and galleries have all the grandeur and desolation of an uninhabited ruin; the huts that are built on the roofs and in the corners having the appearance of swallows' nests in our houses, which defile them without altering or concealing their general appearance! After having wandered among these stupendous remains, M. Denon makes the following striking and characteristic reflections.

'Still temples, nothing but temples! and not a vestige of the hundred gates so celebrated in history; no walls, quays, bridges, baths, or theatres; not a single edifice of public utility or convenience; notwithstanding all the pains which I took in the research, I could find nothing but temples, walls covered with obscure emblems; and hieroglyphics, which attested the ascendancy of the priesthood, who still seemed to reign over these mighty ruins, and whose empire constantly haunted my imagination.' II. 195, 196.

And afterwards—

'I still admire with awe the organization of such a government; its stupendous remains yet excite the mingled sensations of respect and dread. The divinity, in sacerdotal habits, holds in one hand a book, and in the other a flail; the former, no doubt, to restrain, and the latter to punish: every thing is measured by the law, and enchained by it. The fine arts, subject to the same severe restrictions, bend under the weight of fetters, and their soaring genius is pinioned to the earth. The unveiled emblem of generation, traced even in the sanctuary of the temples, announces, that to destroy pleasure it was converted into a duty: not a single circus, not a single theatre, not a single edifice for public recreation; but temples, but mysteries, but initiations, but priests, but sacrifices; ceremonies for pleasures; for luxury, sepulchres.' II. 288, 289.

Among the most valuable and original of the drawings with which M. Denon has presented us, are the representations of those paintings and reliefs that still continue to adorn the tombs of the kings and other excavations at Thebes, and the

cells adjoining to the temple of Tentyra. In the former he found four apartments, the walls of which were covered respectively with different sorts of arms, with implements of agriculture, with instruments of music, and with articles of furniture. Those paintings, which are said to be in excellent preservation, afford a complete view of the *costume* of the ancient Egyptians, and the most decisive evidence of the progress they had made in the arts. War chariots, drawn by two and by four horses, form a frequent object in these decorations; and, in another part of the temple, the sculpture represents persons vaulting over ropes, and asses dancing on their hind legs. We do not remember that the graver Egyptians are ever themselves exhibited as performers in a dance.

Our limits will not permit us to make any observations upon the zodiac, and other astronomical delineations that M. Denon has copied from the painted ceilings of Tentyra; but we cannot omit his account of the discovery of an ancient alphabetical manuscript which he found in the hand of a mutilated mummy that was brought to him by the Arabs for sale.

'The reader should be a traveller, an inquirer, and an amateur, to sympathize with my rapture on this occasion. When it was brought me, I felt that I turned pale with anxiety: I was going to express my indignation at those who had violated the integrity of this mummy, when I perceived in its right hand, and resting on the left arm, a roll of papyrus, on which was a manuscript, that I should perhaps have never seen without this violation. I then blessed the avarice of the Arabs, and my good fortune, which had put me in possession of such a treasure, which I hardly dared to touch for fear of injuring this sacred manuscript, the oldest of all the books in the known world. I could not venture to entrust it out of my sight, and all the cotton of my bed was devoted to wrapping it up with the utmost care. What could be its contents? Was it the history of this personage, the remarkable events of his life? Was the period ascertained, by the date, of the sovereign under whom he lived? or did this precious roll contain maxims, prayers, or the history of some discovery?' II. 71, 72.

We do not pretend to be able to decypher this manuscript, and do not recollect to have heard of any communication having been made to the public in relation to it. M. Denon observes, that the same character and sets of characters recur repeatedly in the course of it.

We cannot take our leave of these *colossal* volumes without entering our protest against such a form of publication. M. Denon's taste has been formed perhaps upon the gigantic monuments of the Thebaid, and will relish no book that is not as large as a pannel charged with hieroglyphics; but in this quar-

ter of the world, we believe there are few readers who will think themselves indemnified for the great price of this work by the satisfaction of turning over four square feet of pasteboard in every leaf, and having their eyes dazzled by characters like those on a tomb-stone. Even in the volume of plates, the huge size of the page is turned to no sort of use; most of the views being given in small compartments, that do not occupy one eighth part of the sheet, and the paper being covered by a single subject, in no instance but the fanciful representation of two battles with the Mamelukes. We are the more inclined to censure the injudicious magnitude of these volumes, as there is nothing either in the style or the matter of M. Denon that tallies with so much magnificence. He has made some fine drawings of monuments that had been drawn before, and brought away some slight sketches of hieroglyphics that had not been previously copied; and he has recorded his observations and adventures in a flippant and familiar style, that partakes less of dignity than of pertness; and seems better adapted for the undress of an occasional pamphlet, than for the monumental vastness of such a publication as the present.

ART. IX. *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe, pendant les regnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI. &c.* MSS. trouvés dans le Cabinet de Louis XVI. Seconde Edition. Considerablement augmentée, par L. P. Segur l'Ainé, Exambassadeur. 8 tom. 8vo. pp. 1238. à Paris. Chez Buisson. An 9. (1801.)

THE balance of power, and the general system of international relations which has grown up in modern Europe, have afforded to one class of politicians perpetual subject of ridicule and invective, and to another class the constant opportunity of defending or attacking every measure, of discussing or affecting to discuss, every political subject, by a reference to certain terms of art and abstract ideas, of which it is fair to suspect that they little understood the meaning and the force.

Of these reasoners or declaimers, the former sect are undoubtedly the most dangerous. The refinements of modern policy which have sprung from the progressive improvement of the human species, and have, in their turn, secured that progress, and accelerated its pace, are in no danger of being either corrupted, or brought into disrepute, by the petulance of pretended statesmen. But the sophistries and cavils which political sceptics and innovators have founded, partly on a misconception of the theory, and partly on a mistatement of the facts, tend directly to a degradation of the system in the eyes of superficial reasoners, and may

ultimately renew a state of things, from which the unassisted efforts of national heroism would be altogether unable to redeem any one community.

The attacks of those men have, moreover, been extremely inconsistent and contradictory. While, at one time, they maintain, that the idea of a political equilibrium is pregnant with every species of absurdity, and would produce, if carried into the actual affairs of nations, those very evils which the system is extolled for preventing: at another time, we are told that the notion is simple and obvious; that it arises naturally out of the passions of men; that it is no refinement of modern statesmen, but has influenced the councils of princes and commonwealths in all ages of the world. Now—the balance of power is an unintelligible jargon, invented to cover every scheme; to furnish pretexts for every act of national injustice; to lull the jealousy of the people in any emergency; or to excite their alarms upon any occasion. Now—it is useless and superfluous; an interference with the natural order of things; or an attempt to effect that which would happen at any rate. Now—it is pernicious in the extreme; the parent of wars and offensive alliances; the exciting cause of national violence; the watchword of ambitious princes and destroying commonwealths; a refinement only of injustice; and a system of nothing but treachery or caprice. It is very manifest, without any argument, that the system of modern policy cannot be liable to all those accusations at once, and that the declaimers, who have used such language with respect to it, must have been talking of very different things at different times. But as the foreign policy of nations was never, at any period of modern story, so interesting as at present, we shall proceed to offer a few observations upon that system which has been so little understood, and which is the foundation of the important work now under review.

The national jealousy, by which at all times the European states are animated, and which ranges them on different sides in each public crisis, has been denominated, not a principle of policy, but a national emotion. Nations, it is said, like the individuals which compose them, are moved by caprice, and actuated by passions; excited to contention by envy and hatred; soothed to reconciliation when exhausted by the efforts of their enmity; leagued in friendship by the dictates of an interested prudence; united together by the thirst of plunder; or combined for the gratification of some common revenge. The principle (we are told) which has been pompously called the great spring of civilized policy, is perhaps nothing more than a systematic indulgence of those natural feelings that impel the savage to attack his more wealthy neighbour, or unite rival hordes in a temporary friend-

ship, when invaded by a powerful and common enemy. The policy (it is added) which we have heard extolled as the grand arcanum of modern statesmen, and dignified with the title of a system, is nothing more than the natural result of a conflict between desire of conquest and of security, refined on by ingenious men, and spun into a regular theory.

These remarks are partly true, and partly unfounded. It is true, that nations are guided by human councils, and subject, of course, to the passions and caprices of men; but it is no less certain, that the more regularly any system of government is established, the more will men of sober minds acquire a weight in the management of affairs; and that the longer the art of administering the concerns of empires is practised, prudence will gain the greater ascendancy over passion. It is true, that the dictates of feelings not always amiable, and often outrageous, are frequently, more than any impulse of reason, the springs which actuate the operations of states; but it is equally true, that in all animals the passions themselves are implanted for the wisest of purposes; that instinct is the principle to which, more than reason, the preservation of life, and the maintenance of order in the universe, must be ascribed; and that national councils may be operating what no foresight could combine, while they appear to be swayed only by prejudice and passion. The existence of rude states is indeed frequently preserved, and their civilization insured, by the operation of principles, to assist the development of which is the great pride of the most learned and skilful statesmen; yet, the want of this assistance in those rude times, and the want of a constant superintendance and controul, which renders the popular feelings useful in one case, and harmless in another, is certainly the cause of that instability of national power, and those perpetual changes in dominion—those constant broils, and that state of unceasing insecurity, to which we may attribute the many revolutions in the situation of savage communities, and the long continuance of their barbarism.

That the system which we are now considering has oftentimes been abused, no one can deny. What human institution can defend itself from this charge? But many of the evils which are ascribed to the principle in question, have been owing only to an erroneous conception of its nature. Many of them have arisen, from failing to carry the line of policy recommended by it, to the lengths which it enjoins; and, in not a few instances, those events which have been deemed pernicious, would have proved altogether fatal, had not its influence modified and controuled them. We are desired, with no small appearance of triumph, to view the history of the last century; and to mark the manifold wars which the balancing system produced; the various intrigues

to which it gave rise; the destructive conquests of which it furnishes the pretext; and the national catastrophes which it could not avert. But had it not been for that wholesome jealousy of rival neighbours, which modern politicians have learned to cherish, how many conquests and changes of dominion would have taken place, instead of wars, in which a few useless lives were lost, and some superfluous millions were squandered? How many fair portions of the globe might have been deluged in blood, instead of some hundreds of sailors fighting harmlessly on the barren plains of the ocean, and some thousands of soldiers carrying on a scientific, and regular, and quiet system of warfare, in countries set apart for the purpose, and resorted to as the arena where the disputes of nations may be determined? We may indeed look to the history of the last century as the proudest era in the annals of the species; the period most distinguished for learning, and skill, and industry; for the milder virtues, and for common sense; for refinement in government, and an equal diffusion of liberty; above all, for that perfect knowledge of the arts of administration, which has established certain general rules of conduct among nations; has prevented the overthrow of empires, and the absorption of weak states into the bodies of devouring neighbours; has set bounds to the march of conquest, and rendered the unsheathing of the sword a measure of the last adoption; whereas, in other times, it was always resorted to in the first instance.

In the beginning of that century, we saw the gigantic power of France humbled by a coalition of princes, each resolved to undergo immediate loss, and run a great present risk, in order to prevent the greater chance of ruin at the distance of a few years. In antient times the Stadtholder would have been more jealous of Britain or Austria, than of France. The great Monarch, like Cæsar, would have found a Divitiacus in the heart of the empire. By splitting the neighbouring potentates into adverse factions, and fighting one against the other, he would, in a few years, have subjugated the whole. No power would then have conceived that common prudence required an immediate sacrifice of peace, in order to ward off a distant peril. All would have waited quietly till the invasion came on; then, fighting with a desperate, but an insulated valour, all would have been conquered in detail by the ambitious enemy of Europe; and the story of the Roman Empire would have been renewed, when submission to foreign power, and loss of liberty, and interruption of peaceful pursuits, were no longer the phantoms of vulgar terror, or the themes of idle declamation, but real, and imminent, and inevitable calamities.

In the middle of the century, we indeed saw an antient crown

despoiled of its hereditary provinces; and the neighbouring states in vain attempting to crush the new-born energies of the Prussian power. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the principles of an enlightened policy would not have favoured the rise of a power, whose professed and natural object was the balancing of the Imperial House, and the protection of the smaller princes of the empire, against the preponderating, and formerly absolute, sway of the Austrian monarchs. And, at any rate, admitting the other powers to have been actuated by no such views, it is clear that the success of the Silesian usurpation must be attributed to the actual dereliction of the balancing system, and not to its inefficacy; for, both in the Silesian and in the Seven-years' war, * the part of Prussia was openly espoused by some of the great powers; in the former, by France and Bavaria; in the latter, first by England, and then by Russia herself. The preservation and accurate adjustment of the balance might perhaps have required some such event as the acquisition which Prussia actually made; but if the immediate object of the sytem, the maintenance of the established division of power, was held to be a more important consideration, it is clear that the part of Prussia ought not to have been taken by France and Bavaria, in the one case, or by England and Russia in the other, until the usurped dominions of Austria had been restored; and then the allies of that power ought instantly to have deserted her, if she did not remain satisfied with the fruits of their interference.

Soon after the Seven-years' war was terminated, the dismemberment of an ancient European kingdom was projected by the powers who had been most exhausted in the Silesian contest, and who wished to indemnify themselves for their losses at the expense of the Poles. The success of this iniquitous transaction, although it only demonstrates that the modern system has not been carried to its proper length—that it is incapable of changing the nature of men, or disarming the ambition and rapacity of princes—has been always quoted by a certain set of politicians, as an irrefragable proof of the futility and inefficacy of the great principle of modern politics. That calamitous event is indeed a sufficient proof, that the statesmen of Europe had for a while forgotten their most sacred principles, and that the princes who did not interfere to prevent it, were blind to their best interests. It serves, therefore, to show us what would be the situation of the world, were the maxims of ancient times to be revived, and the salutary system of

* It is well known that the peace of Dresden was only a truce; that the war of 1756 owed its origin to the cause of the former contest; and that the possession of Silesia was only secured by the peace of Hubertsburgh.

modern Europe to lose its influence over the councils of states; but, for this very reason, the partition of Poland cannot, with any truth, be said to prove the inefficacy of those principles, by acting in direct opposition to which, the great powers of Europe permitted it to happen. If, however, the policy of the neighbouring states provided no check to the injustice of the partitioning powers, the influence of the balancing system upon the conduct of those parties themselves, was productive of the most important and beneficial effects. Had the ancient maxims of national indifference and insulation prevailed in the cabinets of princes at the crisis of Polish affairs in 1772, the distracted state of that unhappy country would indeed have called in the interference of foreign force. But this interference would have proceeded from one quarter alone. Poland would have been overwhelmed, and its vast resources appropriated, by one only of the conterminous powers, probably by the Russian empire, which would thus have suddenly acquired a preponderance fatal to the rest of Europe; and, without receiving any check in the proportional aggrandizement of the neighbouring states, would have been enabled to stretch its resistless arm into the very heart of the great western commonwealth. But the prevalence of that national jealousy, and anxious attention to the affairs of other states, which is the master principle of the modern system, prevented the usurpation of Russia, even at the moment when she was actually mistress of the kingdom, garrisoned the capital with her troops, and ruled the national councils by a viceroy, under the name of ambassador. With all these circumstances in her favour, she was not even the first proposer of the partition. Her natural enemies, Austria and Prussia, actually gained a greater share of the spoil; and, instead of being the first victims of her extended empire, as they infallibly would have been in ancient times, they have themselves acquired, at the same moment, an increase of resources, which enables them effectually to withstand the augmented force of her power.

Although, then, it is extremely absurd to adduce the partition of Poland as an instance of the balancing system, (after the manner of the Prussian statesmen*), it is equally ridiculous to assert, that it proves the inefficacy of that system, or to deny that the rest of Europe has been saved by the influence of those principles upon the parties in the usurpation, which should have led the other great powers of Europe to prevent it. It is scarcely neces-

* Count Hertzberg, (the King's first minister in 1772), in a speculative essay on this subject, gives the partition as an apposite case of the balancing system. It was made, he says, 'Selon les principes d'une balance dont les trois puissances partageantes etoient convenus entre elles.' Mem. tom. i. p. 296.

sary to remark, that we by no means intend to assert any thing further than the injustice and impolicy of the transaction upon a great scale: at present, we only look to the effects of the balancing system in maintaining the independence of the weaker states. The case of Poland, as it appears to us, is one of the very few instances, which have ever occurred, of a nation being placed in such unnatural circumstances of embarrassment, turbulence, and degradation of every sort, that no change of affairs could possibly render it worse, and scarce any revolution, by domestic violence, or foreign invasion, could fail to alter it for the better. Setting apart the high-sounding phrases of patriotism and national spirit, and the feelings of admiration which the very natural emotions of pity have taught us to couple with the name of Poland, it is impossible for a sober-minded observer not to perceive, that ages of the most debasing servitude had utterly disqualified the Polish boors for enjoying the privileges of free subjects; that a lifetime divided between unceasing tumult in public, and the revellings of a boisterous, barbarous hospitality, had utterly unfitted the rest of the state from cooperating in the formation of a constitution which should possess either energy or regularity; and that the happiest event which has ever befallen the fine country of Poland, has been a dismemberment, wept over and declaimed upon by those who had no experience of its necessity, or need of its benefits. Those benefits have most undoubtedly been the pacification of that unhappy kingdom, by the only means which human fancy could have devised for accomplishing this end, without endangering the security of the other powers, namely, a fair division of the country among the neighbouring and rival powers, and a consequent communication of the inestimable blessings which their ancient subjects enjoyed under a system of peaceful government and regular police.

The memorable events which took place at the close of the 18th century, it is almost needless to observe, were the immediate consequence of an adherence to the principles of the modern system of international policy. The internal state of France would never have alarmed the neighbouring nations in ancient times. Without anxiety, they would have seen the overthrow of all regular government, the progress of Jacobin contagion, and the development of those popular energies which armed a people, devoted exclusively to war, with resistless power to accomplish the grand object of their demagogues, the overthrow of altars and thrones, and the establishment of universal empire. Far from combining to resist the progress of the new horde, they would have split into factions, and assisted its destructive course. No efforts to check it would have been thought of, until all resistance was too late; nor would those modern Gauls have found

resistance effectual to oppose them from the Manlius of any capitol in Europe. That this has not been the fate of every thing refined and valuable in Europe, is owing to the degree in which the maxims of the balancing system began to operate their usual effects at the very moment when the first changes took place in France. But that much injury has been done; that many independent states have been humbled; that some powers have been overwhelmed; and that melancholy changes have been effected in the distribution of dominion, has been owing to the unprincipled ambition of certain princes; the taint of disaffection in the people of some countries, which have, together, prevented the modern system of external policy from being followed out, and have given to the common enemy of national independence an advantage proportioned to the neglect of those sound and necessary principles.

Let us hear no more, then, of the last century, as affording arguments against the balance of power. That eventful period in the history of mankind has been marked by the formation of vast schemes, which either by their success may allure, or by their failure may warn, future statesmen to cling still closer by those maxims of conduct which are necessary to the preservation of liberty and peace.

The remarks which have been frequently made on the knowledge of the ancients, in this branch of policy, are for the most part just. Mr Hume, so far as we know, is the first who stated this point, in an essay replete with accurate reference, and distinguished acuteness of classical illustration, but mingled also with some injurious perversions of facts in more recent history; and with the mistatement, in one or two points of the great system itself, which he appears to treat with disrespect. * The celebrated passage in Polybius, which has so often been quoted, † is indeed a distinct statement of one general principle in that system; and the orations of Demosthenes contain some discussions of the most delicate parts of the theory—discussions which, from the events of his time, we may be assured were but imperfectly comprehended in those early ages. ‡ But the number of discoveries or inventions, which have been suddenly made in any branch of knowledge, is small indeed. All the more important steps in the progress of the human mind may rather be termed improvements than inventions: they are refinements upon methods formerly known—generalizations of ideas previously conceived. By how many small and slowly following steps was the true nature of the planetary motions

* Essay on the Balance of Power.

† Polyb. lib. i. cap. 83. "Nunquam," &c.

‡ Particularly the famous speech "*pro Megalopolitanis*"—*passim*.

brought to light! By how many insensible gradations did that theory receive its explanation from the great law of gravitation, which, constantly and universally acting, keeps each body in its place, and preserves the arrangement of the whole system. In like manner has that theory of political expediency been gradually unfolded, and its parts refined, which regulates the mutual actions of the contiguous nations of Europe; subjects each to the influence of others, however remote; connects all together by a common principle; regulates the motions of the whole; and maintains the order of the great complicated system. As the newly-discovered planets are found to obey the same law that keeps the rest in their orbits; so the powers, which frequently arise in the European world, immediately fall into their places, and conform to the same principles that fix the positions, and direct the movements of the ancient states. And as, even in this enlightened age, we have not yet succeeded in discovering the whole extent of the planetary law, or in reducing certain apparent irregularities of the system to the common principles; so, in these days of political improvement, we have not attained the utmost refinements of international policy, and have still to lament the many irregularities which continue to disturb the arrangement of the European commonwealth.

It is not, then, in the mere plan of forming offensive or defensive alliances; or in the principle of attacking a neighbour, in order to weaken his power, before he has betrayed hostile views; or in the policy of defending a rival, in order to stay, in proper time, the progress of a common enemy: it is not in these simple maxims that the modern system consists. These are, indeed, the elements, the great and leading parts of the theory; they are its most prominent features; they are maxims dictated by the plainest and coarsest views of political expediency: But they do not form the whole system; nor does the knowledge of them (for it cannot be pretended that ancient states were in possession of any thing beyond the speculative knowledge of them) comprehend an acquaintance with the profounder and more subtile parts of modern policy. The grand and distinguishing feature of the balancing theory, is the systematic form to which it reduces those plain and obvious principles of national conduct; the perpetual attention to foreign affairs which it inculcates; the constant watchfulness over every motion in all parts of the system which it prescribes; the subjection in which it tends to place all national passions and antipathies to the views of remote expediency; the unceasing care which it dictates of nations most remotely situated, and apparently unconnected with ourselves; the general union, which it has effected, of all the European powers in one connected system—obeying certain laws, and actuated, in general, by a

common principle; in fine, as a consequence of the whole, the right of mutual inspection, now universally recognized among civilized states, in the rights of public envoys and residents. This is the balancing theory. It was as much unknown to Athens and Rome, as the Keplerian or Newtonian laws were concealed from Plato and Cicero, who certainly knew the effect of gravitation upon terrestrial bodies. It has arisen, in the progress of science, out of the circumstances of modern Europe—the greater extent and nearer equality of the contiguous states—the more constant intercourse of the different nations with each other. We have been told by historians, * that the principle of the balance of power was a discovery of the 15th century, made by the Italian politicians, in consequence of the invasion of Charles VIII. Against such statements as this, it is perfectly fair to adduce the arguments of Mr Hume and others, who have traced, in ancient times, vastly more refined notions of policy, than any that dictated the Italian defensive league. It was, in truth, not to any such single event, that the balancing system owed either its origin, or its refinement; but to the progress of society, which placed the whole states of Europe in the same relative situation in which the states of Italy were at that period, and taught them not to wait for an actual invasion, but to see a Charles at all times in every prince or commonwealth that should manifest the least desire of change.

The circumstances of the European states, by promoting national intercourse, have been singularly favourable to the development of those principles of easy and constant union. Consolidated into one system of provincial government under the empire of Rome, they were separated by the same causes, and nearly at the same time. Reduced by a people whose character and manners were never effaced by the most rapid conquests, or most remote emigrations, they were formed into divisions, under constitutions of the same nature, peculiarly calculated to preserve the uniformity of customs, which originally marked the whole. The progress of political government has been similar in all, from the dominion of the nobles to the tyranny of the prince, and, in these latter times, to the freedom of the people. That spirit of commercial intercourse, which produces a perpetual connexion, little known in the ancient world, has conspired with the similarity of situation, and the resemblance of manners, to render Europe a united whole within itself, almost separated from the rest of the world;—a great federacy, acknowledging, indeed, no common chief; but united by certain common principles, and obeying one system of international law.

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* Robertson's Charles V. Vol. 1.

It is from these natural sources, through this gradual progress, and not suddenly from any accidental occurrences in the fifteenth century, or from the cabinets of particular statesmen, that we must deduce the refined system of interference, which has regulated, for so long a time, the councils of Europe in foreign affairs; and we are to consider the union of the Italian states against the invasion of Charles, merely as a symptom of the same progressive improvement, which has since taken place in the other parts of Europe.

The question, of the propriety of a nation interfering with those concerns of its neighbours, which have only a remote connexion with its own interests, may be stated in two different forms;—either as a general question applicable to any state, or in its particular reference to the situation of a nation placed in certain circumstances. Thus many politicians, who have no hesitation in recommending the balancing system to such powers as Austria and Prussia, placed in the heart of Europe, and surrounded by many other states of various complexions and magnitudes, are yet of opinion, that the situation of Britain is very different; that she is, by nature, insulated from the rest of Europe; that she can defend herself against any invasion, by means of her natural barrier and internal resources; and that she ought not to sacrifice the improvement of those resources, and the means of maintaining peace, to the vain wish of holding the European balance, and embroiling herself in the stormy politics of foreign states. To enter fully into the discussion of this great national question, would carry us much beyond our necessary limits: But we cannot avoid remarking, that, so long as Great Britain is engaged in a commercial intercourse with other nations; so long as her insular situation only serves to promote and extend those commercial relations; so long as other states possess a large portion of sea-coast, engage in a wide commercial circle, and are acquiring a navy of formidable power; so long as Britain interferes with them in other quarters of the globe, where her dominions are the most valuable and extensive,—it is an abuse of language to talk of her being separated from the continent of Europe by the straits of Dover. The transport of an army by sea is often more easy than the march over a considerable tract of land. The fate of a naval engagement is generally more quick, decisive, and dependent upon fortune, than the siege of barrier towns, or the forcing of mountainous passes; and the elements may, by retaining the British fleets in Plymouth or Portsmouth, while they waft the enemy's squadrons from Brest or the Texel, destroy in a moment that bulwark to which we vainly intrusted the national defence, and render utterly useless the whole *natural force* of the country, which, after a change of weather, may display, triumphantly, its flags

over every sea in Europe, while the Consular legions are revelling in the plunder of the Bank, or burning all the dock-yards in the kingdom. To say that England may trust to her fleets, then, is to recommend a full reliance upon the chance of a single battle, or the event of a sea chase; to inculcate a silly confidence in good fortune, and to advise that the fate of Great Britain should be committed to the changes of the elements, the shifting of a wind, or the settling of a fog. It is to her armies, that every nation, insular or continental, must look for her sure and *natural defence.* But although it would be absurd to recommend, that the internal resources of a country should be neglected, either in order to favour its naval force, or in order to commit its defence to the movements of intrigue, and the efforts of foreign policy; yet he would be an equally dangerous counsellor who should advise us to neglect those means of preventing war, and of rendering it harmless when it does occur, which are only to be found in a compliance with the principles of the balancing system.

When the different nations of Europe placed their whole glory in the splendour of their warlike renown, and attended only to the improvement of their military resources, every person of free rank was a soldier, and devoted his life to the profession of arms. But as soon as the arts of peace acquired an ascendancy, and other fame besides that of martial deeds was sought after, war became an object of dread, as deranging the main operations of society, and exposing the national independence to unforeseen casualties and dangers. Instead of being followed for its own sake, it was now only resorted to as a necessary evil, to avoid a greater risk. The first great consequence of this change in the occupations and character of men, was the separation of the military from the civil professions; the intrusting a small class in each community with the defence of the rest; the adoption of standing armies, by far the most important improvement in the art of government, with which history has made us acquainted. As this great change has disarmed war of almost all its dangers, so, another change, equally important, has arisen out of it—rendered wars much less frequent, and confined their influence to a small portion in the centre of the Continent. The European powers have formed a species of general law, which supersedes, in most instances, an appeal to the sword, by rendering such an appeal fatal to any power that may infringe upon the code; by uniting the forces of the rest inevitably against each delinquent; by agreeing, that any project of violating a neighbour's integrity shall be prevented or avenged, not according to the resources of this neighbour, but according to the full resources of every other member of the European community; and by constantly watching

over the state of public affairs, even in profound peace. Such, at least, would be the balancing system, carried to its full extent; and such is the state of refinement towards which it is constantly tending. The division of labour, too, and the separation of the military profession, has been carried, by some of the richer nations, to a still greater extent than the mere embodying of standing armies. Those states, which are the most injured by the operations of war, are also the richest in superfluous stock. They have contrived a species of pecuniary commutation of war, similar to the commutation of military service, which paved the way for the introduction of standing armies: they have managed to turn off the battle from their gates, by paying less wealthy allies for fighting in their cause at a safe distance. The operations of war are in this manner rendered very harmless, and a foundation is laid for their gradual disuse. A few useless millions, and a few still more useless lives are sacrificed; the arts of peace continue to flourish, sometimes with increased prosperity; and the policy of preferring to purchase defeat at a distance, rather than victory at home—of paying allies for being vanquished, rather than gain the most splendid triumphs on their own ground—has been amply rewarded by the safety, increased resources, and real addition of power, which result from an enjoyment of all the substantial blessings of peace, with the only real advantages of necessary warfare.

Such are the general outlines of the modern system, founded upon the preservation of a balance of power. The science which professes to discuss the general principles of this system, and their particular application in detail to the actual situation of the European powers, is, of consequence, next to jurisprudence and police, the most important that can occupy the attention of the statesman. It has, however, been alleged, that this is an inquiry reducible to no general or fixed principles; that it does not deserve the name of science; that it depends on the caprices of a few individuals, and the variations in their views or measures, occasioned by accidental occurrences. Mr Hume, in particular, at the very time when he recommends the drawing of our conclusions on subjects of domestic policy as fine as it is possible, adds, 'that in these affairs, the inferences rest on the concurrence of a multitude of causes, not, as in foreign politics, upon accidents, and chances, and the caprices of a few persons.' * It may, however, be observed, that the very same general arguments, so irresistibly stated by that acute and profound writer, to prove that politics may be reduced to a science, † apply as well to the foreign as to

* Political Essays. † Essay III.

the domestic policy of a state. A few more particular remarks on this point may serve to set it in a light sufficiently striking.

1. All the governments of Europe have tended uniformly, and not very slowly, towards greater freedom and mildness, since the rise of the commercial policy of modern times, and the general diffusion of knowledge by the art of printing. Instead of a collection of despots, actuated, in all their plans of internal and external arrangement, by caprice or accident, the system of European princes is now an assemblage of deputies from the different nations, which have intrusted them with certain powers and commissions, for the public good. In the execution of their trust, indeed, they are not directly accountable to any human authority; but, even in the states where no constitutional controul is appointed to the power of the crown, the indirect influence of a numerous and enlightened people is uniformly strong upon the councils of the monarch. It is always his interest to rule by gentle and agreeable means, and to further, by every measure in his power, the prosperity of his state. This interest, though for a while it may be concealed from his eyes, or overruled by opposite passions, can never be long hidden from him; but must always, in the long-run, force itself upon his attention, and be, for the most part, the guide of his conduct. The government of the most despotic princes offers constant examples of a submission to that opinion, which can scarcely there make itself heard; and not a few instances of obedience to the voice, which, from its resistless power over divans themselves, has been emphatically called the voice of God. A check is thus provided for the violence of royal passions, and a guide or regulator for the movements of even a despot's caprice. In the free governments of modern Europe, however, the influence of public opinion is direct; the voice of the nation is acknowledged; and the will of the people is in general obeyed,—the only doubt being as to the particular line of conduct which that voice and will direct.

2. As almost all princes rule by the advice of ministers, and must execute their decrees by the assistance of a great number of deputies; the connexion of those men with the people at large; their responsibility to their country; the odium and personal danger which attaches to a failure of any plan executed by their intervention, whether suggested by their councils or not, must quicken their perception of every national danger, and embolden them to withstand, in the cabinet, any pernicious measure dictated by the ignorance or caprice of their master. Where so many must thus, in some degree, concur in every act of the sovereign power, and so many are responsible, in the eyes of the country, for every abuse in the government, it is manifest that the chances of wilful misrule, through the unprincipled caprice, or rashness, or le-

vity, or passions of a single monarch, are considerably diminished; and that the true interests of the country, in its relations to foreign states, can only be lost sight of or thwarted during casual intervals, when the ministers are utterly careless of popular opinion, in comparison of their master's will, and the tyrant is so shortsighted, and so corrupted by his unfortunate situation, as to despise his best interests, and disregard his chief danger. The actual responsibility of every minister to the country, even in governments the most unprincipled and despotic, and the submission of the sovereign to the will of the people, however debased, is proved by so many striking facts of common notoriety, that it is scarcely necessary to state them in illustration of the foregoing remarks. 'The Soldan of Egypt' (says Mr Hume *) 'or the Emperor of Rome, might drive his harmless subjects, like brute beasts, against their sentiments and inclinations; but he must at least have led his Mamelukes or prætorian bands, like men, by their opinion.' There is evidently somewhat of inconsistency between the two parts of this proposition. For, unless those Mamelukes and prætorian guards were so numerous as to command the whole state, and so separated from the rest of the commonwealth as to participate in no degree in their feelings, and to be altogether unconnected with their wrongs, it is clear that in the long-run they must have been influenced by the national opinion. At any rate, although, in the *domestic* concerns of Egypt or Rome, the interests of the two orders might be frequently opposed to each other, and those of the people be neglected, there can be no doubt that, in the *external* relations of the state, the two classes formed but one body, and the best interests of the whole were the same. The caprice of the soldan, or emperor, then, could never, for any length of time, stifle or disobey the voice of those bands whom he had to guide by their good will, and rule by their opinion; that is, by partly yielding to, and partly directing their wishes.

In the most despotic governments of the East, the fury of a mob frequently obtains a change of ministers, which is always a change of measures. The vizier who commands a vanquished army, who advises an unprosperous war, or concludes a disadvantageous peace, is generally bowstringed at the first murmurs of the mob, and his body thrown to appease them. This is a sacrifice made by the most absolute of monarchs to the will of the most enslaved people in the world. The power of the Grand Signior which lays every Mussulman prostrate at his feet, does not extend to the enacting of any law which might add to the taxes of the empire. He may crush the proudest of his bashaws, and squeeze from the richest of his officers every particle of their ac-

* Essay IV, on the Principles of Government.

cumulated wealth: he may bowstring thousands, whom ancient opinion and religious prejudice has taught to believe that their lives were made for his sport; but he dares not issue any regular ordinance for a single general impost: or the same people, who, in the strange contradictions of this unnatural state of society, had kissed the axe that was lifted against their lives, would now raise their united voice with a force powerful to shake the innermost recesses of the seraglio.

When Peter the Great of Russia wished to invert the order of succession to the Imperial throne, from an unnatural antipathy to the Tzarowitch, whose rights had formerly been in some degree acknowledged, he did not think it sufficient to issue an express edict, declaring the power of the Emperor to fix upon any successor that he chose. He began, by accustoming the minds of men to such an unsettled and arbitrary mode of inheritance, in cases of private property. He published a previous ordinance, obliging each father to bequeath his whole real property to one of his children, leaving him the choice of his heir. This singular barbarian, notwithstanding the many vices that stained his character, and the constant cruelties in which his reign was spent, had the merit of beginning the civilization of his boundless empire. He wished to raise his savage and enslaved people to the rank of men; and the ordinance which we have mentioned, is an instance of submission to their will, from a real or supposed necessity, and from a wish to bring about a change in their opinions. The succeeding Tzars have adopted a regular mode of receiving the opinions of the most respectable and enlightened part of their subjects, and of imposing a check on their own authority. Upon a new and general law being drawn up, the *ukase* containing it is transmitted to each of the *governments*; and the viceroys may assemble the different *courts* to consider it. If they unanimously disapprove, they may present a *representation* against it to the senate. The law is reconsidered, and is not obligatory on the realm, until another ordinance has been issued, confirming the former.* The silly passion for legislation which distinguished the Emperor Joseph II. produced many laws disagreeable to the people: and although the whole tenor of that weak monarch's reign demonstrates how little he was disposed to recognize the rights of his subjects, yet those obnoxious regulations were generally abrogated almost as soon as passed. While he was dragooning the provinces of the Netherlands into a surrender of their most sacred privileges, and purposely acting in direct opposition to the wishes of his constituents in the Imperial diet, he could not obtain the acquies-

* Tooke's Russian Empire, vol. II. p. 395.

cence of Austria (where his power is absolute by law) in a trifling and absurd regulation prescribing the interment of dead bodies in lime-pits: and the discontent of that part of his empire obliged him to abandon this idle measure. *

3. It must be evident to every one, that the only reason why the theory of international relations has been supposed incapable of being reduced to fixed principles, is, the apparently small number of men concerned in regulating the external policy of states. Where a great body of people are nearly interested, and take a part in each measure; where their consent, advice, or acquiescence, is necessary to the execution of every plan, it is clear that there is always a much smaller chance of capricious and irregular operations being carried through, than where one or two individuals only are concerned. It is a remark of Machiavel, distinguished by his usual acuteness and profundity, that although, in matters of general discussion, the people are often mistaken, yet, in matters reduced to particulars, they are most sensible and judicious; that the prince is much more apt to be ungrateful, both through avarice and suspicion, than the people; that the multitude is generally both wiser and more constant than the prince; and that those leagues or confederacies are more to be trusted which are made with free states, than those which are made with princes. For the demonstration of these important and curious propositions, both by reasoning and illustration, we refer our readers to the discourses of the Florentine Secretary, † more particularly the fifty-ninth chapter of the first book, which is most in consonance with our present reasonings, and contains as strict a demonstration of the principle, as any that we meet with in geometry, making allowance for the different nature of the evidence. ‡ As we have shown that in all states, whether free or enslaved, the regulation of public affairs is, in some degree, influenced by public opinion, and that the most despotic princes are not free from its influence, either directly, or through their subordinate agents; it may be inferred, that the principles of the Italian statesman are applicable, in some measure, to the movements of all independent communities; and that the external as well as internal affairs of states are the more steady, the more reducible to cer-

* Mirabeau, Monarchie Pruſſienne, tom. iv. p. 472. 4to. edit.

† Diſcorſi ſopra la prima deca di T. Livio. Lib. 1. cap. 29. 47. 58. & 59.

‡ Cap. lix. *Di quali confederationi è lega altri si puo più fidare, è quella fatta con una Republica, è di quella fatta con un Principe.*

tain laws, the greater the number of men is, to whose management those affairs are entrusted, and the more extensive the circle is, whose opinion or will affects that management.

4. The relative interests of different nations are affected by various circumstances, either unalterable, or only slowly alterable, in their relative situation and domestic state. The knowledge and comparison of those circumstances forms the foundation of the science, the principles of which we are now considering; and it is very evident that this knowledge must be of as difficult acquisition as it is important and practically useful. For, in order to have a clear view of the foreign relations of any power, it is necessary to be acquainted with the circumstances, not only of that nation, but of all the rest which compose the European commonwealth; to learn accurately their political state; to investigate their national characters and habits; to consult minutely their statistical situation:—so intimately is the federal power (the *puissance federative* of the foreign politicians) blended with the internal force, and the relative position with the insulated state of any country. The temporary circumstances of the different powers deserve also to be considered in a practical point of view:—the court intrigues; leading characters of the military or political departments; and the distinguished men in the literary world. These make up, in the great book of politics, what may be called the chapter of accidents; and it is a chapter which perpetually sets all the inferences and calculations of the other parts at defiance. Except this last head, and it is obvious that every other branch of the subject is general and reducible to fixed principles, the circumstances which we have enumerated are of a general and invariable nature, or they vary slowly and regularly, or according to certain laws, which it is the business of the political philosopher to ascertain. The last kind of circumstances which we mentioned, are, indeed, more irregular, and their disturbing force is not denied. But, in considering the effects of the former, we must lay out of view those deranging causes, as we demonstrate (in Dynamics) the properties of the mechanical powers, without taking into view the effects of friction, or the resistance of the medium in which the powers operate. In a practical point of view, those disturbing causes must be carefully weighed; and to investigate them, is the business of the lawgiver, the prince himself, his ministers of state, with his agents in diplomatic affairs: in a word, of the practical politician or statesman; a character of distinguished rank in every country, filling at once the most dignified and difficult place which man can occupy, and very little deserving of those ill-tempered invectives which Dr Smith has been pleased to heap upon it, in a fit of peevishness, not unnatural to one who had seen how very

seldom this great and important character has been adequately supported. *

That such disturbing causes do exist to affect the foreign relations of every state, is no more an argument against the science of which we are treating, than the undoubted existence and effects of causes exactly similar in the domestic policy of states is a reason for denying (what no one now thinks of doubting) that the principles of government are reducible to a general and certain science. The degree of vigour inherent in any form of government—the freedom enjoyed by the people—the influence of the privileged orders upon the great engine of the state—all these are liable to be affected every moment, and are actually affected by the characters of the leaders in the different departments of the constitution. Yet no one, since the days of Aristotle, has denied, that the doctrines of a monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical government, are reducible to certain general principles; and that the nature of government, in general, is a subject of scientific inquiry.

In fact, the foreign affairs of nations are much less apt to be influenced by accidental events, than is generally imagined. The death of a civil or military chief, who had supported the greatness of a state by the vigour and wisdom of his councils, or the glory of his arms, is seldom, if ever, a cause of great change in the relative importance of that country. Great men rise in certain circumstances; they are disciplined in particular schools; they train up successors for themselves; they are called forth by certain emergencies in public affairs. This is more particularly the case in great systems, either civil or military—in the extensive governments, or vast regular armies of modern times, all the operations of which are combined, and mutually dependent one upon another. As these can only be carried on by the united exertions of many persons of the same habits and cast of talents, their success must always depend on the union of men whose abilities and experience in their arts are extensive. If the general or the statesman fall, his place will be filled by some of those whose talents have assisted him in subordinate branches of employment; and the constant demand for merit in a certain department will generally excite men to apply their attention to the acquisi-

* Our readers will be amused with the little piece of ill-humour which this truly great man vents upon the statesman or politician, in the passage here alluded to. He calls him '*an insidious and crafty animal;*' forgetting, surely, that Cæsar, Cato, Demosthenes, Richelieu, and many others, who have made the world tremble at their names, or revere their memory, must be ranged in this very class.—Wealth of Nations, Book iv. chap. 2.

tion of the excellence so much wanted, and so splendidly rewarded. Great occasions draw into public life such men as have long been labouring to fit themselves for their station; and new talents, new powers, frequently spring up in a man's mind, when he is placed in a situation of preeminent difficulty and splendour sufficient to call them forth. The great object of every nation should be, to remove every impediment or check which may prevent such men from rising into the stations for which their natural or acquired faculties render them fit. Under a free goverment, the restrictions upon the rise of real merit are much fewer than under a despotism; and the chance of preferment is extended to a much wider circle. In those countries, then, much less consequence may be attached to the existence or to the loss of a particular man. It is seldom that we meet with Fleurys, or Turgots, or Bernstorffs, or Hassans: but a Walpole, or a Pitt, is, happily for mankind, frequently reproduced in the course of an age. Thus the appearance of those illustrious characters, in whose hands the fates of nations are placed, is much less regulated by accident than is generally supposed, more especially in modern times and in free states. It follows, that, even in that branch of foreign policy which we have denominated the chapter of accidents, some principles may be traced; and less is to be imputed to blind hazard than most men are at first apt to imagine. May we be allowed to hope that the time is approaching (not rapidly, or by violent changes, but slowly and quietly, like all those arrangements of nature which tend to the substantial improvement of the species), when the establishment of equal rights, and rational systems of regular government over the whole of Europe, shall diminish yet farther the consequences attached to the caprices and accidental fates of individuals, and shall reduce to complete order all the circumstances that affect the intercourse of nations; so as to subject their whole movements to certain general and invariable laws, to reduce every eccentricity of course, and to correct all accidental inequalities or alterations in the system. *

We have now finished the general observations which we purposed to premise upon the nature and first principles of the science, a practical treatise or application of which is now before us.† Before offering our particular remarks upon this work,

* The foregoing general conclusions are sanctioned by the high authority of our countryman Professor Stewart. Had he added the demonstration of a proposition, simply enunciated in his celebrated work on the Philosophy of the Human Mind (chap. iv. sect. 8.) the above inquiry would have been rendered unnecessary.

† The foregoing remarks may appear to our readers unconnected with

we have yet to call our readers' attention to some of the propositions in which the doctrine of the balance of power is contained: we shall arrange them so as to exhibit a sketch of the nature of the work before us; though in a more general way, and upon a more comprehensive plan, than can be found in that treatise itself, which is principally deficient in fundamental principles and extensive views. We have, in the foregoing statements, insisted the more at large on the possibility of reducing the external policy of nations to certain general principles; because, besides the direct negation of this proposition by Mr Hume and others, it has been very much the custom of inferior politicians, and of the common run of mankind, more particularly in Great Britain, to decry such speculations as vain and illusive; to hold them up as objects fit only for the pedantic statist of Germany and Holland; and to describe them as points that should be settled by the finical, and too often contemptible characters, who are generally the representatives of the greatest nations, and who have brought a sort of ridicule upon the very name of diplomacy. The gravest subject that can occupy the human mind (intimately connected indeed with our present inquiry, though not altogether of the same kind with it), the *law of Nations*, has been exposed to a similar contempt. Montesquieu himself, lawyer and historian as he was, has, with his usual passion for an epigram, grossly misrepresented a subject as important and refined as any in his own department of municipal jurisprudence. He seriously explains 'the foundation of international law,' by telling us, 'that the whole system is a set of obvious corollaries to a maxim in ethics —that, in war, nations should do as little injury, and in peace as much good to each other, as is consistent with their individual safety.' Without asking whether it is possible that the author of this witticism should ever have heard of the insults of flags, the precedence of states, nay the whole admitted causes of justifiable war, and admitting that all the parts of the system may be strained, so as to come under the general proposition;

with the particular works of *Segur* and *Favier*. But we must observe, that the Notes of Segur (the only new part of the publication) are, from beginning to end, a statement of the principles above refuted, viz. that in this branch of politics, all must be ascribed to the particular characters and fortunes of individuals. In fully examining this, we have therefore completely examined the leading doctrines of this work. It may be proper to add, that the work, of which Segur's edition is now before us, has excited more attention on the Continent than any political publication of the present day; and that it is studied by all statesmen, as a manual of one very important branch of their science.

we may be allowed to remark, with great deference to so high a name, that such observations are extremely useless and unsatisfactory; that we learn from this remark nothing which can give the slightest hint of the nature of public law; that it is as instructive as if one ignorant of mathematics were to say, 'the whole of this troublesome science consists of obvious corollaries from a very easy axiom—whatever is, is.' In this manner might all science be simplified; and learners, who knew what '*corollary*' was, might be charmed to hear that they had but one proposition to learn and remember, and that all the rest was '*corollary*' from it.

We trust that the remarks already stated will suffice to evince, how mistaken are all such views of foreign policy or international law; that those sciences will appear strictly reducible to certain general principles, and leading to important applications; that those subjects will be found highly refined and delicate, and as fully deserving of minute investigation as any within the range of the human intellect. As we proceed, further illustrations of these remarks will occur to set their truth in a still stronger point of view.

1. *Treaties* or *public pactions* are the solemn and authentic expressions of certain agreements, which the governments of friendly or neutral powers have entered into for their mutual advantage. In so far as refers to our present subject, they are chiefly of three kinds, *amicable*, *defensive*, *offensive and defensive*. The first are simple cessations of hostilities; the next are agreements of mutual assistance in case of attack from a third power; and the last are more strict unions of interest, for the accomplishment of certain objects mutually beneficial. The second are seldom pure and unmingled. Many treaties bear the name of defensive, which, by secret articles, or more commonly by mutual understanding, and not unfrequently by the express tenor of the stipulations, are strictly of the latter kind; and, in general, a paction *bona fide* defensive has a tendency to bring about one of the more intimate and effectual kind.

The monopolizing and jealous spirit of mercantile policy, in modern times, has added, to the kinds of treaties just now mentioned, a fourth, known by the name of *commercial*; of which the object is, to settle a certain rate of trade between the high contracting parties; or (what comes to the same thing) to grant each other certain privileges of buying and selling, refused to other states. These treaties are in every case absurd; they are meant to restrain that which ought in its nature to be free, and to be regulated only by the unrestricted operations of private traders: they relate to subjects in which no government ought ever to concern itself: they are only tolerable, when their object

is the abolition of restrictions formerly imposed by foolish rulers, or gradually arising from the prejudices of the people.

All treaties have been exposed to the invectives and sarcasms of those who do not duly appreciate the nature of the institution. They are bits of parchment, and may be torn; they are made by men of peace in their closets, and may be violated by soldiers in the field; they are deeds, by which states affect to bind themselves, while no court of public law exists, in which the party failing may be compelled to perform his part; they are intended to check the ambition of princes or commonwealths, but they are to be observed by those who feel the checks, and may in a moment throw them off. 'Give me,' said Prince Eugene, in the true spirit of these reasons—'Give me,' said the General, when he saw that his allies were slow to fulfil conventions made against their obvious interests, and refusing to gratify his ambition, against their own safety and beyond their means—'Give 'me a battalion of soldiers; they will do more than a thousand 'treaties.' If all states were ruled by general officers, this sentiment would indeed be accurately true. In that case, a corporal would be a much more important personage than a publicist or an ambassador; but he would also be more interesting than a municipal judge or jurisconsult; for all municipal law, as well as all public law, would yield to the truncheon and the bayonet. The same sentiment would hold good, also, of all such treaties as those entered into about the time of Eugene, and those to which he evidently alludes—treaties evidently disadvantageous to one of the contracting parties, and wholly beneficial to the others. But it happens that, in the present state of society, generals receive their commission to act, and their orders to desist, from men strongly interested in the preservation of pacific relations; in the maintenance of the national faith; in the existence of a public code, to which all parties may at all times appeal.

If, by such declamatory arguments, it is meant to demonstrate, that treaties will not of themselves be sufficient to maintain peace or alliances—to preserve the independence of states—to insure success in war—we must admit the position; for we certainly never imagined that an ambassador's seal and subscription communicated to the skin of a dead sheep the faculty of tranquillizing or rousing the public mind, levying armies, gaining battles, and taking towns. We would trust more to its powers in the hands of a drummer, than of a statesman, to produce those effects. But that such solemn conventions as lead to treaties, and such discussions as attend them in the nations contracting, such ratifications as finish them, such ideas of pledge and form as they are uniformly supposed to convey—that all those circumstances

have a most powerful influence, we cannot conceive questionable by any one acquainted with the history of man, or the nature of the human mind. Independent of the spirit, indeed, with which those conventions were made, the mere paction is but a bit of parchment. Independent of the spirit which extorted the Magna Charta and Habeas Corpus, those records of the freedom and spirit of our ancestors, would be most unavailing to the liberties of the present generation. Both the one and the other are conventional signs—legal modes of expressing a bargain—certain solemn acts, the performance of which intimates to the world that certain intentions were perfected in the minds of the parties at the time—certain deeds, leaving a record which may refresh the memory of the parties, and to which the party fulfilling may appeal. Neither the treaties of Westphalia (now, unhappily, a matter of history), nor the Magna Charta, can be enforced directly by the mandate of any human Court, superior to both parties. If the circumstances which gave rise to them were materially altered, they would both become obsolete; as, indeed, the former has already become. While no material change takes place, they stand on record before the whole world, to animate the parties contracting—to check them in their conduct on their honour and good faith—to show the surrounding nations what compacts have been made—and to hold up to execration those that break them.

The foundation of the stability of every treaty is, the mutual advantage of the parties. It is a just remark of the Florentine Secretary, that, even after the most unequal contest, no peace between nations can ever be solid, by which one nation gains much more than the other. If the one gains much real good, and the other only obtains safety from total ruin, the peace will be broken, either by the former, as soon as her power is recruited enough to complete the work of conquest, or by the latter, as soon as she has breathed a little, and can hope to regain her lost ground. All such foolish treaties are rather conventions of truce than of peace. They were one great means of conquest used by the Romans: they are rendered less frequent in modern times, by the principles of the balancing system.

The observation of Machiavel may be extended to alliances in general between nations. The leagues, particularly those of a nature both offensive and defensive, have generally owed their instability to a necessary disunion of parties, arising from each possessing views radically incompatible with those of the others; views, properly speaking, secondary to the main object of the convention, but more interesting and more binding to the individual party, than any views of the common cause.

The remarks made above, apply to those subsidiary obligations entered into by nations not strictly concerned in the stipulations, in which the acceding powers guarantee the treaty or bargain to support the party implementing against all infractions by the other. These are generally modified by the disposition of all parties at the time of the requisition to fulfil being made to the parties guarantees. They are the refinement of the modern system of interference.

2. The circumstances in the relative situation of the European powers—their proximity, their constant intercourse, their rivalry, and the uniform desire that all princes have to extend their dominions, render it absolutely necessary that no one power should view with indifference the domestic affairs of the rest, more particularly those affairs which have a reference to the increase or consolidation of national resources.

For the purpose of acquiring such information, the institution of ambassadors has been adopted, or of *privileged spies*, as they have been called by witty men, with much the same propriety of speech as would mark the personage who should be pleased to call Generals master-butchers, or Judges hangmen. From the institution of ambassadors, an essential and peculiar part of the modern system, have resulted the important consequences—a constant intercourse between the two governments; frequent opportunities of detecting and preventing hostile measures or artifices; and still more frequent occasions of avoiding ruptures by timely complaint, and explanation or redress. The natural effects of the system to which this matter has been reduced, are certainly the prevention of wars, and the systematizing of the grand art of pacification.

The relative influence of the national changes that happen in one part of Europe, upon the proceedings of the other parts, might be illustrated by a variety of facts from modern history. That influence seems to be founded on natural circumstances, and wholly independent of all theory or system. Thus, to take an obvious instance—As soon as the grand improvement of standing armies had been introduced into Europe, it was extended, in France, by the ambition of the King to the keeping of large forces always in pay; and this example was followed by the neighbouring states, not as a useful invention of policy, for securing the prince's power, but as a measure necessary for the safety of nations exposed to the new power with which this change armed the French King. A circumstance not so obvious, in the history of the formation of most of the European states, presents an illustration, equally striking, of the principle which we have stated. There can be no doubt that the consolidation of the smaller

dynasties into which the different empires were once divided, took place, in all, about the same period. The united empire of the Franks under Charlemagne was too formidable a neighbour to the heterogeneous masses of divided power which were then presented on all sides—by Britain, Spain, Italy, and the Northern kingdoms. Accordingly, we find, that in the space of little more than half a century, all the great unions took place, of which the present nations of Europe are composed. The empire of Charlemagne was completed at the end of the eighth century; the Saxon Heptarchy was united under Egbert, first King of England, in 827; the Picts and Scots, by Kenneth II. first King of Scotland, in 838; the Norwegian petty lordships into one kingdom, by Harold Harfager, in 875; and the crowns of Castile and Leon, under one King of Spain, nearly about the same period. The more contiguous of those states were consolidated at the very same time; the rest within a few years afterwards.

The right of national interference (a late refinement of this right of proportional improvement) has, like all other valuable and sacred principles, been called in question. It has been denied, that the total overthrow of all regular government in the greatest nation of Europe; the abolition of every salutary restraint upon the operations of the multitude; the erection of a standard to which every thing rebellious and unprincipled might repair; the open avowal of anarchy, atheism and oppression, as a public creed: —it has been denied, that the existence of this grand nuisance gave the vicinage (to use Mr Burke's apposite illustration) a right to interfere. Yet it is difficult to conceive what national changes, except the introduction of the pestilence, could give a better right to the neighbourhood to reject all intercourse with so infected a mass as France then was. And, if such defensive measures were absolutely necessary, it is evident, that the slightest aggression on the part of this neighbour justified that open war, which was so loudly prescribed by the slightest chance of its leading to a restoration of order. The immense acquisition of power which the French government acquired by the revolution; the general levy and arming that immediately took place—would have justified all neighbours in extending their resources upon the common principles of the modern system. Now, if this increase of French power had taken place on the Spanish, instead of the North side of the Pyrennees; if it had been, not a sudden augmentation of internal resources, but an increase of territory and power by conquest—no one doubts the propriety of an immediate interference; nay, if this increase had only been in contemplation, no one would hesitate to consider the formation of the plan as sufficient cause for war;—So thought our forefathers at least, when they

attacked Lewis XIV. a hundred years ago. But what difference is there, as to foreign states, whether such an augmentation of power takes place at the expense of the Spanish, the Bourbons, or at the cost of the other branch of that illustrious house? whether this sudden change in the aspect of one powerful rival neighbour is the consequence of her foreign conquests, or of her rapid internal changes? whether the addition is drawn from the pillaged provinces of Spain, or the overthrow of all the peaceful institutions, and the plunder of all the wealthy orders at home? When such a sudden and prodigious increase of resources takes place in one country, as can only be matched by a similar revolution developing equal powers in the neighbouring nations, those neighbours are exactly in this dilemma;—either they must wade through all manner of turbulence and danger, to the sudden possession of resources sufficient to balance this new power; or they must submit to this new power. One mode of escape only remains from alternatives equally cruel: they may unite against this common nuisance—they may interfere and abate it. If France had conquered the kingdoms of Leon and Castile, who doubts that Britain and Austria might have attacked her, though neither of them were friends of Spain? But this was not absolutely necessary; for, first, they might have perhaps saved themselves by defensive alliance, and the peaceable improvement of their internal resources; or, secondly, they might certainly have acquired in Holland, or Denmark, or Spain itself, an extent of territory equal to that gained by France. But the former measure would have been dangerous; the latter both dangerous and unjust. In like manner, Britain and Austria might have met the crisis of their affairs, arising from the new and sudden acquisition of resources which France made at the revolution. First, they might have united defensively as ancient allies, and worked all the while to improve their internal resources; or, secondly, they might have revolutionized, and followed the French example. The first, however, of those plans would have been dangerous; the latter, both dangerous and unprincipled. One alternative remained;—a union against the unheard-of nuisance.

We hesitate not, then, to lay it down as a principle, applicable to this extreme case, that, whenever a sudden and great change takes place in the internal structure of a state, dangerous in a high degree to all neighbours, they have a right to attempt, by hostile interference, the restoration of an order of things, safe to themselves; or, at least, to counterbalance, by active aggression, the new force suddenly acquired. If a highwayman pulls out a pistol from his bosom, shall we wait till he loads and presents it, before we kill or disarm him? shall we not attack him with like

arms, if he displays such weapons, whether he takes them from his own stores, or seizes them from some other person in our sight!* We do not attack a neighbouring nation for plundering or conquering a third power, because we wish to avenge or redress the injury; but because we shall be ourselves affected by its consequences. Shall we be less injured by the same consequences, because the dangerous power of doing us mischief is developed from its recesses within, and not forcibly snatched from without?

That such a principle as we have now been considering, is liable to limitations, we do not deny: it is indeed only applicable to extreme cases. No one would think of asserting the right of interference to be applicable in the case of gradual improvement, however great, in any nation; nor in the case of that more sudden amelioration which national resources may receive from the operation of a salutary reform—or a useful law—or a beneficial change of rulers. We only think the right competent in cases of sudden and great aggrandizement, such as that of France in 1790; and then, we maintain, that, if it endangers the safety of the neighbouring powers, no manner of importance should be attached to the nature of those circumstances from whence the danger has originated. Indeed we suspect that the essential, though not always avowed principles of modern policy, would bear us out in a wider interpretation of the proposition. We conceive, that many of the alliances of states, formed with a view to check the growing power of a common rival, and always ending in offensive measures, have been formed without any pretext of violence having actually been committed by the dreaded power, or being apprehended from that quarter; and without any consideration whatever of the source from whence this dangerous strength has been derived, whether from external acquisitions (the most common case) or from the sudden development of internal resources, or from the gradual increase of national strength, while neighbouring states were more slowly increasing or were losing force. This increase it is—this comparative strength, which excites the salutary jealousy of modern councils towards neighbouring powers. The pretexts, indeed, for war have been various; but the cause of such wars has generally been the same: the pretext has been adopted in conformity to ancient usage or prejudices, or to humour the feelings of the multitude, and cause them to take part, by working on their passions much more powerfully than if the real cause were stated. The great maxim has generally been,

* The doctrine of the balance of power is deduced, by Vattell, from similar grounds. *Vide* Droit des Gens, Liv. iii. ch. 3. § 44. et seqq.

'*Obsta principiis*'—'*Venienti occurrite morbo.*' We recommend it as a general watchword to all nations placed in the European community—to those more especially, who are neighbours of Prussia and France; above all, we recommend it to the greater powers of Europe, the natural guardians of the great commonwealth; and to our country in particular, whose preeminent rank among them, gives her a title to interfere for others, as well as for her own immediate safety. To her we would address a language not unknown to her children in former times—the language of the balancing system.

> '*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;*
> *Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,*
> *Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*'
>
> Virgil. Æn.

3. It has been urged as a glaring inconsistency in a system which has for its professed object the preservation of peace, that, according to its principles and technical language, certain nations are denominated *natural enemies*, and others *natural allies*. A little attention to the meaning of this proposition, will at once demonstrate the futility of the allegation, and lead us to one of the most general and fundamental doctrines of modern international policy. It is not meant by this phraseology to assert, that some nations ought always to view each other with suspicion and enmity. The intention of such a form of expression is merely to state a very general, and, unfortunately, an unquestionable fact in the history of the human species—that nations placed in certain circumstances are uniformly found to entertain towards each other sentiments of rivalry and animosity. The balancing system prescribes the means of disarming this bad principle in our nature of its destructive tendency, by teaching us to consider other nations as our natural friends, and by making the members of each class unite, so as to act systematically, with a view to the preservation of national peace. A few obvious considerations will show what those principles are, and will lead us, by an easy transition, to the particular subject of the work now before us.

The circumstances which are uniformly found to constitute natural enmity between nations are threefold; *proximity* of situation, *similarity* of pursuits, and near *equality* of power. From the opposite causes arise the natural indifference or relative neutrality of states; a reasonable *distance*, *diversity* of objects, and considerable *inequality* of resources; while natural alliance results from the common enmity produced by a concurrence of the three causes first mentioned, in the relations of two or more powers towards the same third power.

But it may often happen that a state is involved in hostile re-

lations with another of which it is not the natural enemy, either from being the accidental ally of a third power, primarily the enemy of this second; or from being natural ally to this third power, in consequence of their common relations of enmity towards some fourth or fifth power. Hence indeed arises the intricacy, if it has any, of the balancing system; and hence the multiplied relations of every one power with all the rest, so as to permit no one to remain for a moment an indifferent spectator of what is passing in the most remote parts of the European commonwealth. A few examples will illustrate the foregoing proposition. These illustrations contain the theory of what is called in practice the European balance. The work before us consists, almost entirely, of a treatise drawn up by the Sieur Favier, a confidential servant of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. upon the actual relations of the different powers at the commencement of the last unfortunate reign. The principles upon which all such treatises proceed, we purpose at present briefly to sketch. The utility and application of such speculations may, like their object, be temporary and local; the principles are of all times and places—they are regular, fixed, and general.

In conformity to the proposition above enunciated, France is said to be the natural enemy of Great Britain. These states, separated by a narrow channel, are of sufficient relative strength to be mutually formidable; the one, by the extent and compactness of her territory, and by her large and useful population; the other, by her immense wealth, the defence afforded by her insular situation, and the myriads of her fleets which cover the ocean. They are both engaged in similar pursuits; because the circumstances of their situation are similar. The island, however, is more adapted to commercial occupations, by the genius of her inhabitants, the nature of her produce, and the extent of her sea coast; from whence has resulted a habit of application to manufactures, navigation and trade, and, in consequence, superior skill in the arts, and greater extent of trading capital. The other country, eminent also in those points of view, is, however, so far inferior to the island, that her attention has, for above a century, been constantly directed to emulate so valuable a superiority; while Britain finding herself deficient in direct power to sway the continental states of Europe, otherwise than by intrigue and gold, has returned France the compliment of attempting to beat, on her own element, the natural mistress of the European continent. From this reciprocal inferiority, and consequent emulation, has arisen that spirit of rivalry, which will, it is to be feared, permanently alienate from each other, the two nations

most formed to love and esteem each other; best adapted to entertain close and profitable relations of commerce; and formed, by their union, to secure the lasting peace, and sway uncontrouled the sceptre of the civilized world. Unhappily the natural passions of the people, and the ambition of their rulers, have taught both to 'bear no brother near the throne;' to suffer no equal in trade, in arts, or in learning; and to divide, by their irreconcileable enmity, the other powers in the system, of which that enmity has become the corner stone.

Holland, from her proximity to Britain, her extensive commerce, and her splendid resources of national wealth, would have been our natural enemy, had France been out of the question. But as Holland lay still nearer to that ambitious power, with whose pursuits she interfered at least as much, besides the jealousy of her democratic government and Calvinistic religion, it became her interest to league with the enemies of her formidable neighbour. Accordingly, in all the wars of the two last centuries, Holland has been found on the side of England, with only two exceptions:—the impolitic contest of Charles II. when he was in the pay of France, and the jealous enmity of Holland in the end of the American war, as anomalous in Dutch politics, as the war of Charles had been in the history of Great Britain. After the peace of 1782, the breach was kept open, chiefly by the successes of the Republican power, until the year 1787; when, by one of the most skilful and successful interferences in continental affairs, which the balancing system has ever accomplished, the Stadtholder's power was restored, French influence destroyed, and the Dutch restored to their natural alliance with England.

The present alliance of the French and Batavian Republics is obviously no anomalous case: it is in every respect a subjection retained, as it was made, by the force of arms, and the influence of factious intrigue. The day is perhaps not distant, when even the slight appearances of national independence will be thrown off, and the absorption of the United Provinces into the modern empire of the Franks, be (shall we say?) the last great sacrifice to the sweeping principle of '*arrondissement*,' one of the most signal inventions of the 18th century.

Next to France, the greatest power on the continent of Europe resides in the House of Austria, from the union of its hereditary dominions in Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, the frontier provinces, and the late acquisitions in Poland and the Venetian territories, with the Imperial crown, which confers an authority, chiefly of indirect influence, over the princes of the empire. The hereditary losses of this power in the late war, have, on the whole, been trifling; but she has lost much in the power of swaying the

affairs of Italy, much of her influence in the Germanic affairs, and still more of relative force, by the astonishing increase of France, and the augmentation also of Prussia (her natural rival in Germany), to one or other of whom, or their dependants, have accrued all that Austria has lost. After all, the Austrian power is great and formidable. It would be the greatest and most formidable in Europe, were its extensive territories somewhat more compact, so as to derive full advantage from their central position; were it to acquire a small addition of sea coast in the Adriatic, so as to have easier vent for its numerous and costly products in the foreign markets; were its vast resources called forth and wielded by a better formed government, or a wiser race of statesmen, so as to take every advantage of the finest climates, richest mountains, most fertile valleys, and greatest variety of hardy subjects; and, more especially, were its armies, the first in the world, organized upon a better plan, so as to place at their head younger leaders: Were these advantages (the most of which may be acquired) added to its immense natural resources, Austria might be deemed the first power in Europe, and dreaded by all her neighbours as resistless in the scale.

The circumstances which render Austria the natural enemy and counterpoise of France, render her also the natural ally of Britain,—the great continental support of British influence. In proportion to the enmity between those leading powers, this natural union between Britain and Austria has always been more or less close, since the separation of the Spanish from the Austrian branch of the house. It has experienced only one remarkable intermission, and that a slight one, during the peace-loving administrations of Fleuri and Walpole. In the war which succeeded the fall of Walpole's ministry, France siding with the Bavarian Emperor, England naturally took the part of the Empress-Queen, at that time almost crushed by the union of her enemies. The singular alliance of 1756, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Kaunitz, and, according to the French politicians, the greatest error France ever committed, deranged, for a while the natural relations of the continental powers. Britain was not thrown out of amity with Austria; but Austria, ceasing to be the enemy of France, ceased also to be the ally of Britain. Yet still it is worthy of remark, that the assistance given by us to Prussia, during the Seven-years war, in consequence of France siding against Frederick II, * was pointed, not against Austria or Russia, his two most formidable

* *Vide* Hist. de la Guerre de Sept-ans, vol. i. cap. 1. where that Prince himself details the reasons that induced him to undertake the war. One was, the certainty of both England and France *not* taking the same side; whence, he could count on the assistance of one of those powers.

enemies, by checking whom we could at once have saved him; but against our own natural enemy alone, to our desire of opposing whom, Prussia owed the aid she received from us.

The chief part of the '*Politique de tous les Cabinets,*' is occupied with a treatise of the Sieur Favier on the Foreign Relations of France, evidently drawn up with a view to decry the policy of 1756, which dictated the Austrian alliance, and to show the necessity under which France laboured of increasing her military as well as federal power (*sa puissance tant militaire que federative*), in order to regain the rank of a primary power, said to have been lost through the consequences of the Austrian alliance, and the Seven-years war. This treatise (with a few others, chiefly short excerpts from the memorials of Vergennes, Broglio, Turgot, and other French ministers) was first published in 1793, by authority of the legislature; and, after attracting so great attention over all Europe, as to be deemed the best popular manual of young diplomatists and politicians, it is now republished with a few additions, and with large notes, of considerable value, by the editor, M. Segur, formerly an eminent diplomatic character in the service of the French Court. The theory of M. Segur is precisely the reverse of Favier's. He approves of the Austrian alliance, and condemns only the misconduct that marked the management of both the civil and military administration of France, after the treaty of Vienna had sealed and perfected the new federal system.

Favier, adopting the opinion since universally received, attributes to the treaty 1756, and the consequent military operations of France during the Seven-years war, not only the immediate loss of men and money at that crisis, all for the benefit of Austria, without any good to the concerns of France, but also the subsequent aggrandizement of the Austrian House, already too powerful by the exhaustion of Prussia, and the valuable acquisition of Poland, the natural ally of France, and scene of French influence, whose destruction he hesitates not to impute to the Austrian system. Segur, on the other hand, without denying the losses experienced by France during the war, and the still greater evils arising to her from the Polish catastrophe, ascribes those consequences to the maladministration of French affairs in the Seven-years war, and in the whole interval between the peace of Hubertsburg and the Revolution. He maintains, that the wisest policy which France could possibly have adopted, was, the securing of a long peace by an alliance with her natural enemy. He argues this point upon much the same grounds as those chosen by the defenders of Walpole and Fleuri; and he contends, that no danger whatever could have arisen to France from the alliance of 1756, if the administration of her domestic affairs had been as wise and energetic as the management of her foreign relations at that era.

As Favier perpetually recurs to the same text, endeavouring, like all theorists, to reduce every thing under one head, and twisting all facts to humour his main position; so, the new editor follows him through his whole course, and, under the head of each power whose relations to France are discussed by Favier in the text, we meet with a separate argument in Segur's notes, tending either to modify or overthrow the favourite conclusions of the former politician.

It appears to us (although we cannot afford room for the discussion) that the doctrine of Favier, with a few limitations, is by far the soundest. All the benefits of repose would have been gained by France, although she had never entered into the defensive treaty of 1755, or the subsequent conventions of 1756 and 1757. The chance of France being attacked was chimerical. By whom, but Austria or England, could she possibly be annoyed? If by the former, of course the defensive treaty was absurd: if by the latter, clearly, Austria could never assist her; since the British forces would only attack by sea, or by a littoral warfare, or in the American and East-Indian colonies. But Austria was liable to attack from that power which had despoiled her of her finest provinces a few years before. Besides, the object of the treaty turned out to be (according to the remarks on conventions which we formerly made) not defensive, but offensive. France was, in fact, to assist Austria with 24,000 men to recover Silesia and humble the House of Brandenburg, or dismember its dominions. After the war broke out, the stipulation was forgotten; that is, the terms were changed, as is very commonly the case; and, instead of 24,000, France sent 100,000 men, to be defeated by the British and Prussian armies. How could she possibly gain by such an object, though completely successful in attaining it? She was fighting for Austria, conquering for her profit, and, if defeated, sharing her losses. We object also to the general spirit of Segur's reasonings. He always denies the possibility of drawing certain conclusions upon such matters; and, in the true spirit of an old diplomatist and courtier, he advises us to look more to the peculiarities of human character, and personal or accidental considerations, than to the *criteria* more philosophically appealed to by Favier. We have formerly treated at large of this matter, and have endeavoured to refute doctrines proceeding from so partial and erroneous a view of the subject. We ought to remark, however, that Segur is by no means so ignorant of political philosophy, as we might expect from this specimen, and from the nature of his former pursuits. We find him decidedly rejecting, as absurd, the narrow notions of mercantile policy, which dictate commercial treaties, although he was himself successful in the negociation of a very celebrated one, the foundation of his fame in the diplomatic world. We return to our general sketch.

The vicinity of Spain to France, their distance from the rest of Europe, and the compactness of their territories, which renders them, as it were, parts of one great peninsula, might have rendered them natural enemies, had not Holland and Britain been situated in much the same predicament, with respect to France, on the north. Besides, the insulated position of Spain, joined to her great inferiority of strength, from political and moral causes, makes her naturally dependent on her powerful neighbour. But, above all, the separation of the Spanish from the Imperial crown and the Austrian dominions, and the consequent disputes between the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, about the dominion of Italy, have thrown Spain into the arms of the natural enemy of the House of Austria. We do not enumerate, among these causes, the family compact which so closely united the two branches of the House of Bourbon, or the blood relationship which was the cause of that convention. Those circumstances may have drawn closer the natural ties of alliance between France and Spain; but still they are to be viewed as accidental and subordinate. If it was the evident interest of Spain to depend on France, and of France to rule over Spain, the death or marriage of one of the reigning branches could never for a moment have prevented the union of the nations. The last-will of Charles II. indeed, set all Europe in arms to fight down this formidable union. But does any one imagine, that had Alberoni succeeded in stealing this document, the other powers would have shut their eyes on the strides which Louis was making to obtain dominion over Europe, by playing off Spain against Austria? Or, had the combined enemies of that ambitious prince been prudent enough to accept of the terms extorted by his humiliation, and terminated the grand alliance-war at Gertruydenberg, can any one suppose, that the union of the two natural allies, thus apparently broken (for Louis's offers went to this length), would have subsisted less close and compact at the next crisis of European affairs?

To such as believe that all great events depend more on chance than principle, and despise all general reasonings on the train of human affairs, we would recommend two obvious considerations: Did the alliance of 1756 maintain indissoluble the unnatural union of the two powers? Or, has the dissolution, with every cruel aggravation, of the marriage which had been intended to cement that temporary alliance, prevented peace and seeming amity from subsisting between the murderers and the nearest blood relations of the ill-fated Antoinette? Has not one of the various means tried by Spain to regain that power over her feeble neighbour, which the Bragança revolution (1640) overthrew, consisted in always endeavouring to have a Spanish princess on the Portuguese throne? And yet, has that prevented her from second-

ing her policy by open force, and attacking the throne which she had immediately before filled with her royal offspring? Or, to come still nearer the present discussion, was not the family compact dissolved in 1793, under circumstances of complicated insult and violence to every branch of the House of Bourbon, as well as of imminent danger to the most despotic and bigotted government in the West of Europe? And have the ancient politics of the Spanish cabinet varied one jot, in consequence of all those personal considerations and grand occurrences? No. After a few months of languid cooperation with the combined powers (from the expectation of crushing the infant Republic), as soon as Spain saw that the new State could stand alone against foreign attacks, and had some chance of surviving the revolutionary storms, she instantly returned to her natural policy, and resumed here alliance with France; that is to say, she resigned all her family regards, the consequences of which had once alarmed all Europe; sacrificed much of her trade; exposed her seacoast to the troops and fleets of England; risked and lost her fleets by fighting the battles of France; and put the very existence of her weak-handed government to the severest trial, by a free intercourse with republicans and regicides—by acknowledging and receiving into her capital a Jacobin emissary with his crew. In a word, the Spanish branch of the Bourbon line is as closely united, or rather as submissively dependent on the usurper of that throne, which the sister branch once filled, as ever it was during the proudest days of the French monarchy—during the reign of the Bourbons, the Virtues, and the Elegant Arts. In return for his homage, the haughty Sovereign of the two Indies is pleased to receive for his son, from the Corsican Adventurer, a crown patched up of the Italian spoils, taken from the natural enemy of Spain. The service performed, and the boon granted, are equally illustrative of our general principles.

We might now proceed to trace the relations between Portugal and Britain on the one hand, or its connexion with France and Spain on the other; between the Italian States and the Transalpine Powers to the right and left of the Rhine; between the Porte and Russia; or the Porte and Britain, or France; the connexions between the three powers surrounding the ancient and dismembered kingdom of Poland; the relations of the Northern Crowns; the relations of the different powers possessed of colonies in the East or West Indies, both with the native states, and with each other, in consequence of their colonial possessions. All these juntos of states form separate assemblages of particular interests; smaller systems, influenced internally by the same principles, and connected by the same law with the general mass of the European community. We have, however, said enough

to show, that, in practice, as well as from theoretical considerations, this important subject is capable of being reduced to systematic arrangement, and to fixed general principles. And we have only to conclude with repeating, in a form somewhat different, the proposition which at the outset we proposed to demonstrate.

It appears that, by the modern system of foreign policy, the fate of nations has been rendered more certain; and the influence of chance, of the fortune of war, of the caprices of individuals upon the general affairs of men, has been infinitely diminished. Nations are no longer of transient or durable existence in proportion to their internal resources, but in proportion to the place which they occupy in a vast and regular system; where the most powerful states are, for their own sakes, constantly watching over the safety of the most insignificant. A flourishing commonwealth is not liable to lose its independence or its prosperity by the fate of one battle. Many battles must be lost; many changes must concur: the whole system must be deranged, before such a catastrophe can happen. The appearance of an Epaminondas can no longer raise a petty state to power and influence over its neighbour, suddenly to be lost, with the great man's life, by some unforeseen victory at Leuctra. In the progress of freedom, knowledge, and national intercourse, this great change has been happily effected by slow degrees: it is a change which immediately realizes the advantages that every former change has gained to mankind; a step in his progress, which secures the advancement made during all his previous career; and contributes, perhaps more than any other revolution that has happened since the invention of written language, to the improvement and magnificence of the species.

Let statesmen, then, reflect on these things; and, in the present awful crisis of affairs, let them often ponder upon the principles which should direct their public conduct. Without neglecting the increase of their internal resources, by wise regulations, and gradual improvements of the civil and military constitution of the countries entrusted to their care, let them constantly look *from* home; and remember, that each state forms a part of the general system, liable to be affected by every derangement which it may experience; and, of necessity, obliged to trust for its safety to a concurrence of other causes besides those which domestic policy can controul. '*Non arma neque thesauri regni præsidia sunt, verum amici: quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas; officio et fide pariuntur.*' Sal. Jugurth.

ART. X. *Dernieres Vuës de Politiques, et de Finance.* Par M. Neckar. An 10. 1802.

IF power could be measured by territory, or counted by population, the inveteracy, and the disproportion which exists between France and England, must occasion to every friend of the latter country, the most serious and well-founded apprehensions. Fortunately however for us, the question of power is not only what is the amount of population? but, how is that population governed? How far is a confidence in the *stability* of political institutions established by an experience of their *wisdom?* Are the various interests of society adjusted and protected by a system of laws thoroughly tried, gradually ameliorated, and purely administered? What is the degree of general prosperity evinced by that most perfect of all *criteria*, general credit? These are the considerations to which an enlightened politician, who speculates on the future destiny of nations, will direct his attention, more than to the august and imposing exterior of territorial dominion, or to those brilliant moments, when a nation, under the influence of great passions, rises above its neighbours, and above itself, in military renown.

If it be visionary to suppose the grandeur and safety of the two nations as compatible and coexistent, we have the important (though the cruel) consolation of reflecting, that the French have yet to put together the very elements of a civil and political constitution; that they have to experience all the danger and all the inconvenience which results from the rashness and the imperfect views of legislators, who have every thing to conjecture, and every thing to create; that they must submit to the confusion of repeated change, or the greater evil of obstinate perseverance in error; that they must live for a century in that state of perilous uncertainty in which every revolutionized nation remains, before rational liberty becomes feeling and habit, as well as law, and is written in the hearts of men as plainly as in the letter of the statute; and that the opportunity of beginning this immense edifice of human happiness, is so far from being presented to them at present, that it is extremely problematical, whether or not they are to be bandied from one vulgar usurper to another, and remain for a century subjugated to the rigour of a military government, at once the scorn and the scourge of Europe.

To the more pleasing supposition, that the First Consul will make use of his power to give his country a free constitution, we are indebted for the work of M. Neckar now before us; a work, of which good temper is the characteristic excellence: it every where preserves that cool impartiality which it is so difficult to

retain in the discussion of subjects connected with recent and important events; modestly proposes the results of reflection; and, neither deceived nor wearied by theories, examines the best of all that mankind have said or done for the attainment of rational liberty.

The principal object of M. Neckar's book is to examine this question, 'An opportunity of election supposed, and her present circumstances considered—what is the best form of government which France is capable of receiving?' and he answers his own query, by giving the preference to a Republic One and Indivisible.

The work is divided into four parts.

1. An Examination of the present constitution of France.
2. On the best form of a Republic One and Indivisible.
3. On the best form of a Monarchical Government.
4. Thoughts upon Finance.

From the misfortune which has hitherto attended all discussions of *present* constitutions in France, M. Neckar has not escaped. The subject has proved too rapid for the author; and its existence ceased before its properties were examined. This part of the work, therefore, we shall entirely pass over: because, to discuss a mere name, is an idle waste of time; and no man pretends that the present constitution of France can, with propriety, be considered as any thing more. We shall proceed to a description of that form of a republican government which appears to M. Neckar best calculated to promote the happiness of that country.

Every department is to be divided into five parts, each of which is to send one member. Upon the eve of an election, all persons paying 200 livres of government taxes in direct contribution, are to assemble together, and choose 100 members from their own number, who form what M. Neckar calls a Chamber of Indication. This Chamber of Indication is to present five candidates, of whom the people are to elect one; and the right of voting in this latter election is given to every body engaged in a wholesale or retail business; to all superintendants of manufactures and trades; to all commissioned and non-commissioned officers and soldiers who have received their discharge; and to all citizens paying, in direct contribution, to the amount of twelve livres. Votes are not to be given in one spot, but before the chief magistrate of each *commune* where the voter resides, and there inserted in registers; from a comparison of which, the successful candidate is to be determined. The municipal officers are to enjoy the right of *recommending* one of these candidates to the people, who are free to adopt their recommendation, or not, as they may think proper. The right of voting is confined to qualified

single men of twenty-five years of age: married men, of the same description, may vote at any age.

To this plan of election, we cannot help thinking there are many great and insuperable objections. The first and infallible consequence of it would be, a devolution of the whole elective franchise to the Chamber of Indication, and a complete exclusion of the people from any share in the privilege; for the chamber bound to return five candidates, would take care to return four out of the five so thoroughly objectionable, that the people would be compelled to choose the fifth. Such has been the constant effect of all elections so constituted in Great Britain, where the power of conferring the office has always been found to be vested in those who named the candidates, not in those who selected an individual from the candidates so named.

But if such were not the consequences of a double election; and if it were so well constituted, as to retain that character which the Legislature meant to impress upon it, there are other reasons which would induce us to pronounce it a very pernicious institution. The only foundation of political liberty is the spirit of the people; and the only circumstance which makes a lively impression upon their senses, and powerfully reminds them of their importance, their power, and their rights, is the periodical choice of their representatives. How easily that spirit may be totally extinguished, and of the degree of abject fear and slavery to which the human race may be reduced for ages, every man of reflection is sufficiently aware; and he knows that the preservation of that feeling is, of all other objects of political science, the most delicate and the most difficult. It appears to us, that a people who did not choose their representatives, but only those who chose their representatives, would very soon become indifferent to their elections altogether. To deprive them of their power of nominating their own candidate, would be still worse. The eagerness of the people to vote, is kept alive by their occasional expulsion of a candidate who has rendered himself objectionable, or the adoption of one who knows how to render himself agreeable to them. They are proud of being solicited *personally* by a man of family or wealth. The uproar even, and the confusion and the clamour of a popular election in England, have their use: they give a stamp to the names, *Liberty*, *Constitution*, and *People*: they infuse sentiments which nothing but violent passions, and gross objects of sense *could* infuse; and which would never exist, perhaps, if the sober constituents were to sneak, one by one, into a notary's office to deliver their votes for a representative, or were to form the first link in that long chain of causes and effects, which, in this compound kind of elections, ends with choosing a member of Parliament.

'Above all things (ſays M. Neckar) languor is the moſt deadly to a republican government; for when ſuch a political aſſociation is animated, neither by a kind of inſtinctive affection for its beauty, nor by the continual homage of reflection to the happy union of order and liberty, the public ſpirit is half loſt, and with it the republic. The rapid brilliancy of deſpotiſm is preferred to a mere complicated machine, from which every ſymptom of life and organization is fled.'

Sickness, absence, and nonage, would (even under the supposition of universal suffrage) reduce the voters of any country to one fourth of its population. A qualification much lower than that of the payment of twelve livres in direct contribution, would reduce that fourth one half, and leave the number of voters in France three millions and a half, which divided by 600, gives between five and six thousand constituents for each representative; a number not amounting to a third part of the voters for many counties in England; and which certainly is not so unwieldy, as to make it necessary to have recourse to the complex mechanism of double elections. Besides, too, if it could be believed that the peril were considerable, of gathering men together in such masses, we have no hesitation in saying, that it would be infinitely preferable to thin their numbers, by increasing the value of the qualification, than to obviate the apprehended bad effects, by complicating the system of election.

M. Neckar (much as he has seen and observed) is clearly deficient in that kind of experience which is gained by living under free governments: he mistakes the riots of a free, for the insurrections of an enslaved people; and appears to be impressed with the most tremendous notions of an English election. The difference is, that the tranquillity of an arbitrary government is rarely disturbed, but from the most serious provocations, not to be expiated by any ordinary vengeance. The excesses of a free people are less important, because their resentments are less serious; and they can commit a great deal of apparent disorder, with very little real mischief. An English mob, which, to a foreigner, might convey the belief of an impending massacre, is often contented by the demolition of a few windows.

The idea of diminishing the number of constituents, rather by extending the period of nonage to twenty-five years, than by increasing the value of the qualification, appears to us to be new and ingenious. No person considers himself as so completely deprived of a share in the government, who is to enjoy it when he becomes older, as he would do, were that privilege deferred till he became richer:—time comes to all, wealth to few.

This assembly of representatives, as M. Neckar has constituted it, appears to us to be in extreme danger of turning out to be a mere collection of country gentlemen. Every thing is determined

by territorial extent and population; and as the voters in towns must, in any single division, be almost always inferior to the country voters, the candidates will be returned in virtue of large landed property; and that infinite advantage which is derived to a popular assembly, from the *variety* of characters of which it is composed, be entirely lost under the system of M. Neckar. The sea-ports, the universities, the great commercial towns, should all have their separate organs in the parliament of a great country. There should be some means of bringing in active, able, young men, who would submit to the labour of business, from the stimulus of honour and wealth. Others should be there, expressly to speak the sentiments, and defend the interests of the executive. Every popular assembly must be grossly imperfect, that is not composed of such heterogeneous materials as these. Our own Parliament may perhaps contain within itself *too many* of that species of representatives, who could never have arrived at the dignity, under a pure and perfect system of election; but, for all the practical purposes of government, amidst a great majority fairly elected by the people, we should always wish to see a certain number of the legislative body representing interests very distinct from those of the people.

The legislative part of his constitution, M. Neckar manages in the following manner. There are two councils; the great and the little. The great council is composed of five members from each department, elected in the manner we have just described, and amounting to the number of six hundred. The assembly is reelected every five years. No qualification of property is necessary to its members, who receive each a salary of 12,000 livres. No one is eligible to the assembly before the age of twenty-five years. The little national council consists of one hundred members, or from that number to one hundred and twenty; one for each department. It is reelected every ten years; its members must be thirty years of age; and they receive the same salary as the members of the great council. For the election of the little council, each of the five chambers of indication, in every department, gives in the name of one candidate; and, from the five so named, the same voters who choose the great council select one.

The municipal officers enjoy, in this election, the same right of *recommending* one of the candidates to the people; a privilege which they would certainly exercise indirectly, without a law, wherever they could exercise it with any effect, and the influence of which, the sanction of the law would at all times rather diminish, than increase.

The grand national council commences all deliberations which concern public order, and the interest of the state, with the ex-

ception of those only which belong to finance. Nevertheless, the executive and the little council have it in their power to *propose* any law for the consideration of the grand council. When a law has passed the two councils, and received the sanction of the executive senate, it becomes binding upon the people. If the executive senate disapprove of any law presented to them for their adoption, they are to send it back to the two councils for their reconsideration; but if it passes these two bodies again, with the approbation of two thirds of the members of each assembly, the executive has no longer the power of withholding its assent. All measures of finance are to initiate with government.

We believe M. Neckar to be right in his idea of not exacting any qualification of property in his legislative assemblies. When men are left to choose their own governors, they are guided in their choice by some one of those motives which has always commanded their homage and admiration:—if they do not choose wealth, they choose birth or talents, or military fame; and of all these species of preeminence, a large popular assembly should be constituted. In England, the laws, requiring that members of Parliament should be possessed of certain property, are (except in the instance of members for counties) *practically* repealed.

In the salaries of the members of the two councils, with the exception of the expense, there is, perhaps, no great balance of good or harm. To some men, it would be an inducement to become senators; to others, induced by more honourable motives, it would afford the means of supporting that situation without disgrace. Twenty-five years of age is certainly too late a period for the members of the great council. Of what astonishing displays of eloquence and talent should we have been deprived in this country, under the adoption of a similar rule!

The institution of two assemblies constitutes a check upon the passion and precipitation by which the resolutions of any single popular assembly may occasionally be governed. The chances, that one will correct the other, do not depend solely upon their dividuality, but upon the different ingredients of which they are composed, and that difference of system and spirit, which results from a difference of conformation. Perhaps M. Neckar has not sufficiently attended to this consideration. The difference between his two assemblies is not very material; and the same popular fury which marked the proceedings of the one, would not be very sure of meeting with an adequate corrective in the dignified coolness and wholesome gravity of the other.

All power which is tacitly allowed to devolve to the executive part of a government, from the experience that it is most conveniently placed there, is both safer, and less likely to be complained of, than that which is conferred upon it by law. If M.

Neckar had placed some agents of the executive in the great council, all measures of finance would, *in fact*, have originated in them, without any exclusive right to such initiation; but the *right* of initiation, from M. Neckar's contrivance, is likely to excite that discontent in the people, which alone can render it dangerous and objectionable.

In this plan of a republic, every thing seems to depend upon the purity and the moderation of its governors. The executive has no connexion with the great council; the members of the great council have no motive of hope, or interest, to consult the wishes of the executive. The assembly, which is to give example to the nation, and enjoy its confidence, is composed of six hundred men, whose passions have no other controul, than that pure love of the public, which it is *hoped* they may possess, and that cool investigation of interests, which it is *hoped* they may pursue.

Of the effects of such a constitution, every thing must be conjectured; for experience enables us to make no assertion respecting it. There is only one government in the modern world, which, from the effects it has produced, and the time it has endured, can with justice be called good, and free. Its constitution, in books, contains the description of a legislative assembly, similar to that of M. Neckar's. Happily, perhaps, for the people, the share they have *really* enjoyed in its election, is much less ample than that allotted them in this republic of the closet. How long a really popular assembly would tolerate any rival and coexisting power in the state—for what period the feeble executive, and the untitled, unblazoned peers of a republic, could stand against it—whether any institutions, compatible with the essence and meaning of a republic, could prevent it from absorbing all the dignity, the popularity, and the power of the state,—are questions that we leave for the resolution of wiser heads; with the sincerest joy, that we have only a theoretical interest in stating them.

The executive senate is to consist of seven; and the right of presenting the candidates, and selecting *from* the candidates alternately from one assembly to the other, *i. e.* on a vacancy, the great council present three candidates to the little council, who select one from that number; and, on the next vacancy, by the inversion of this process, the little council present, and the great council select; and so alternately. The members of the executive must be thirty-five years of age. Their measures are determined by a majority. The president, called the Consul, has a casting vote: his salary is fixed at 300,000 livres; that of all the other senators at 60,000 livres. The office of consul is annual. Every senator enjoys it in his turn. Every year one senator goes out, unless re-

elected; which he may be once, and even twice, if he unites three fourths of the votes of each council in his favour. The executive shall name to all civil and military offices, except to those of mayors and municipalities. Political negociations, and connexions with foreign countries, fall under the direction of the executive. Declarations of war and peace, when presented by the executive to the legislative body, are to be adopted, the first by a majority of three-fifths, the last by a simple majority. The parade, honours and ceremonies of the executive, devolve upon the consul alone. The members of the senate, upon going out of office, become members of the little council, to the number of seven. Upon the vacation of an eighth senator, the oldest ex-senator in the little council resigns his seat to make room for him. All responsibility rests upon the consul alone, who has a right to stop the proceedings of a majority of the executive senate, by declaring them unconstitutional; and if the majority persevere, in spite of this declaration, the dispute is referred to and decided by a secret committee of the little council.

M. Neckar takes along with him the same mistake through the whole of his constitution, by conferring the choice of candidates on one body, and the election of the member on another: so that though the alternation would take place between the two councils, it would turn out to be in an order directly opposite to that which was intended.

We perfectly acquiesce in the reasons M. Neckar has alleged for the preference given to an executive, constituted of many individuals, rather than of one. The prize of supreme power is too tempting to admit of fair play in the game of ambition; and it is wise to lessen its value by dividing it: at least, it is wise to do so under a form of government that cannot admit the better expedient of rendering the executive hereditary; an expedient (gross and absurd as it seems to be) the best calculated, perhaps, to obviate the effects of ambition upon the stability of governments, by narrowing the field on which it acts, and the object for which it contends. The Americans have determined otherwise, and adopted an elective presidency: But there are innumerable circumstances, as M. Neckar very justly observes, which render the example of America inapplicable to other governments. America is a federative republic, and the extensive jurisdiction of the individual States exonerates the president from so great a portion of the cares of domestic government, that he may almost be considered as a mere minister of foreign affairs. America presents such an immediate, and such a seducing species of provision to all its inhabitants, that it has no idle discontented populace; its population amounts only to six millions, and it is not condensed in such masses as the popu-

lation of Europe. After all, an experiment of twenty years is never to be cited in politics; nothing can be built upon such a slender inference. Even if America were to remain stationary, she might find that she had presented too fascinating and irresistible an object to human ambition: of course, that peril is increased by every augmentation of a people, who are hastening on, with a rapid and irresistible pace, to the highest eminences of human grandeur. Some contest for power there must be in every free state: but the contest for vicarial and deputed power, as it implies the presence of a moderator and a master, is more prudent than the struggle for that which is original and supreme.

The difficulty of reconciling the responsibility of the executive with its dignity, M. Neckar foresees; and states, but does not remedy. An irresponsible executive, the jealousy of a republic would never tolerate; and its amenability to punishment, by degrading it in the eyes of the people, diminishes its power.

All the leading features of *civil liberty* are copied from the constitution of this country, with hardly any variation.

Having thus finished his project of a republic, M. Neckar proposes the government of this country as the best model of a temperate and hereditary monarchy; pointing out such alterations in it as the genius of the French people, the particular circumstances in which they are placed, or the abuses which have crept into our policy, may require. From one or the other of these motives he reestablishes the salique law; forms his elections after the same manner as that previously described in his scheme of a republic; and excludes the clergy from the House of Peers. This latter assembly M. Neckar composes of 250 hereditary peers chosen from the best families in France, and of 50 assistant peers enjoying that dignity for life only, and nominated by the Crown. The number of hereditary peers is limited as above; the peerage goes only in the male line; and upon each peer is perpetually entailed landed property to the amount of 30,000 livres. This partial creation of peers for life only, appears to remedy a very material defect in the English constitution. An hereditary legislative aristocracy not only adds to the dignity of the throne, and establishes that gradation of ranks which is perhaps absolutely necessary to its security, but it transacts a considerable share of the business of the nation, as well in the framing of laws as in the discharge of its juridical functions: But men of rank and wealth, though they are interested by a splendid debate, will not submit to the drudgery of business, much less can they be supposed conversant in all the niceties of law questions. It is therefore necessary to add to their number a certain portion of *novi homines*, men of established character for talents, and upon whom the

previous tenor of their lives has necessarily impressed the habits of business. The evil of this is, that the title descends to their posterity, without the talents and the utility that procured it; and the dignity of the peerage is impaired by the increase of its numbers: not only so, but as the peerage is the reward of military, as well as the earnest of civil services; and as the annuity commonly granted with it is only for one or two lives, we are in some danger of seeing a race of nobles wholly dependent upon the Crown for their support, and sacrificing their political freedom to their necessities. These evils are effectually, as it should seem, obviated by the creation of a *certain number* of peers for life only; and the increase of power which it seems to give to the Crown, is very fairly counteracted by the exclusion of the episcopacy, and the limitation of the hereditary peerage. As the weight of business in the Upper House would principally devolve upon the created peers, and as they would hardly arrive at that dignity without having previously acquired great civil or military reputation, the consideration they would enjoy would be little inferior to that of the other part of the aristocracy. When the *noblesse* of nature are fairly opposed to the *noblesse* created by political institutions, there is little fear that the former should suffer by the comparison.

If the clergy are suffered to sit in the Lower House, the exclusion of the episcopacy from the Upper House is of less importance: but, in some part of the legislative bodies, the interests of the church ought unquestionably to be represented. This consideration M. Neckar wholly passes over.

Though this gentleman considers an hereditary monarchy as preferable in the abstract, he deems it impossible that such a government could be established in France, under her present circumstances, from the impracticability of establishing with it an hereditary aristocracy; because the property, and the force of opinion, which constituted their real power, is no more, and cannot be restored. Though we entirely agree with M. Neckar, that an hereditary aristocracy is a *necessary* part of temperate monarchy, and that the latter must exist upon the base of the former, or not at all—we are by no means converts to the very decided opinion he has expressed of the impossibility of restoring them both to France.

We are surprised that M. Neckar should attempt to build any strong argument upon the durability of opinions in nations that are about to undergo, or that have recently undergone, great political changes. What opinion was there in favour of a republic in 1780? or against it in 1794? Or, what opinion is there now in favour of it in 1802? Is not the tide of opinions, at this moment, in France, setting back with a strength equal to its flow?

and is there not reason to presume, that, for some time to come, their ancient institutions may be adored with as much fury as they were destroyed. If opinion can revive in favour of kings, (and M. Neckar allows it may), why not in favour of nobles? It is true their property is in the hands of other persons; and the whole of that species of proprietors will exert themselves to the utmost to prevent a restoration so pernicious to their interests. The obstacle is certainly of a very formidable nature. But why this weight of property, so weak a weapon of defence to its *ancient*, should be deemed so irresistible in the hands of *its present* possessors, we are at a loss to conceive; unless, indeed, it be supposed, that antiquity of possession diminishes the sense of right and the vigour of retention; and that men will struggle harder to keep what they have acquired only yesterday, than that which they have possessed, by themselves or their ancestors, for six centuries.

In France, the inferiority of the price of revolutionary lands, to others, is immense. Of the former species, church land is considerably dearer than the forfeited estates of emigrants. Whence the difference of price, but from the estimated difference of security? Can any fact display, more strongly, the state of public opinion with regard to the probability of a future restoration of these estates, either partial or total? and can any circumstance facilitate the execution of such a project, more than the general belief that it will be executed? M. Neckar allows, that the impediments to the formation of a republic are very serious; but thinks they would all yield to the talents and activity of Bonaparte, if he were to dedicate himself to the superintendance of such a government during the period of its infancy: of course, therefore, he is to suppose the same power dedicated to the formation of an hereditary monarchy; or his parallel of difficulties is unjust, and his preference irrational. Bonaparte could represent the person of a monarch, during his life, as well as he could represent the executive of a republic; and if he could overcome the turbulence of electors, to whom freedom was new, he could appease the jealousy that his generals would entertain of the returning nobles. Indeed, without such powerful intervention, this latter objection does not appear to us to be by any means insuperable. If the history of our own restoration were to be acted over again in France, and royalty and aristocracy brought back by the military successor of Bonaparte, it certainly could not be done without a very liberal distribution of favours among the great leaders of the army.

Jealousy of the executive is one feature of a republic; in consequence, that government is clogged with a multiplicity of safeguards and restrictions, which render it unfit for investigating complicated details, and managing extensive relations with vi-

gour, consistency, and despatch. A republic, therefore, is better fitted for a little state than a large one.

A love of equality is another very strong principle in a republic; therefore it does not tolerate hereditary honour or wealth; and all the effect produced upon the minds of the people by this factitious power is lost, and the government weakened: But, in proportion as the government is less able to command, the people should be more willing to obey; therefore a republic is better suited to a moral than an immoral people.

A people who have *recently* experienced great evils from the privileged orders and from monarchs, love republican forms so much, that the warmth of their inclination supplies, in some degree, the defect of their institutions. *Immediately*, therefore, upon the destruction of despotism, a republic *may be* preferable to a limited monarchy.

And yet, though narrowness of territory, purity of morals, and recent escape from despotism, appear to be the circumstances which most strongly recommend a republic, M. Neckar proposes it to the most numerous and the most profligate people in Europe, who are disgusted with the very name of liberty, from the incredible evils they have suffered in pursuit of it.

Whatever be the species of free government adopted by France, she can adopt none without the greatest peril. The miserable dilemma in which men living under bad governments are placed, is, that, without a radical revolution, they may never be able to gain liberty at all; and, with it, the attainment of liberty appears to be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. To call upon a nation, on a sudden, totally destitute of such knowledge and experience, to perform all the manifold functions of a free constitution, is to entrust valuable, delicate, and abstruse mechanism, to the rudest skill and the grossest ignorance. Public acts may confer liberty; but experience only can teach a people to use it; and, till they have gained that experience, they are liable to tumult, to jealousy, to collision of powers, and to every evil to which men are exposed, who are desirous of preserving a great good, without knowing how to set about it. In an old established system of liberty, like our own, the encroachments which one department of the state makes on any other, are slow, and hardly intentional; the political feelings, and the constitutional knowledge, which every Englishman possesses, creates a public voice, which tends to secure the tranquillity of the whole. Amid the crude sentiments and new-born precedents of sudden liberty, the Crown might destroy the Commons, or the Commons the Crown, almost before the people had formed any opinion of the nature of their contention. A nation grown free in a single day, is a child born with the limbs and the vigour of a man, who

would take a drawn sword for his rattle, and set the house in a blaze, that he might chuckle over the splendour.

Why can factious eloquence produce such limited effects in this country? Partly because we are accustomed to it, and know how to appreciate it. We are acquainted with popular assemblies; and the language of our Parliament produces the effect it ought upon public opinion, because long experience enables us to conjecture the real motives by which men are actuated; to separate the vehemence of party spirit from the language of principle and truth; and to discover whom we can trust, and whom we cannot. The want of all this, and of much more than this, must retard, for a very long period, the practical enjoyment of liberty in France, and present very serious obstacles to her prosperity; obstacles little dreamed of by men who seem to measure the happiness and future grandeur of France by degrees of longitude and latitude, and who believe she might acquire liberty with as much facility as she could acquire Switzerland or Naples.

M. Neckar's observations on the finances of France, and on finance in general, are useful, entertaining, and not above the capacity of every reader. France, he says, at the beginning of 1781, had 438 millions of revenue; and, at present, 540 millions. The state paid, in 1781, about 215 millions in pensions, the interest of perpetual debts, and debts for life. It pays, at present, 80 millions in interests and pensions; and owes about 12 millions for anticipations on the public revenue. A considerable share of the increase of the revenue is raised upon the conquered countries; and the people are liberated from tithes, corvées, and the tax on salt. This, certainly, is a magnificent picture of finance. The best informed people at Paris, who would be very glad to consider it as a copy from life, dare not contend that it is so. At least, we sincerely ask pardon of M. Neckar, if our information as to this point be not correct: but we believe he is generally considered to have been misled by the public financial reports.

In addition to the obvious causes which keep the interest of money so high in France, M. Neckar states one, which we shall present to our readers—

'There is one means for the establishment of credit,' he says, 'equally important with the others which I have stated—a sentiment of respect for morals, sufficiently diffused to overawe the government, and intimidate it from treating with bad faith any solemn engagements contracted in the name of the state *It is this respect for morals which seems at present to have disappeared;* a respect which the Revolution has destroyed, and which is unquestionably one of the firmest supports of national faith.'

The terrorists of this country are so extremely alarmed at the

power of Bonaparte, that they ascribe to him resources, which M. Neckar very justly observes to be incompatible—despotism and credit. Now, clearly, if he is so omnipotent in France as he is represented to be, there is an end of all credit; for nobody will trust *him* whom nobody can compel to pay; and if he establishes a credit, he loses all that temporary vigour which is derived from a revolutionary government. Either the despotism or the credit of France directed against this country, would be highly formidable; but, both together, can never be directed at the same time.

In this part of his work, M. Neckar very justly points out one of the most capital defects of Mr Pitt's administration; who always supposed that the power of France was to cease with her credit, and measured the period of her existence by the depreciation of her assignats. Whereas, France was never more powerful, than when she was totally unable to borrow a single shilling in the whole circumference of Europe, and when her assignats were not worth the paper on which they were stamped.

Such are the principal contents of M. Neckar's very respectable work. Whether, in the course of that work, his political notions appear to be derived from a successful study of the passions of mankind, and whether his plan for the establishment of a republican government in France, for the ninth or tenth time, evinces a more sanguine, or a more sagacious mind, than the rest of the world, we would rather our readers should decide for themselves, than expose ourselves to any imputation of arrogance, by deciding for them. But, when we consider the pacific and impartial disposition which characterizes *the last Views on Politics and Finance*, the serene benevolence which it always displays, and the pure morals which it always inculcates, we cannot help entertaining a high respect for its venerable author, and feeling a fervent wish, that the last views of every public man may proceed from a heart as upright, and be directed to objects as good.

ART. XI. *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border:* Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads, collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland; with a few of modern date, founded upon local tradition. 2 vol. 8vo. Kelso: Printed for T. Caddel jun. & W. Davies, London. 1802.

THE task which Mr Scott has here undertaken, requires no common combination of abilities. He appears before the public in the distinct characters of author and editor, and unites, in his own person, the offices of antiquary, critic, and poet.

Such a task is not light; its execution, therefore, is entitled to indulgence in censure, and to liberality in praise.

By the publication of the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Dr Percy conferred on literature an inestimable benefit. Every age is easily enamoured of its own productions, and neglectful of antiquated merit. The reverend prelate's labours corrected this error. He dug up many jewels from among the ruins of time. He rescued from oblivion the scattered records of the taste and feeling of former days. He excited the interest of the poet and of the historian; and united, in friendly league, criticism and antiquarian science. His work fortunately became popular; and its popularity paved the way to similar collections,—among which is to be reckoned the work before us.

The *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* contains poems of three different classes;—ancient *historical* ballads,—ancient *romantic* ballads,—and *modern* compositions, chiefly in imitation of the latter. Besides these, the Notes and Illustrations occupy much space in the volumes, and form no inconsiderable portion of the editor's merit.

The legitimate aim of history and of poetry is the same—*to* improve mankind, *delectando, pariterque monendo:* but the object is attained by different means. History follows human events through the course of time; poetry seizes their prominent features, their permanent principles, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. History is a subject of profound philosophical investigation; but poetry, as Sir Philip Sydney observes, 'is indeed the right popular philosophy.' In a publication which endeavours to unite their separate advantages, something must be conceded on both sides. It is no objection to these volumes to say, that the poetry is sometimes trivial, any more than it would be to remark that the historical facts are not always correct.

The first merit of an editor, with respect to history, is his *fidelity.* This merit, if we may judge from internal evidence, Mr Scott possesses in an eminent degree. Very few indeed of the pretended restorers of literary history, especially among our own countrymen, stand blameless in this respect. The long disputed charges against Macpherson, and the proved and acknowledged forgeries of Pinkerton, are instances too well known to need a comment. Occasional artifices may indeed be justified by the state of public taste. Perhaps, if Dr Percy had not a little softened down the roughness of his valuable *Reliques*, he would have found neither readers nor followers. But the necessity of deception no longer exists: and Mr Scott has felt that he might confidently publish the rudest of these ballads, in the very state in which they were heard by our ancestors. A few verbal corrections (which we shall presently show to have

been injudiciously made) scarcely make an exception to this remark.

The *activity* and *zeal* of the collector appear from the number of fragments, and the variety of sources from which they were drawn. We must regret, with him, that many compositions of great interest and antiquity, compositions formerly popular over a wide extent of country, and quoted as authority by contemporary poets and historians, should now be irrecoverably lost. But this consideration renders us the more sensible of his merit in amassing the present remains. They are said to be drawn, partly from the recital of shepherds and aged persons in the recesses of the Border mountains, and partly from the MSS. of different Border antiquaries. These authorities are certainly the best; and as Mr Scott informs us that he began to consult them in early youth, we may conclude that he has preserved many poems, which would otherwise have become, by this time, irrecoverable.

Selection from the mass so obtained was his next duty: and, in this exercise of the judgment, it is scarcely possible to meet universal approbation. What one man would deem trivial, another will estimate highly: what one would reject with scorn, another treasures up with admiration. On the whole, it is better to run the hazard of being voluminous than fastidious: and so the editor seems to have decided. Perhaps the omission of one or two trifling pieces (such as *Armstrong's Goodnight*, vol. i. p. 183.) would have rendered the work less heavy. If such pieces had never been published before, they could not claim admission on the ground of poetical merit; and, where they had been previously printed, the reasons for their rejection would be so much strengthened, that they should only have been admitted for the sake of some very important illustration. The historical grounds of selection are either events or manners; to both which, these volumes apply. The period of time which they include, is chiefly confined to the 16th century; during which, the state of politics on the Scotish Border may easily be inferred from the *Sang of the Outlaw Murray*, the *Battle of Otterbourne*, and the *Raid of the Reidswire*, which describe events of a public nature.

The state of morals, however, and the condition of private life, among the Borderers of those ages, are still more remarkable; and if this collection had no other merit than that of preserving the memorials of manners that can never return, it would be entitled to considerable praise. Subsisting by rapine, which they accounted lawful and honourable, they blotted honesty out of the list of their virtues, at the same time that they were trained, by their perilous expeditions, to a high degree of

enterprizing courage, activity, and finesse. The insecurity of their possessions made them free and hospitable in their expenditure; and the common danger bound the several clans together by assurances of inviolable fidelity, and even softened their mutual hostility, by the tacit introduction of certain laws of honour and of war. In these traits, we seem to be reading the description of a Tartarian or Arabian tribe, and can scarcely persuade ourselves that this country contained, within these two centuries, so exact a prototype of the Bedouin character. Camden has sketched it with considerable accuracy, in the following passage of his Britannia.

"What manner of cattle ſtealers they are, that inhabit theſe valleys in the marches of both kingdoms, John Leſley, a Scotchman himſelf, and Biſhop of Roſs, will inform you. They ſally out of their own borders, in the night, in troops, through unfrequented bye-ways, and many intricate windings.—All the day time, they refreſh themſelves and their horſes in lurking-holes they had pitched upon before, till they arrive, in the dark, at thoſe places they have a deſign upon. As ſoon as they have ſeized upon the booty, they, in like manner, return home in the night, through blind ways, and fetching many a compaſs. The more ſkilful any captain is to paſs through thoſe wild deſarts, crooked turnings, and deep precipices, in the thickeſt miſts and darkneſs, his reputation is the greater, and he is looked upon as a man of an excellent head. And they are ſo very cunning, that they ſeldom have their booty taken from them, unleſs, ſometimes, when, by the help of blood-hounds following them exactly upon the track, they may chance to fall into the hands of their adverſaries. When, being taken, they have ſo much perſuaſive eloquence, and ſo many ſmooth inſinuating words at command, that if they do not move their judges, nay, and even their adverſaries (notwithſtanding the ſeverity of their natures), to have mercy, yet they incite them to admiration and compaſſion." Vol. i. p. lvi.–lvii.

The publication now before us, contains many curious and interesting illustrations of this peculiar character. The laxity of Border morals, in respect to property, is seen in the very animated ballad of *Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead*, the *Lochmaben Harper*, *Dick o' the Cow*, &c. On the other hand, courage, fidelity, enterprize, are exemplified in *Kinmont Willie*, *Jock o' the Side*, and *Archie o' Cafield*. And, finally, the natural tendency of the human mind, in such a state of society, to superstition and romantic wonder, appears from most of the ancient poems in the second volume.

To *illustrate* these particulars, the editor has brought together much valuable matter, in an introduction of 138 pages, and in long notes and occasional dissertations dispersed through the body of the work. Among these we notice, with particular approbation, a discourse in the 2d volume (p. 167, &c.), on the *Fairies*

of Popular Superstition, in which the author takes a much wider range, than was to have been expected from a collector of Border ballads; and evinces an extent of reading, and sagacity of conjecture, which have never before been applied to this subject. We recommend this treatise, as by far the most learned, rational, and entertaining, that has yet been made public, upon the subject of these superstitions. It is perhaps of little consequence, whether the manner of these illustrations be exactly suitable to the matter; yet we cannot but notice a false oratorical taste, which seems foreign to the office of a commentator. Instead of detailing, with appropriate simplicity, the events necessary to the introduction of his work, he begins thus: 'From the remote period, when the Roman Deity Terminus retired behind the ramparts of Severus,' &c. It seems to have been a similar error in taste, which suggested the title of the book itself—*Minstrelsy;* a word not only inapplicable in its original sense, but rendered in some measure ludicrous, by the currency it has obtained among our modern sonneteers, or, as they style themselves, Minstrels. The English idiom is not always preserved, especially in words of technical origin. Thus (in Introduct. p. iii.), 'They were forfeited,' *i. e.* their estates. So (in vol. ii. p. 218–223), 'abstraction' and 'abstracted,' are used for stealing and stolen.

We come, now, to consider the poetical merit, which, though not the only, must be the chief object of such a publication; and which, we may add, is here attained in a very eminent degree. It is the business of poetry to delineate Feeling: and where shall we look for feeling so undisguised and powerful, as in those early periods of civilization, which have already excited men to the cultivation of their intellectual energies; but have not yet fettered them with that multiplicity of rules which forms them into the mere machines of polished society. The minds of men in such a state are indeed less delicate, less attractive of general sympathy, than in succeeding periods; but they are more poetic, more interesting in particular contemplation, more distinctly marked and intelligible. We are not, then, to view these poems as *facta ad unguem*—high-polished and elaborate specimens of art; but as exhibiting the true sparks and flashes of individual nature.

Hence, we shall find a savage wildness in the superstition of the *Lyke-wake Dirge*, and in the tumultuous rage of the *Fray of Suport;* but we may trace gradations from these to the exquisite tenderness of the Fragments: Vol. ii. p. 157.

'I've heard them lilting at the ewe milking,' &c.

Of which, by the by, Mr Scott would have done well to tell us *how much* he deems ancient; and to give us 'the positive evidence' that convinced him *the whole* was not so.

The *Lament of the Queen's Marie* (vol. ii. p. 154.), connected with its tale, * bears so strong a stamp of nature, that we cannot resist quoting it; hoping, at the same time, that Mr Scott will spare no pains to recover the remainder, if there be any.

'—" O ye mariners, mariners, mariners,
That sail upon the sea,
Let not my father nor mother to wit,
The death that I maun die!"—

'When she cam to the Netherbow port,
She laughed loud laughters three;
But when she cam to the gallows foot,
The tear blinded her e'e.

'—" Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
The night she'll hae but three;
There was Marie Seton, and Marie Beatoun,
And Marie Carmichael, and me."—'

The ballad of *Fair Helen of Kirconnell* (vol. i. p. 72.), founded on a well known and affecting incident, has been often given to the public; but never so perfect as in its present shape. The following stanzas are of exquisite merit.

'I wish I were where Helen lies,
Night and day on me she cries,
O that I were where Helen lies,
On fair Kirconnell Lee!

'Curst be the heart that thought the thought,
And curst the hand that fired the shot,
When in my arms † burd Helen dropt,
And died to succour me.

'O think na ye my heart was sair,
When my love dropt down and spak nae mair?
There did she swoon wi' meikle care,
On fair Kirconnell Lee.

'As I went down the water side,
None but my foe to be my guide,
None but my foe to be my guide,
On fair Kirconnell Lee;

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* The Queen's Marie was a Frenchwoman, who was executed, with her lover, for the murder of an illegitimate child.

† We read *bird*, as forming a simple and natural metaphor: its force is destroyed, by making it synonymous with maid.

'I lighted down, my sword did draw,
I hacked him in pieces sma,
I hacked him in pieces sma,
For her sake that died for me.

'O Helen fair, beyond compare,
I'll make a garland of thy hair,
Shall bind my heart for evermair,
Untill the day I die.

'O Helen fair! O Helen chaste!
If I were with thee I were blest,
Where thou lies low, and takes thy rest
On fair Kirconnell Lee.'

The following verses, though of a very different character, afford perhaps a fairer specimen of the kind of pathos and simplicity that belong to the old romantic ballad. King Honor had been murdered by a traitor; and his Queen, who was left in a state of pregnancy, was closely guarded, till it should appear whether she was to produce a boy or a girl. The latter was to be spared; but a boy was to be immediately killed. The Queen makes her guards drunk, and says—(Vol. ii. p. 77–79.)

'—"O narrow, narrow, is this window,
And big, big, am I grown!"—
Yet, thro' the might of Our Ladye,
Out at it she has gone.

'She wandered up, she wandered down,
She wandered out and in;
And at last, into the very swine's stythe,
The Queen brought forth a son.

'Then they cast kevils them amang,
Which sould gae seek the Queen;
And the kevil fell upon Wise William,
And he sent his wife for him.

'O when she saw Wise William's wife,
The Queen fell on her knee;
—"Win up, win up, Madame!" she says;
"What needs this courtesie?"—

'—"O out o' this I winna rise,
Till a boon ye grant to me;
To change your lass for this lad bairn,
King Honor left me wi'.

'"And ye maun learn my gay goss hawk
Right weel to breast a steed;
And I sall learn your turtle dow *
As weel to write and read.

* *Dow*—Dove.

' " And ye maun learn my gay goss hawk
To wield baith bow and brand;
And I sall learn your turtle dow
To lay gowd * wi' her hand.

' " At kirk and market when we meet,
We'll dare mak nae avowe,
But—" Dame, how does my gay goss hawk?"—
—" Madame, how does my dow?" —'

Among the many instances of spirited description, there is none more striking than the picture of old Walter Scott of Harden in the fight for Jamie Telfer's cattle. (Vol. i. p. 87.)

' But Willie was stricken ower the head,
And through the knapscap † the sword has gane.
And Harden grat for very rage,
Whan Willie on the grund lay slane.

' But he's taen aff his gude steel cap,
And thrice he's waved it in the air—
The Dinlay ‡ snaw was ne'er mair white
Nor the lyart locks of Harden's hair.

' " Revenge! Revenge!" auld Wat can cry,
" Fye, lads, lay on them cruellie!" &c.

The rage of *the bauld Bacleugh*, when he is informed that the English warden, Lord Scroop, had imprisoned a Scotchman in time of truce, is also deserving of an extract. (Vol. i. p. 128–129.)

' He has ta'en the table wi' his hand,
He garr'd the red wine spring on hie—
—" Now Christ's curse on my head," he said,
" But avenged of Lord Scroop I'll be!

' " O is my basnet § a widow's curch? ‖
Or my lance a wand of the willow tree?
Or my arm a ladyes lilye hand,
That an English Lord should lightly ¶ me?

' " And have they ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Against the truce of border tide?
And forgotten that the bauld Bacleugh
Is Keeper here on the Scotish side?

' " And have they e'en ta'en him, Kinmont Willie,
Withouten either dread or fear?
And forgotten that the bauld Bacleugh
Can back a steed, or shake a spear?

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* *Lay Gowd*—To embroider in gold.
† Headpiece.
‡ A mountain in Liddisdale.
§ *Basnet*—Helmet.
‖ *Curch*—Coif.
¶ *Lightly*—Set light by.

' " O were there war between the lands,
As well I wot that there is none,
I would slight Carlisle Castell high,
Tho' it were builded of marble stone.

' " I would set that castell in a low,*
And sloken it with English blood!
There's nevir a man in Cumberland
Should ken where Carlisle Castell stood. " '

In many of the recitals is a mixture of rough humour, which, like the characterizing touches of Hogarth's pencil, gives an animation often attempted in vain by more polished writers. Of this the ballad of Kinmont Willie affords many examples, especially where he is borne out of prison in irons on the shoulders of Red Rowan, the starkest man in Tiviotdale. Vol. i. p. 184.

' Then shoulder high, with shout and cry,
We bore him down the ladder lang;
At every stride Red Rowan made,
I wot the Kinmont's airns play'd clang!

" O mony a time, " quo' Kinmont Willie,
" I hae ridden horse baith wild and wode,
But a rougher beast than Red Rowan,
I ween my legs hae ne'er bestrode.

" And mony a time, " quo' Kinmont Willie,
I've prick'd a horse out oure the furs,
But since the day I backit a steed,
I nevir wore sic cumbrous spurs. "

Thinking as we do, respecting the real standard to which the merit of these poems is to be referred, we cannot agree with the Editor in the opinion which he has expressed of that class of tragic ballads to which the *Bonny Hynd*, and (we may add) *Jellon Grame*, the *Cruel Sister*, &c. belong. The cause of virtue and morality is not so slight as to be injured by the animated discussion of themes, which (as the editor justly observes) were favourites with the early Grecian muse; especially with those ' lofty, grave tragedians, ' who, in the opinion of no lax moralist, were ' teachers best of moral wisdom. ' It is not the knowledge that enormities exist, but the concealment, or the false or defective statement of what constitutes their criminality, that vitiates, while it weakens moral principle. The Newgate Register, or the Beggar's Opera, may have done harm, by the ignorance of their authors; but who was ever corrupted by Othello? The ballads above mentioned have such poetic merit, as is more than a suf-

* *Low*—Flame.

ficient antidote to their supposed moral tendency; and if Mr Scott possesses others of equal beauty, we trust he will not be deterred, by conscientious scruples, from giving them to the public.

If we were disposed to be very apprehensive, indeed, as to the effect of any ancient ballads upon our national morality, we might very well take exception at the greater part of this collection. The glory of outlaws, and the renown of cattle-stealers, is commemorated in almost every one of the historical poems; and the heroines of all the romantic ballads, we believe, without one exception, have the misfortune to be mothers before marriage. It is amazing, indeed, to observe with what invariable uniformity the circumstances of pregnancy and parturition are brought forward to heighten the interest of every love-story. When Lillie Flower, for instance, is to be murdered by the ungrateful Jellon Grame, she says,

" Your bairn, that stirs between my sides,
Maun shortly see the light;
But to see it weltering in my blood,
Would be a piteous sight."—

'The Lass of Lochryan,' in like manner, exclaims,

" And wha will father my young son,
Till Lord Gregory comes hame?"

The fate of the romantic 'White Lilly' is thus simply described:

'About the dead hour o' the night,
The ladye's bour was broken;
And, about the first hour o' the day,
The fair knave bairn was gotten.' Vol. ii. p. 65.

The whole story of 'Willie's Ladye' turns on a difficult delivery. The fair 'Lady Janet' commits a *faux-pas* of the same kind; and so common does the indiscretion appear to have been, that the bold baron, her father, is made to inquire after it in this easy manner:

'Out then spake her father dear,
And he spoke meik and mild;
And ever, alas, my sweet Janet,
I fear ye gae with child.'

'Fair Annie's' case, however, is the most aggravated. She makes the following very pertinent interrogatory:

'But how can I gang maiden like,
When maiden I am nane;
Have I not born SEVEN sons to thee,
And am with child again?'

After all this, we are not surprised that 'Cospatrick' wedded eight wives successively, without finding one virgin among them; though we think his lamentation, on the failure of the last experiment, rather too violent for the occasion.

> 'I am the most unhappy man,
> That ever was in Christen land;
> I courted a maiden meik and mild,
> And I hae gotten nothing but a woman with child.'

In the *wording* of these poems, no precise rule seems to have been followed: and hence, some modernisms have crept in, which a more attentive collation of MSS. or oral traditions, together with a due regard to the probable date of the composition, would, perhaps, have excluded. Some expressions very much resemble the style of our modern poetasters; as, 'wave danger back on thee,' vol. ii. p. 65.;—'whose notes made sad the listening ear,' vol. ii. p. 149. Some words seem substituted for more appropriate provincial terms; as '*braided* her yellow hair,' vol. ii. p. 229, which is in some copies '*shed*,' a locally descriptive word. So, 'a red-hot gad of *iron*,' vol. ii. p. 240, should be '*airn*,' more suitably to the rhyme.

Having reviewed the remains of antiquity, which constitute the chief value of this work, it remains to say something of the productions avowedly modern.

They have all considerable merit, and often touch upon true feeling; as in Mrs Cockburn's *Flowers of the Forest*, (vol. ii. p. 163), of which Burns himself has noticed the pathetic exclamation:

> 'O fickle fortune! why this cruel sporting?
> Why thus perplex us *poor sons of a day?*'

But we may in general observe, that they breathe not enough the rude energy of the Scotish ballad: they have too little simplicity to suit the rest of the collection. We can scarcely conceive that an unaffected lover of Scotish music would express its effect, as Mr Leyden has done, (vol. ii. p. 9.), by references to Asiatic literature, and in all the luxuriancy of Asiatic diction.

This discordance becomes still more striking, when the compositions are announced as imitations of the ancient style. Their professed aim is 'to unite the vigorous numbers and wild fiction of the ancient ballad, with greater equality of versification and elegance of sentiment.' We do not disapprove this attempt. Let the modern poet imitate, if he can, the excellences, and avoid the defects of the old ballad-writers; but let him begin by adopting their strength of sentiment, and energy of expression; and let him take especial care to draw his ornamental additions

from purer sources than the Bonny Jeans, the Alonzos, and Imogenes of the day. After all, this is, in fact, to create a new species of composition; a diluted taste, which probably may not suit the palate of the genuine lover of antiquity. Undoubtedly, Mr Scott, and his friend Mr Leyden, have displayed great powers of imagination, and harmony of numbers. The *Eve of St John*, *Glenfinlas*, *Thomas the Rhymer*, *Lord Soulis*, and the *Cout of Keeldar*, are all (but particularly the two first) much superior to the numerous tales of wonder with which our patience has of late been so heavily taxed. But do they in the least resemble the general style of antiquity? Or are they even like any one old ballad in this collection? Where, for instance, shall we find an ancient stanza like the following (Vol. ii. p. 288.)?

> 'Yet fragments of the lofty strain
> Float down the tide of years;
> As buoyant on the stormy main,
> A parted wreck appears.'

It is our opinion, therefore, that the modern part of this work will obtain (and, with certain deductions, will deserve) the applause of a numerous class of readers. But that class is different from the one which will justly relish the ancient compositions. Mr Scott has announced some intended additions, which we hope he will speedily give to the public, together with a second edition of the present work. As that publication will afford him an opportunity of modelling the whole anew, we take the liberty of suggesting, that the whole of the modern part may be conveniently thrown into one volume, which will lose nothing of its intrinsic value by being separate from the rest.

Although we have freely censured the defects of this collection, we wish it to be understood that we consider them as *pulchro in corpore nævos*, as those common literary imperfections, '*quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parùm cavit natura.*' The work, upon the whole, is highly interesting and important to literature: and the manner in which it is executed reflects no small degree of credit on the Editor.

Those who feel an interest in Scotch printing, will remark with pleasure the singular beauty of the type. With appropriate reference to the subject, it was executed on the Border, and proceeds from the press of Mr Ballantyne of Kelso.

ART. XII. *On the Necessary Truth of certain Conclusions obtained by Means of Imaginary Expressions.* By Robert Woodhouse, A. M. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. (In the Transactions of the Royal Society of London. 1802.)

No small part of the modern mathematics depends on the doctrine of imaginary or impossible quantities. It is natural to expect that the grounds of a doctrine, on which rests so large a portion of the analytical edifice, have been fully examined; that all objections have been successfully answered; and that no room is left for doubt or cavil. The contrary, however, will, in reality, be found to be the case. Mathematicians have been more attentive to improve and extend their methods, than solicitous to examine the principles on which they are founded. Men of a scientific turn, who wish to reason as well as to compute, and who will not assent to the truth of the conclusion without fully comprehending every step in the reasoning that leads to it, have justly to complain of the mystery and paradox attending the use of impossible quantities.

Imaginary expressions occur in mathematical investigations in two ways, which it is proper to distinguish. Sometimes they merely mark an operation that cannot be performed, or an absurd conclusion: and this always happens when a contradiction takes place in the conditions to be fulfilled. This office of imaginary expressions is attended with no difficulty; it is allowed to be legitimate, and its use is, to point out the limitation of problems. In other cases, imaginary expressions are introduced into mathematical investigations (and sometimes they occur very unexpectedly *) when no inconsistency really takes place in the relations of the magnitudes concerned, and when we are certain that the quantities signified are possible and real. When this happens, on carefully examining the reasoning employed, it will be found that some contradiction is implied, or that some impossible supposition is unwarily admitted. The fault, here, is in the reasoning itself, and not in any inconsistency in the conditions to be fulfilled. The proper remedy seems to be, to trace back the investigation till we arrive at that step where the absurdity is implied; and, by turning the reasoning into a new train, to bring out a real and intelligible result by legitimate means. Mathematicians have however followed a different course. The imaginary expressions of real quantities have been retained, and rules have been invented for operating with them as if they were real quantities: they are multiplied and divided, added and subtracted. And although such expressions are unintelligible, and in

* As in what is called the Irreducible Case, in Cubics.

all cases imply an impossibility, yet (what is paradoxical) the conclusions obtained by their means are uniformly found to be true.

In the 68th volume of the Philosophical Transactions of London, we find a memoir 'On the Arithmetic of Impossible Quantities,' written by a mathematician who has thrown much light on the different matters he has treated; and all whose writings are equally remarkable for the ingenuity and elegance which they display. Justly considering the operations of the imaginary arithmetic as nugatory in point of science and of logical reasoning, he has, in several instances, compared investigations by means of impossible quantities, with the parallel investigations in which real quantities only are concerned: and he has shown that, while the latter strictly demonstrate certain properties of the hyperbola, the former, by means of the imaginary characters, lead to the same properties of the circle. The imaginary arithmetic is therefore no more than a particular method of tracing the affinity between the circle and hyperbola; and the truth of its deductions rests ultimately on an argument from analogy.

By the speculations of Mr Playfair, the imaginary investigations assume a scope and purpose: and if he has not gone the length of proving that the conclusions obtained by means of impossible quantities are necessarily true, he has at least pointed out a source from which a strict demonstration may in all cases be drawn.

In the paper before us, Mr Woodhouse, after having stated the objection commonly urged against the use of imaginary quantities, thus proceeds.

'From the very concessions of the mathematicians that have opposed the use of impossible quantities, is to be derived a powerful argument, an argument sufficiently satisfactory to the mind, that operations with impossible quantities are really regulated by the rules of a logic equally just with the logic of possible quantities. It is conceded and mentioned as a paradox, that the conclusions obtained by the aid of imaginary quantities are most true and certain. Now, if operations with any characters or signs lead to just conclusions, such operations must be true by virtue of some principle or other; and the objections against imaginary quantities ought to be obviated upon the unsatisfactory explanation given of their nature and uses.'

The drift of this argument is not very plain. If it is only meant to say that there must be some way or other of accounting for the paradox, that truth is produced by unintelligible operations, or by faulty reasoning; the position will hardly be denied. On the other hand, if it is intended to argue, that every general method that uniformly leads to true conclusions, must therefore be regulated by the rules of sound logic; the inference cannot be admitted. We are of opinion that the imaginary

arithmetic is one glaring instance of the contrary; but it is not the only instance that can be produced. The differential calculus, as laid down by Leibnitz and his followers, is another example of a method, even more extensive than the imaginary arithmetic, always leading to truth, and yet founded in false and inconclusive reasoning. We apprehend that, in both instances, the paradox is to be accounted for in the same way; namely, that the false suppositions always implied in either method, are obviated and corrected by the very operations which the rules of the calculus require to be performed. *

Mr Woodhouse next animadverts on the principle of analogy advanced by Mr Playfair: and it must be allowed that his strictures are well founded, in so far as they go to prove that principle to be imperfect; and that there is room for further researches on this subject.

After the observations we have premised, it will be expected that we are to proceed, with some degree of scepticism, to the examination of our author's own mode of explanation; which professes to reconcile with the rules of logic, and with the principles of sound reasoning, operations in which other mathematicians have been able to discover nothing but obscurity and contradiction. Every logical process may be traced to certain ultimate principles: and the justness of the conclusion depends upon the clearness of those principles, no less than upon the legitimacy of the intermediate inferences. Our attention will therefore be naturally directed to the peculiar notions on which our author founds this explanation: and, that we may proceed fairly, we shall quote his own words.

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* ' Il me ſemble que comme dans le calcul differentiel, tel qu'on l'emploie, on conſidére et on calcule en effet les quantités infiniment petites, ou ſupposées infiniment petites elles-memes, la veritable metaphyſique de ce calcul conſiſte en ce que l'erreur reſultant de cette fauſſe ſuppoſition eſt redreſſée ou compenſée par celle-qui naît des procédés mêmes du calcul, ſuivant les quels on ne retient dans la differentiation que les quantités infiniment petites du meme ordre. ' La Grange, Theorie des Fonct. Analyt. p. 3.

In the imaginary arithmetic, the characters $x\sqrt{-1}$ and $y\sqrt{-1}$ are in many operations treated like real quantities: but in certain multiplications (as $x\sqrt{-1} \times y\sqrt{-1} = -xy$) it will be found that the ſign $\sqrt{-1}$ is in reality a mark to ſhow that the ordinary rule, for the ſign of the product in real quantities, is to be reverſed, and that $-$ muſt be written, where, in real quantities, $+$ would be required. It is by this uſe of the ſign $\sqrt{-1}$ that the falſe ſuppoſition implied in impoſſible quantities is compenſated.

'The development of e^x (into the series $1 + x + \frac{x^2}{2} +$, &c.) is general, whatever x is, provided it be a real quantity; but $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$ can never be proved equal to the series $1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{1}{2}x^2 - \frac{1}{2\cdot 3}x^3\sqrt{-1}$ &c. What then is to be underſtoood by $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$? Merely this, that $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$ is an abridged ſymbol for the ſeries of characters $1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{x^2}{2}$ — &c. not proved, but aſſumed, by extending the form really belonging to e^x to $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$.'

'To remove all doubt and occaſion of cavil, it is to be underſtood that $\left(e^{x\sqrt{-1}} + e^{-x\sqrt{-1}}\right)$ means, that the terms of the ſeries which $e^{x\sqrt{-1}}$ repreſents, are to be connected with the terms of the ſeries that $e^{-x\sqrt{-1}}$ repreſents, according to the rules obtaining for the addition of real quantities: Again, that $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, not by bringing $x\sqrt{-1}$ under the predicament of quantity, and making it the ſubject of arithmetical computation, but by giving to the ſigns + and — their proper ſignification, when uſed with real quantities; and they deſignate reverſe operations.'

After it is demonſtrated that $e^x = 1 + x + \frac{x^2}{2}$, &c. moſt mathematicians put $e^{x\sqrt{-1}} = 1 + x\sqrt{-1} - \frac{x^2}{2}$ &c. without further ceremony; thus ſuppoſing that the impoſſible caſe is included in the development of the real function. Mr Woodhouſe gets rid of this abſurdity, by making that an affair of notation, which others aſſume as a thing demonſtrated. It will not be neceſſary for us to inquire how far the matter is mended by this artifice; becauſe the great objection to the uſe of impoſſible quantities, and to the logical juſtneſs of the concluſions obtained by their means, ſtill remains in its full force. What does the ſeries of characters denote? Will it be granted, that the mind can proceed one ſtep in the inveſtigation of truth, without clearly comprehending the objects about which it reaſons?

We are next required to grant, that $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, not by bringing $x\sqrt{-1}$ under the predicament of quantity, and making it the

ſubject of arithmetical computation, but by giving to the ſigns + and — their proper ſignification when uſed with real quantities. We confeſs we conſider this poſtulate more deſerving the name of a metaphyſical ſubtilty, than of a principle of reaſoning clearly laid down. The ſigns + and — denote operations to be performed with numbers; and they have no ſignification at all, unleſs the numbers, to be operated with, are diſtinctly conceived in the mind. We contend, that when we put $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, we treat the character $x\sqrt{-1}$ as the repreſentative of a number: and that the expreſſion $x\sqrt{-1} - x\sqrt{-1} = 0$, is really ſuppoſed to be included in the general caſe $A - A = 0$, which is legitimate and intelligible only ſo long as A repreſents a real number.

We ſhall be ſpared the task of examining further into a mode of explanation which, at the outſet, is liable to ſo great objections. Operations deduced from ſuch principles, are undeſerving the name of reaſoning: and they cannot afford one particle of evidence, either of truth or of falſehood. We admit it, that the operations of the imaginary arithmetic exhibit, to the eye, a ſeries of tranſformations ſimilar to thoſe that take place in real inveſtigations. But, in point of ſcience and of reaſoning, there is a wide difference between the two. For, in real inveſtigations, all the characters are ſignificant, and the principles, from which we ſet out, are clear: and if we ſtop ſhort at any ſtep of the process, we obtain a propoſition diſtinctly apprehended by the mind, and linked to the premiſes by a chain of legitimate deductions. In imaginary inveſtigations, on the other hand, if we ſtop ſhort of the concluſion, when the impoſſible quantities have diſappeared, we find nothing but a parcel of characters that offers no meaning to the underſtanding. The excellent geometer, who has advanced the principle of analogy, ſetting aſide the imaginary operations, has directed our attention to the concluſion to which they lead, and has ſhown its connexion with another truth that is ſtrictly demonſtrated. His reſearches, indeed, ſtop here: and he has left the evidence of the one propoſition to reſt on the affinity it has with the other, or on the analogy of the curves to which the two propoſitions may, in all caſes, be referred. We have only to go one ſtep further, to arrive at a ſatisfactory ſolution of the whole difficulty: for, if we diſmiſs all reference to the circle and hyperbola, and, by a general notation, contrive to expreſs the related propoſition in algebraic language, free from impoſſible quantities, it will manifeſtly appear, that there is a neceſſary connexion between them, independent either of the real or imaginary inveſtigation. If the one propoſition be ſuppoſed to be true, then, by a very extenſive principle of analyſis, the other will follow as a neceſſary conſequence of that propoſition.

But this is not the place to enlarge on this subject, the importance of which has already occasioned us to transgress our limits.

The mode of application not admitted, the present paper will be found to contain nothing new or interesting to geometers. It is only incumbent on us to notice, that some just observations occur in discussing the controversy concerning the logarithms of negative numbers, towards the end of the paper.

We cannot conclude our remarks on this article, without expressing our disapprobation of the mode in which Mr Playfair's method of reasoning is attacked, not openly, and by name, but indirectly, covertly, and by insinuation.

ART. XIII. *Oupnekhat (id est, Secretum Tegendum) opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continens Antiquam et Arcanam, seu Theologicam et Philosophicam, Doctrinam, è quatuor sacris Indorum libris, Rak Beid, Djedjr Beid, Sam Beid, Atharban Beid, excerptam; ad verbum, è Persico idiomate, Samscreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum conversum; Dissertationibus et Annotationibus, difficiliora explanantibus, illustratum: studio et opera Anquetil Duperron, Indicopleustæ, R. Inscript. et Human. Litter. Academiæ olim Pensionar. et Directoris.* Tomus I. 4to. pp. 846. Paris, 1801.

IF intolerance and fanaticism be the usual concomitants of Islamism, (an assertion, we think, somewhat too generally expressed), the descendants of Tamerlane, who reigned in Hindûstân, furnish some remarkable exceptions to the received opinion. At the head of these illustrious personages, we should, perhaps, place Dara Shecuh, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Gehan. The attention which this Prince bestowed, in investigating the antique dogmas of the Hindu theology, and the munificence with which he rewarded the learned Brahmans, whom he collected from all parts of the empire, furnished his brother Aurengzebe with a pretext to misrepresent his motives, and to alarm the zealous Moslems with the danger of an apostate succeeding to the throne. The melancholy catastrophe which ensued; the death of the unhappy Dara, with the long and brilliant reign of the successful hypocrite who founded his greatness on the destruction of his brothers, are detailed in the page of history. If the sceptical philosopher be disposed to exclaim with the Roman Epicurean "Tanta Religio potuit suadere malorum," we must state our conviction, that ambition, not fanaticism, prompted the deed; though the steps by which he mounted the throne, threw the rigid veil of superstition over the subsequent conduct of Aurengzebe, and gave that tone to his court.

Under the patronage of Dara Shecuh, a variety of Sanscrit works were translated into the Persic language, and, amongst

others, that which M. Anquetil Duperron calls *Oupnekhat*, *vel Secretum Tegendum*. But before we proceed to consider the merits of his translation, we think it useful to premise a few observations, to illustrate the nature of the original work, and to define the expectations which might have been formed of the version. In this part of our task, we shall derive little assistance from the venerable translator, who seems too readily to adopt the common error of considering every thing that is oriental as curious, every thing that is ancient as sublime, and every thing that is mysterious as profound.

The Hindû Vedas are referred, by the records and traditions of the Brahmans, to the earliest periods of society. Though it may be impossible to verify their real date, their relative antiquity appears manifest from their style, already obsolete when the Puranas were composed, to whatever era these latter compositions may be referred. Crisna, the island-born, obtained the name of Vyasa, or the Divider, from having arranged them in their present form, and divided them into four portions, the last of which, named Atharvana, seems composed in a style somewhat more modern, though the whole must have been anterior to the period at which Vyasa was born, in an islet of the Yamuna. They contain the rude metaphysics, and primeval dogmas of the ancient Brahmans, with a minute detail of religious rites, ceremonial observances, and incantations or *mantra*, which served, or were supposed to serve, as a specific for every calamity, physical and moral. But of the false religions which have successively obtained in the world, the absurd dogmata have frequently furnished a striking contrast with the state of science amongst their followers. Knowledge and the arts spring forth, and are progressive; the powers and operations of nature are calculated and observed; the human mind becomes the object of its own researches; general deductions and general maxims enlighten and regulate the conduct of states, and the transactions of individuals: but the consecrated veil which covers the arcana of superstition, cannot be withdrawn without impiety; and an enlightened age frequently views the universal prevalence of unphilosophical, absurd, or barbarous dogmata. The massive structures of ancient Egypt attest a considerable progress in mechanics; but the wars of Typhon and Osiris, and the obscene rights of their local deities, are an insult to reason, and to nature. Would we profit by Grecian science, it is to Aristotle, and not to Hesiod, we must have recourse: yet the old bard was probably the faithful historian of opinions which prevailed more or less generally, till Europe was enlightened by the divine rays of a religion revealed from above. The Coran relates that Mohammed was transported into the moon; but the Khalifs who succeeded him, and implicitly be-

lieved in the pretended miracle, employed mathematicians to measure a degree of the circle. From these observations, our readers will possibly infer, that if Indian literature be capable of affording curious or instructive information, it probably is not from the sacred Vedas that the stream will flow. These precious volumes have not hitherto been perused by any European. The preceding observations are collected from passages occasionally cited by the Pauranicas and their commentators; and from the valuable deductions of Sir William Jones, who had inspected several extracts. But it has happened to the Vedas as to the Coran. Though the text of both be held sacred by the followers of their respective doctrines, yet a recondite and philosophic sense may frequently be elicited from many, or from most of their expressions; and in a subsequent age, the ample commentaries of theologians, metaphysicians, and jurisconsults, have wrought up the scanty materials of their sacred books into a comprehensive but obscure epitome of knowledge, divine and human.

The term Upanisada, which really signifies arcanum, is used by the Hindûs to designate a selection of one or more chapters from the Vedas. The volume of these *excerpta*, translated by order of Dara Shecuh, is now presented to the public clothed in a Roman garb, by M. Anquetil. The plan which this gentleman has adopted for the execution of this task, is, in our opinion, singularly injudicious. He has endeavoured to execute a translation altogether literal; and as this is utterly impossible, from the discrepancy of the Persic and Latin idioms, he has attempted to make it more intelligible, by inserting also the more classic forms of expression between parentheses. The words also, which in his manuscript appeared in red characters, he has transported *literatim* into his version: and, that they might not be disfigured by the Latin inflections, he has marked their case, by prefixing the Greek article. The result is, a Latin production, which an Œdipus might divine, but a Priscian could never construe; with a confused mixture of words, Persic, Arabic, and Sanscrit, admirably exemplifying

'that Babylonish dialect
Which learned pedants much affect.' HUDIBRAS.

We have been so fortunate as to procure a copy of the Persic work; and having collated a great variety of passages with M. Anquetil's translation, are happy to do justice to its accuracy, and to add our testimony to the very complete knowledge of the Persic he has exhibited throughout his work. It is painful to detract from this encomium, by mentioning, that our author hints that he derived considerable assistance from his knowledge of the Sanscrit; and that he has it in contemplation to publish

a dictionary of that language: whilst the work before us furnishes the most decisive proofs of his being totally unacquainted with it.

To enable our readers to judge of M. Anquetil's performance, we insert his version of the preface of the Prince Dara Shecuh, giving an account of the motives for undertaking the work; to which we will annex our own translation, from the Persic copy in our possession.

'Laus dzati (enti), quod, vox pes *rā* bismillah (in nomine Dei) in omnibus libris samavi (cœlestibus) è secretis antiquis ejus est; et alham am alketab (inspiratio primæ sauratæ) quod in Koran madjid (glorioso), designatio (illius) cum esm (nomine) supremo ejus est; et cuncti malaick (legati Dei, angeli), et libri samavi ex anbia ve aolia (à prophetis et amicis Dei emissi); et omne (id omne) comprehensum in hoc esm (nomine) est.

'Verùm, postea quam *i* fakir absque tristitiâ Mohammed Darashakoh, in anno mille et quinquaginta (1050) *rā* hedjri, quo cum Kashmir (in *rū* Kaschmir), paradiso simili, iverat; cum ui attractiva eenaiet Alhi (favoris Dei) et beneficio na monteha (non terminato, infinito), faustæ (ejus) voluntatis, perfectum kamalan (perfectorum) cremore maarfan, ostad ostadan, pir piran, peischvaï peischvaïan, mohed hakaiek agah (decus doctorum, magistrum magistrorum, senem senum, ducem ducum, unitarium (unitatis Dei assertorem), veritatum conscium), molaschah, pax *rā* allah (Dei) et excelsi (super illum)! invenit.

'Et cum gustus (voluptas) *rā* videre doctos cujuslibetsectæ, et audire verba excelsa unificationis, simul (ei) provenisset, et plurimos libros mysticos cum conspectu (in conspectum suum) attulisset, et resalha (scripta breviora) composita fecisset; et sitis *rā* petere tohid (unificationem), quod mare est sine fine, momento cum momento (in diem) amplior (aucta fieret); et sententiæ (opiniones) subtiles (arduæ) cum corde (ad cor ejus) pervenirent, quòd status earum, nisi cum verbo Alhi (Dei), et magisterio (documento) dzat na monthaï (entis non finiti) possibilitatem non habet; et cùm (in) Koran venerando (augusto), et Fourkan nobili (benigno) plurima ænigmaticè dicta (tecta) sint, ethodiè scientes illa pauci inveniri queant; (Daraschakoh) voluit, quòd omnes libros samavi (cœlestes) cum conspectu (in conspectum suum) afferrent, ut ab ipsis illis (eliceret) verbum Alhi (Dei), quod ipsum interpretatio sui ipsius est; et si in (uno) libro contractum sit, in libro altero fusè expositum inventum fiat, et ex illa fusâ expositione istud compendium scitum efficitur.

'Intuitum super Toret (legem Moysis), et Andjil (evangelium J. Christi), et Zabour (psalmos Davidis), et alios codices conjecit: verùm expositio tohid (unificationis) in illis etiam (libris) compendiosa & enigmatica (tecta) erat; et ex interpretationibus paucis, quas homines à commentariis fecerant, petitum cognitum non redditum est.

'In pede illius fuit (hinc evenit), quòd, è quo respectu (quâ causâ) in Indoustan, unitatis contemplatore, sermo cinatio tohid (de unifica-

tione) multa est; et theologis externis et internis sectæ antiquæ indicæ, super vahedat (unitate) negatio, et super mohedan (unitariis) sermo non est; quin potiùs pes æstimationis (illis) est super τῷ (præcipuum ducunt) contradicere (repugnare) insipientibus hujus temporis, qui se ipsos doctos (esse) firmatum dederunt; et, in pede (victimis) occisionis, et vexationis, et impietatis, et negationis (veri), Deum cognoscentibus et unitariis lapsis, omnibus verbis tohid (unificationis), et cuncto (quod) è Fourkan laudando, et oraculis authenticis prophetiæ puræ manifestum est, resistentiam ostendunt, (et) viam latronum viam Dei efficiunt.

' Post à verificatis his gradibus (his cognitis) compertum fuit, quòd in medio hujus tribûs antiquæ, præ omnibus libris samavi (cœlestibus) quatuor libri asmani (cœlestes), quòd, Rak Beid, et Djedjr Beid, et Sam Beid, et Athrban Beid, sit, super anhiaï (prophetas) illius temporis; quòd major illorum [Brahma qui] Adam sefieullah (selectus à Deo) et (super quem) pax! est, cum cunctis præceptis delapsi (sint): et hæc significatio ex ipsis his libris apparens est.

' Et optimum (purior pars) horum quatuor librorum, omnia secreta selouk (religiosi instituti), et eschgal (applicationum animi) unificationi puræ, in illo contenta sunt; & illud Oupnekhat nominant.

' Huic (Principi) veritatis indagatori ipsi elucidatæ, cùm intuitus super principium vahedat (unitatis) entis foret (fuisset), cùm linguâ arabicâ, et syrianâ, et eerakanâ (per sika, et) sahnscretâ (samscreticâ), voluit quòd hæc Oupnekhatha (τῶ Oupnekhat capita), quod thesaurus unificationis erat; scientes illum in istâ tribu etiam pauci manserant; cum linguâ persicâ (in linguam persicam), sine minus et plùs, et absque affectu (studio) animi, cum interpretatione, recto (sincero) cum recto, voce cum voce, (de verbo ad verbum) cum translata ostendisset, (fecisset), intelligerent, quòd hæc collectio (synagoga), quæ illum librum ab homine islamico (fideli), hoc quantùm (tantoperè) coopertum et absconditum habent, hoc quodnam secretum est.

' Et, ut in his diebus, urbs Benares, quæ porta scientiæ hujus tribûs est, dependentiam cum (ab) hoc veri indagatore habebat, τὸς Pandetan & Saniassan, qui completo (convenienti) tempore [τῶ Beid et] τῶ Oupnekhat scientes (facti) fuerant, cùm congregatos fecisset, ipse (Daraschakoh) hoc kholasseh (optimum) unificationis, quod Oupnekhatha, id est, secreta tegenda sit, et monthaï (scopus) petitionis cunctorum aoulia Allah (amicorum Dei) est, in anno mille sexaginta & septem τυ hedjri, sine affectu animi (studio, è samskreto) translatum cum ostendisset (reddidisset); et quodlibet difficile, quodlibet verbum altum, quod volebat et petens illud fuit, et quærebat et non invenit; ex hoc kholasseh (optimo) libro antiquo, quod, sine dubio et ambiguitate, primus liber samavi (cœlestis) et fons verificationis (agnitionis pro vero) et mare unificationis est, congruens Koran glorioso, quin imò, explicatio illius est.

' Et manifestè apparens fit, quòd hoc aieteh (comma, versus) genuinè in veritate hic liber antiquus est; quòd aieteh cum (in) Koran benefaciente, in libro (est) abscondito, non perveniens nisi ad mundatos arab (domino) mundorum: id est, Koran benefaciens in libro est, quòd

ille liber absconditus est, (et) eum comprehensum non faciunt nisi eos quod purificatum sit; et descendere factus (demissus) à nutritore (conservatore) [mundi et] mundanorum: et cui (cuivis) cognitum fit, quòd hoc aïeteh, in veritate, Zabour, et Toret, et Andjil non est; quin imò, è verbo tanzîb (descendere facto), hoc modo manifestum efficitur, quòd in veritate, louh mahfouz (tabula asservatorum, ubi æterna rerum fata inscribuntur), etiam (aïeteh) non est; (et) cùm Oupnekhat, quod secretum abscondendum est, principium (originale exemplar) hujus libri sit, et τὰ aïethhaï τῦ Khoran gloriosi, genuinè in illo inventa fiant; proindè cum verificatione (certum efficitur) quòd liber absconditus, hic liber antiquus sit.

'Et ex hoc (libro), cum hoc (huic) fakir (Daraschakoh) non scita, scita; non intellecta, intellecta fuerunt.

'Et, nisi à τῦ (præter) utilitatem capientes fieri, ipsum (Daram) et natos ipsos ejus, et amicos ipsos ejus, et petentes veritatem, petitum et intentum cùm non fuerit; fortunatus, qui, ut affectum animi infelicem (pravum) transire fecit (reliquit), purè (sincerè), cum modo Dei (excelso) hanc translationem, quod cum secreto akbar (per secretum magnum) designatum redditum, translationem (esse) verbi Alhi (Dei), ut scivit, derelictionem partialitatis, ut monstravit, legit et intelligit, sine cessatione, et sine metu, et sine tristitiâ, et liberatus (salvus, beatus), et mavid (confirmatus) (in hoc statu) est futurus."

We will now proceed to lay before our readers an English version of the above preface, from the Persic original, which will enable them to appreciate the merit of M. Anquetil's.

'In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.

'Praise to that being, whose antique mysteries are comprised by all inspired writers in the phrase (Bismilla), 'in the name of God,' and thanksgiving, which is the commencement of all books in the sacred Coran, refers to that dread name, which includes the host of angels, the inspired scriptures, the prophets, and the patriarchs.

'When Dara Shecuh, the resigned worshipper of God, visited Casmir in the year of the Hegira 1050 (A. D. 1640), by the blessing of the Most High, and the unlimited efficacy of his divine will, he met with Mola Shah, the chief of the learned, the teacher of teachers, the instructor of instructors, the guide of guides, versed in the subtleties of Unitarianism: may he be joined with God!

'As that prince already relished the pleasure of seeing the learned of each sect, and of hearing the sublime doctrines of Unitarianism; had perused various treatises of the Susi philosophers, and even composed some himself, the thirst of exploring the Unitarian doctrines (which are a boundless ocean) daily increased, and his mind attained a degree of acuteness and subtlety, which would have been impossible, without the immediate assistance and favour of the divine will. Now, the sacred Coran being frequently ob-

scure, and few at this day being found capable of explaining it, he determined to read all inspired works; that the word of God might furnish a commentary on itself, and what is concisely expressed in one book, might be elucidated by a reference to others; the abridged by the more diffuse.

'With this view, he perused the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Psalms; but the unity of God was obscurely and enigmatically expressed in these works; nor did he derive more instruction from the simple translations of hired linguists.

'He next desired to ascertain how it happened, that in Hindustan, the unity of God is the frequent theme of discourse, and that the ancient philosophers of Hind (both those who published, and those who concealed their tenets) neither denied nor objected to the doctrine of the Divine unity; but, on the contrary, held it as an axiom. Unlike the ignorant race of the present day, who set up for philosophers, though they have fallen into the track of bloodshed and infidelity, denying the attributes and unity of God, and contradicting the proofs of that doctrine derived from the Coran and authentic traditions: these may be considered as the banditti on the path of God.

'In the course of this inquiry it was discovered, that, amongst the Hindus, four inspired books were held peculiarly sacred, viz. the Rik Veda, the Jajur Veda, the Sam Veda, and the Atherva Veda, which had descended from the skies to the prophets of those times, of whom Adam (purified by God), may blessings attend him! was the chief, containing rules and precepts; and this doctrine (viz. the unity of God) is clearly expressed in those books.

'The essence of those works, which relate to religious rites, and meditations on the unity of God, is comprised in the Upanisada, which was extracted by the prophets of those days, illustrated by copious commentaries and expositions, and has always been read and considered as an excellent epitome.

'As the object of this explorer of truth (Dara Shecuh) was, not the acquisition of languages, whether Arabic, Syriac, Jraki, or Sanscrit, but the proofs of the unity of the Supreme Being, he determined that this Upanisada, which might be considered as a treasure of Unitarianism, should be translated into Persic, without adding or expunging, and without bias or partiality, but correctly and literally, that it might appear what mysteries are contained in those books which the Hindus so carefully conceal from Moslems.

'As the city of Benares, which is the seat of Hindu science, was a dependency of this explorer of truth (Dara Shecuh), having assembled the Pandits and Saniassis, who are now the expounders of the Vedas and Upanisadas, he caused a translation

to be made of this Upanisada, or mysterious secret, which comprises the object of the researches of so many theologians. This was completed, in an impartial manner, in the year of the Hegira 1067, (A. D. 1656). Every difficulty, and every sublime doctrine which had occurred before, but could not be explained, was elucidated by this antient compilation; which, without doubt, is the first of inspired works, the fountain of truth, the sea of Unitarianism; not only consentaneous with the Coran, but a commentary upon it.

'It seems evident, that the following text of the Coran relates to this ancient book, viz. "The holy scriptures are in that book which is concealed; which none can expound but the man of pure heart; and which was sent from the skies by the Preserver of mankind." Now, this description is not applicable either to the psalms, the pentateuch, nor the gospel; and from the expression, "sent from the skies," it cannot apply to the Book of Fate. But the Upanisada, the original of this book, is a very antient work; a mysterious secret; and comprehends all the conditions specified in the holy text, which doubtless refers to it. From it, this adorer of God knew and understood, what before was unknown and incomprehensible. But, exclusive of the benefits resulting from it to himself, his posterity, and friends, let the searcher after truth, laying aside his prejudices, and the pleasures resulting from sensual gratification, dispassionately peruse this translation of the great arcanum as the word of God; and, if he understand it, he will remain free from terror and anxiety, in the perpetual practice of virtue.'

Such is the preface of Dara, which we have selected for the amusement of our readers, in preference to any single passage we could have extracted from the work itself. The tenets of the Vedas lye dispersed through the chapters, and are comprised in puerile fables. But we should have thought it our duty to exhibit a summary of those doctrines, had this translation been made from the original, or the Persic version borne such marks of authenticity, as would have justified us in considering this Upanisada as a genuine epitome of the Indian system. It may be proper to state the grounds of our doubts.

Such Persic translations of Sanscrit works as we have had an opportunity of comparing with the originals, are frequently mutilated, and often perverted; the translator seldom succeeds in giving the full meaning of his author, and never catches his spirit. The Moslem doctors, whom Dara employed to translate the Upanisada, were probably actuated by a very different principle from that of affording a fair representation of a system at variance with their own; the subtleties of Hindû metaphysics would probably be considered as beneath their attention; and the difficulty of

understanding their abstruse doctrines would add to the bias, already strong, of giving an inadequate representation. But this supposition becomes still stronger, when it is considered that the translation was not completed till the very year in which the unfortunate Dara lost his life; so that its publication was probably posterior to the death of that Prince, and when Aurengzebe already held the usurped reigns of empire. Even the preface we have exhibited, in which the Upanisada is obviously preferred to the Coran, seems to have been written rather with a view to render Dara unpopular amongst his Moslem subjects, than to be the genuine sentiments of a Moslem prince. The impolicy of publishing them by the successor to the throne, affords an additional argument on this head. But let this be as it may, and notwithstanding the assertions in the preface, the translation has evidently been made, not only with a bias, but with a determined intention of reconciling the Upanisada with the Coran. To prove this, we have only to state, that Brahma is said to be Adam in one place, and in another the angel Gabriel; Visnu is Michael; and Mahadeva, Raphael. Whether this work really consists of extracts from the Vedas, or is defaced by Mahometan interpolations, is a point we do not undertake to determine: the following grounds of scepticism may, however, be stated. In an extract, from the Rik, or first Veda, the Atharvana Veda is mentioned, which it is almost certain is of much later date: in another, Crisna, the eighth Avatara, is mentioned, though he, if he lived at all, was contemporary with Vyasa, who arranged and divided the Vedas into their present form, in a much more recent age. These facts are, however, inconclusive; for we are convinced that innumerable interpolations are now incorporated even with the antient text of the original.

We have borne a willing testimony to the knowledge M. Anquetil has exhibited of the Persic language: the less agreeable task remains of proving that the intended author of a Sanscrit dictionary, is unacquainted with the language he proposes to explain. We shall not draw our proofs from the many erroneous explanations he has given of Sanscrit terms, in which the public might balance between opposite authorities; but show that this gentleman knows the words which occur in his text (and which are as common as any in the language), only through the medium of the Persic character. In the Devanagari alphabet, in which all Sanscrit books are written, the sound of G and of K have each a distinct representative: in Persic they are represented by the same character. Hence, Gavalzani is become Kaplkiani; Garga, Kark; Gandharva, Kandherb; Ghian and Aghian, Kian and Akian, &c. Again, the short vowels are omitted in the Persic, though distinctly represented in the Devanagari; hence, the Rik

Veda is Rak; the Jajur, Djedjr, &c. The diacritical points are often omitted: hence, Samudra, the ocean, is Samandr; Budya, knowledge, is Badia; Aditi, the sun, is Adat; Vayu, the wind, Baïb; Varuna (the Indian Neptune) Baran, &c. These examples will, we conceive, prove conclusive as to the fact we would establish: we hasten, therefore, to quit this unpleasant topic.

To conclude—We are of opinion, that a translation of an Upanisada, from the Sanscrit into English, would prove a performance of some interest; but that the value of the work before us is considerably diminished, by coming through the medium of a Persic translation. It is still further reduced, by the injudicious plan adopted by the Latin translator; insomuch, that nothing less than the beatitude promised by Dara Shecuh, at the conclusion of his preface, to those who shall read and understand it, could induce any one to persevere in such an attempt, through the medium of M. Anquetil's version.

ART. XIV. *Poems.* By Mrs John Hunter. London: Printed by Bensley. 8vo. 1802.

THESE poems have some merit; but their beauties are not of the very highest order. They are chiefly remarkable for a modest simplicity, both of thought and expression; and are composed, in general, with an unambitious plainness, that aims only at the natural representation of moderate affection; and escapes the dangers of extravagance, by renouncing all pretension to magnificence, force, or novelty.

There is, in fact, no flow, either of words or of soul, in the compositions of this poetess; no exuberance of fancy, or brilliancy of diction; but a timid and constrained succession of correct and obvious sentiments, in tame and perspicuous language. She neither rises into grandeur, nor sinks into graceful familiarity; and wants not only the energy that is necessary for great undertakings, but the facility by which little ones are performed with applause. Though her subjects are not often very arduous or extensive, she seems afraid to trust herself into them too far: she throws an unassured and faltering hand across the lyre; and, after striking a few ordinary notes, hurries forward to a conclusion, as if embarrassed with her task, or fatigued with the petty exertion.

Though in general but little disposed to venture out of the safe and beaten track, she has been sometimes tempted to transgress into originality. The effort, however, seems too violent to produce a very pleasing effect; and it is rather surprise than admiration, that is excited by such cold and laborious extravagance.

We shall quote only the following recipe for making a lamp to burn in the shrine of *Bona Fortuna.*

> 'It shall be form'd of silent tears,
> Slow dropping in the cave of Care,
> Through the cold gloom of ling'ring years,
> Congeal'd to crystal by Despair.' p. 58.

The following lines, describing the departure of the gloomy month of November, indicate the same heavy exaggeration, united to a greater degree of obscurity and incoherence.

> 'Why sudden stops my struggling breath,
> Why heaves so strong my aching breast?
> Hark! sounds of horror sweep the troubled glade!
> Far on a whirlwind borne the fatal month is fled!
> 'I watch'd his flight, and saw him bear
> To Saturn's orb the sullen band;
> Where Winter chills the ling'ring year,
> And gloom eternal shades the land.
> On a lone rock, far in a stormy main,
> In cheerless prison pent, I heard the ghosts complain.' p. 4.

Whenever any of Mrs Hunter's poems, indeed, exceed twenty lines, we commonly find the composition extremely disjointed and abrupt. *La Douce Chimere* is the affected title prefixed to a very indifferent ode to Fancy, in which the following lines, though a little fantastic, shine out among the rubbish of the remainder.

> 'Thy art can on the moon's beam send
> The heart's warm wish from friend to friend,
> Through air and ocean's waste;
> And on some bright unchanging star,
> Though absent long, and distant far,
> Remembrance may be plac'd.
> 'Tis happiness to dwell with thee;
> Whate'er we think, whate'er we see,
> Glows with a brighter dye;
> All nature wears a lively green,
> The heavens expand a blue serene,
> And man forgets to sigh.' p. 10, 11.

In some lines to the memory of Chatterton, we find nothing so remarkable, as the tremendous alexandrines that close the two following couplets.

> 'Rapid as thought arose the glowing scene,
> Till poverty, despair, and death, rush'd in between.'

And,

> 'Thy name shall live on time's recording page,
> The wonder and reproach of an enlightened age.' p. 22.

Next come five or six birth-day odes to the fair writer's son, which have more of affection and good sense in them, than of poetry or inspiration. They contain some stanzas, however, that are very pleasingly written. They are followed by a short poem 'to her daughter, on being separated from her on her marriage,' of which the following lines are amiable and elegant.

'Yet will it be, as when the past
Twin'd every joy, and care, and thought,
And o'er our minds one mantle cast
Of kind affections finely wrought?
Ah no! the groundless hope were vain,
For so we ne'er can meet again!

'May he who claims thy tender heart
Deserve its love, as I have done!
For, kind and gentle as thou art,
If so belov'd, thou'rt fairly won.
Bright may the sacred torch remain,
And cheer thee till we meet again!' p. 33, 34.

'Carisbrook Castle' is the longest performance in the volume; but we cannot give it much praise. It begins with an invocation to 'the queen of inventive thought,' to 'lend her lightly quivering beams;' and proceeds on the old melancholy system of rousing one of the old inhabitants of the edifice from his grave, to frown and make speeches among its ruins at midnight. The antient legend of Carisbrook unfortunately contains but a few obscure incidents; and Mrs Hunter, in spite of her invocation, does not help out their scantiness by any act of invention. King Charles, of course, is the principal figure; but he is very ill drawn; and, though plentifully bepraised and bewailed, excites scarcely any interest in the reader. What, indeed, can be done with such a stanza as the following?

'Why didst thou seek this luckless strand,
Where for thy life the toils were spread?
Hypocrisy rul'd o'er the land,
Good faith and gratitude were fled;
Yet still a loyal few remain'd,
Whose hearts allegiance true maintain'd;
But fate forbade their hope to save,
And led thee through a maze of sorrow to the grave.' p. 45.

The poem concludes with this most lamentable quartain—

'Sure, dastard fear must have supprest
The groan which heav'd a nation's breast:
'Tis ours in happier times to prove
The monarch's safety in his people's love.' p. 48.

It would be invidious to quote any more of this lady's alexandrines; but we would be glad to know what she means by 'the pure *endless* universal mind;' or how she proposes to extricate the construction of the following stanza.

> 'See from its centre bends the rifted tower,
> Threat'ning the lowly vale with frowning pride,
> O'er the scar'd flocks that seek its shelt'ring side,
> A fearful ruin o'er their heads to pour.' p. 65.

The 'Songs and Ballads,' many of which have been for some time familiar to the lovers of music, appear to us by far the most valuable part of the publication. They are by no means, however, without great faults. 'The Wandering Lady,' whose song is said to be founded on a true story (though it contains no story at all), addresses her whole ditty to her *sheep*, like any shepherdess of romance.

> 'My sheep, *companions kind and true*,
> Yes, I can feel a pang for you.' &c. p. 77.

We had really imagined that this senseless jargon was out of fashion even with our sweet-singers. Throughout the songs, we meet with too many of the feeble expletives of our common ballads. One loving damsel insists upon following her swain abroad,

> 'On all his wandering steps to wait,
> And give the comfort *in her pow'r*.'

This, however, seems to be a favourite phrase; for we find it again. Another damsel complains—

> 'This anxious aching bosom finds
> No comfort in its power.'

Another enters into a hall, full

> 'Of lords, and knights, and ladies fair,
> Who *silent all remain*.'

These lines have not much meaning. There are others, however, that are altogether unintelligible; as,

> 'Where the green ivy twining,
> *Binds round the burn's brow*.'

Or,

> 'Plunge them in seas of melted ore,
> *Crown them with poniards* dip'd in gore.'

The best songs in the book are those that are best known; though there are several which we do not remember to have met with before, that possess very considerable merit. We insert the following.

'Time may Ambition's nest destroy,
Though on a rock 'tis perch'd so high,
May find dull Av'rice in his cave,
And drag to light the sordid slave;
But from Affection's temper'd chain
To free the heart he strives in vain.

'The sculptur'd urn, the marble bust,
By time are crumbled with the dust;
But tender thoughts the muse has twin'd,
For love, for friendship's brow design'd,
Shall still endure, shall still delight,
Till time is lost in endless night.' p. 66.

The following stanzas seem to have been composed in imitation of our older song-writers.

'Far, far from me my love is fled,
In a light skiff he tempts the sea,
The young Desires his sails have spread,
And Hope his pilot deigns to be.

'The promis'd land of varied joy,
Which so delights his fickle mind,
In waking dreams his days employ,
While I, poor I, sing to the wind.

'But young Desires grow old and die,
And Hope no more the helm may steer;
Beneath a dark and stormy sky
Shall fall the late repentant tear.' p. 98, 99.

There is not much meaning in the succeeding lines; but they are rather pretty.

'O tuneful voice, I still deplore
Those accents which, though heard no more,
Still vibrate on my heart;
In Echo's cave I long to dwell,
And still would hear the sad farewell,
When we were doom'd to part.

'Bright eyes, O that the task were mine,
To guard the liquid fires that shine,
And round your orbits play;
To watch them with a vestal's care,
And feed with smiles a light so fair,
That it may ne'er decay.' p. 103.

Those lines, also, are not without spirit—

'Ah, to forget! the wish were vain!
Our souls were form'd thus fond to be;

No more I'll murmur and complain,
For thou, my love, wilt think on me.

'Silent and sad, I take my way,
As fortune deigns my bark to steer;
Of hope a faint and distant ray
Our far divided days shall cheer.

'Ah! to return, to meet again!
Dear blissful thought! with love and thee!
No more I murmur and complain,
For thou, my love, wilt think on me.' p. 96.

Upon the whole, we are of opinion that this volume will scarcely carry down the name of its author to a very distant generation. The greater part of the pieces it contains may be said to be very decently written: but they are extremely deficient in fire and animation; and are neither calculated to move by their pathos, nor to enchant by their beauty. Mrs Hunter appears, from her book, to be a very amiable and accomplished woman: but poetry really does not seem to be her vocation; and rather appears to have been studied as an accomplishment, than pursued from any natural propensity. Her verses are such as we might expect from half of our well-educated ladies, if poetry were to be taught, like music or painting, in the ordinary course of female instruction, and odes and elegies exacted at the boarding school with as much rigour as concertos and pieces in crayons.

ART. XV. *Observations on the two lately discovered Celestial Bodies.* By William Herschell, LL. D. F. R. S. From Phil. Trans. 1802.

OUR astronomical readers are acquainted with the interesting discoveries which have, within the space of a few months, introduced to our acquaintance two new celestial bodies; the one named *Ceres*, by its discoverer Piazzi; the other called *Pallas*, by its discoverer Olbers. Our own indefatigable astronomer Dr Herschell, who has himself, by his numerous and accurate observations, so far extended the bounds of human knowledge, appears to have directed his attention, without loss of time, to the new and interesting field of observation opened to him by his brethren on the Continent. The results of his first inquiries were, as might be expected, extremely interesting. He found that the magnitude of these supposed planets, or, as he calls them, moving stars, was much inferior to that of the other primary planets, or even of their satellites. Thus he found that Ceres has a diameter only three eighths the diameter

of the moon. In the present paper, besides extending the same observation, and the same conclusions to Pallas also, this excellent astronomer has given us a set of new and accurate observations, tending to establish some very singular and interesting facts. We hold it to be a duty indispensably incumbent on us to present our readers with a sketch of this very valuable paper.

The first remarkable circumstance that strikes us in all the observations, is the great difference between the real magnitudes and the lucid disks. By one measurement with the most delicate micrometer, expressly adapted for the purpose of such experiments, the real diameter of Ceres was found to be only three fourths of the lucid disk; and that of Pallas only two thirds. The angle which the former subtends, was found to be only 0″.38: that of the latter no more than 0″.13. He calculates, by a rough estimate, that the diameter of Ceres is only 161.6 miles, and that the diameter of Pallas is no more than $110\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

From the very small quantity of matter which these bodies contain, we cannot expect that they can have any satellites: accordingly, various observations concurred to convince Dr Herschell that this is consistent with truth. He also determined that Ceres has a visible disk, but that Pallas cannot be discovered to have any. The last set of observations are extremely important for ascertaining the precise nature of the two new bodies. By them it is ascertained, that both the stars have at all times a small coma or haziness, which grows denser near the nucleus.

Our author next proceeds to make his observations upon the results of these inquiries. He begins by defining planets to be celestial bodies of a considerable size and small eccentricity of orbit, moving in planes not very different from that of the earth, in direct curves, at considerable distances from each other, with no atmospheres that bear any proportion to their diameters, and of bulk sufficient to retain satellites in their orbits. It is evident that, with this definition, the new stars but ill agree. Our author then defines comets to be very small celestial bodies, moving in directions wholly undetermined, and in most eccentric orbits, situated in every variety of position, and having very extensive atmospheres. Although the definition agrees in most particulars with the circumstances of the new stars, it differs in that of the atmosphere, which, in the comets, is at the very least a hundred times greater than the diameter of the nucleus, and in the new stars is only a few times greater. Dr Herschell therefore maintains, that these bodies are neither referable to the class of comets nor planets; but he gives them the name of Asteroids, which he thus defines.

'Asteroids are celestial bodies, which move in orbits either of little or of considerable eccentricity, round the sun, the plane of which may

be inclined to the ecliptic in any angle whatsoever. Their motion may be direct or retrograde; and they may or may not have considerable atmospheres, very small comas, disks, or nuclei." p. 229.

Having thus followed the Doctor through his very interesting speculations, we must now proceed to the more invidious, but equally necessary part of our office, and offer a few remarks upon the Doctor's theory; premising, that we rely with the most implicit confidence on the accuracy of his observations, from long experience of his great skill, patience and fidelity, and from our knowledge of the unrivalled excellence of his instruments. It is to his conclusions alone that we object; and, with all possible deference, we hold ourselves as well qualified to judge of the truth of these, as if we had ourselves made or verified the observations upon which they are founded.

And first, we must positively object to the unnecessary introduction of new terms into Philosophy. The science of Astronomy is, beyond any other branch of the mixed mathematics, loaded with an obscure and difficult technology. As all nations have been observers of the heavenly bodies, so all languages have contributed to form the nomenclature of the astronomer. Not only are the same bodies indifferently known by a variety of names; but, so defective is the phraseology, that no one list can be given in two or three languages, or according to two or three systems of mythology. To a person who had resided in ancient Italy and Greece, on the banks of the Nile, of the Ganges and Euphrates, in modern Europe, and amongst the Gothic nations, the astronomical technology might be natural and simple, as it is composed of all the languages spoken, all the mythologies received, and many of the court calendars published in these various countries and distant ages. Knowing, as we do, the great power of words in misleading and perplexing our ideas, we cannot allow the unnecessary introduction of a new term to escape unnoticed. Where a new object has been discovered, we cheerfully admit the right of the discoverer to give it a new name; but we will not allow a needless multiplication of terms, or an unnecessary alteration in the old classification of things, to be either justifiable or harmless, a substitute for real discovery, or a means of facilitating the progress of invention. It remains, therefore, to inquire, whether the circumstances of Ceres, or of Pallas, distinguish them from the bodies formerly known?

We cannot admit the difference of magnitude to be of any importance; while the largest and the smallest planets, Jupiter and Mercury, for instance,—the largest and smallest satellites,—the largest and smallest comets, between which the difference of magnitude is still more remarkable,—while all these bodies are several-

ly arranged under the same classes, from considerations wholly independent of their size, it is but a clumsy and cumbersome invention, to arrange a new body under a separate class, from the mere difference of its bulk. The same remark applies, though certainly with diminished force, to the other criterion assumed by the Doctor, the difference in the position of the planes of motion; and, most unquestionably, the mere circumstance of wanting satellites, is no distinguishing mark, while so many of the acknowledged planets have none; nor, indeed, is it by any means certain that, as the Doctor seems to think, the mass of matter in the new planets is insufficient to retain secondary bodies in their orbits. The proportion of their distances from the centre of the system, or their proximity to each other, is evidently no better criterion.

In short, if it shall be admitted that comets move in ellipses; that the chief difference between those bodies and planets, consists in the greater eccentricity of the cometic orbits, in the perceptible atmosphere which accompanies them, and in the state of ignition which we have every reason to believe is the cause of that atmosphere; the more philosophical view of the subject would certainly be, to consider both planets and comets as bodies of the same nature, forming different parts of one great system. Indeed, Dr Herschell himself admits the probability of the comets cooling in the process of time, and their atmosphere diminishing, so as to reduce them to the state of planets in every thing but their magnitude and eccentricity; and he applies the same remark to the case of the new bodies. Such an observation is obviously destructive of the principle of arrangement for which he contends. But whatever may be our opinion upon this subject, or however much we may be disposed to admit the propriety of distinguishing comets from planets; in the present state of our knowledge, the grand circumstance of concentricity is evidently sufficient to authorize a classification of the new bodies under the head of planets; and the discovery of them is chiefly valuable, on account of their coincidence, in certain particulars, with the nature of comets, and their differing from those bodies in the extent of their atmospheres, probably in decreased ignition. If it shall be found demonstrated, that the cometary orbits are elliptical, and not parabolic, these new planets will form a sort of link in the system, in consequence of an intermediate step between the greater and the smaller, the concentric and eccentric heavenly bodies. In the mean time we must enter our protest to the formation of a separate class, distinguished by a new and uncouth name.

Such being our opinion, it is of much less consequence to inquire whether the new name of *Asteroid* is the most appropriate

that could be imagined. To us, that name presents the idea of some body resembling fixed stars; whereas the two new planets have no one circumstance in common with those distant bodies. If a new name must be found, why not call them by some appellation which shall, in some degree, be descriptive of, or at least consistent with, their properties? Why not, for instance, call them *Concentric Comets*, or *Planetary Comets*, or *Cometary Planets?* or, if a single term must be found, why may we not coin such a phrase as *Planetoid* or *Cometoid?*

Dr Herschell's passion for coining words and idioms, has often struck us as a weakness wholly unworthy of him. The invention of a name, is but a poor achievement in him who has discovered whole worlds. Why, for instance, do we hear him talking, in page 220 of this volume, of the *space-penetrating power* of his instrument—a compound epithet and metaphor which he ought to have left to the poets, who, in some future age, shall acquire glory by celebrating his name? The greatest discoverers have scarcely ever immortalized their deeds by efforts of nomenclature. Columbus, Cabral, Gama, and Cook, left the honour of being attached to the regions which they had penetrated, to the impostors who succeeded them, or the princes and saints whom they served.

The other papers of Dr Herschell, in the late volumes of the Transactions, do not deserve such particular attention. His catalogue of 500 new nebulæ, which concludes this volume, though extremely valuable to the practical astronomer, leads to no general conclusions of importance, and abounds with the defects which are peculiar to the Doctor's writings;—a great prolixity and tediousness of narration—loose, and often unphilosophical reflections, which give no very favourable idea of his scientific powers, however great his merit may be as an observer;—above all, that idle fondness for inventing names, without any manner of occasion, to which we have already alluded, and a use of novel and affected idioms. Thus, he begins, by telling us about his *telescopic sweeps;* he then speaks of the *natural history* of the heavens; he then prelects upon the *construction of the heavens*,—an expression by which he indeed means nothing more than the arrangement of the fixed stars; but which is immediately founded upon the vulgar notion of the sky being a blue vault, and tends to support that idea. We do not object to the needless phrases of *binary sidérial systems*, of *insulated stars*, of *quintuple* and *multiple stars*, of *erratic orbits*, *clustering stars*, *multiple flexures*, *empty centres*, *stellar nebulæ*, *milky nebulosity*, *lacteous chevelure;*—these terms, though useless, clumsy, and confusing, are nevertheless sufficiently consistent and etymological. But what shall we say of such a phrase as a *straight-line orbit?* Does not this set all etymology and consist-

ency at defiance? Upon this subject, we shall not further enlarge: but Dr Herschell must excuse any of his readers, who shall either shut his book in disgust, when he heaps so many useless difficulties in their way, or shall fail to comprehend his meaning, when he thus carefully obscures it, by unintelligible and undefined terms.

To the speculations of the Doctor on the nature of the sun, contained in the last volume, we have many similar objections; but they are all eclipsed by the grand absurdity which he has there committed, in his hasty and erroneous theory concerning the influence of the solar spots on the price of grain. Since the publication of Gulliver's voyage to Laputa, nothing so ridiculous has ever been offered to the world. We heartily wish the Doctor had suppressed it; or, if determined to publish it, that he had detailed it in language less confident and flippant.

ART. XVI. *Principes d'Economie Politique, ouvrage couronné par l'Institut National, dans sa Séance du 15 Nivose, an IX; et depuis revu, corrigé et augmenté par l'Auteur.* Par N. F. Canard, Ancien Professeur de Mathématiques à l'Ecole Centrale de Moulins. Paris, 1801. 8vo.

IN the year 1800, the National Institute of France proposed the following question, as a subject of prize essays: '*Is it true, that, in an agricultural country, taxes of every description fall ultimately on the proprietors of land?*' The problem is highly important, but of very difficult solution. It has attracted the attention of economical authors, both in England and upon the Continent, for more than a century; though, prior to the speculations of Quesnai, it can hardly be said to have ever been stated in a very strict form. Since the first publication of that philosopher's discoveries, his famous project of a territorial tax has been the subject of much reasoning among French writers; whose topics on both sides were so plausible, that the argument was not yet brought to a close, when the distractions of the Revolution suspended for a while the calm discussions of philosophy. It is pleasing to observe, after the tempest has subsided, that the minds of men spring back to the same difficulties which formerly provoked their emulation, and exercised their ingenuity. Amidst, indeed, that undistinguishing reprobation of the past, which in the feelings of the populace has very naturally succeeded to fanaticism and terror, the Economists are confounded with the Jacobins and Anarchists; the enlightened advocates of regulated freedom have been classed with the most criminal disturbers of social peace. But though the name of

those virtuous sages is for a while subjected to unjust calumny, and though their excellent writings may be laid aside or prohibited, the impulse which they gave to the public mind still remains in force. The important questions which they started, again occur for investigation. The reforms of administration, which they recommended, force themselves upon the memory of those who have witnessed a change of dynasty, rather than of system. Even those prospects of political improvement, which flattered the benevolent anticipations of the economists, will soon be recognized as sound conclusions of science; and it will at length be acknowledged that Turgot, and Mirabeau, and Quesnai, were the friends of mankind, and that their genius and their labours were devoted to the refinement of social happiness, and the consolidation of the political fabric.

The prize of the National Institute was adjudged to M. Canard for a memoir, which, by subsequent alterations, he has formed into the present work. It certainly does not present a satisfactory solution of the question proposed, nor even, in our opinion, an approximation to it; on the contrary, we are inclined to suspect, that the view which he has taken of the subject is in many respects erroneous. His Essay, however, is written with considerable ability. From some of the following criticisms, it will probably appear, that he has added nothing to our knowledge of political economy, and that the style and form which he has adopted, are not very well calculated either to illustrate or to diffuse truths already ascertained. At the same time, the work will be read with pleasure by those, who, being already masters of the subject, can be gratified with the variety of aspects under which it may be considered, as well as with the comparative state of their favourite science among the learned of different countries.

In conducting his investigation of the problem proposed by the Institute, the author found himself obliged to recur to some of the fundamental principles in the theory of political economy. The truth is, that the equable diffusion, or exclusive incidence of taxes, cannot be ascertained by any direct induction of particular facts; but must be obtained synthetically, after a just analysis, both of price and of the order according to which the annual produce is distributed among the people. M. Canard has therefore given his Essay a more general title than belongs to the question which first suggested it; and he appears, by this title, to have been tempted to introduce several chapters which have no relation to the principal object of inquiry.

In the *first* chapter, the author gives an explanation of fundamental principles; or rather of the sense in which he employs certain terms: for they are stated more in the manner of defini-

tions that are assumed, than of truths to which we are conducted by analysis. He begins with illustrating a distinction between necessary and superfluous labour: by the former, he means that of which the produce is indispensably necessary to the existence and preservation of man, as well as to the continuance or replacement of stock: by the latter, he means that portion which ministers to our superfluous accommodations, and of which the produce, if not consumed in superfluous enjoyment, goes to augment the quantity of accumulated stock. He afterwards proceeds to this position, that every thing which has exchangeable value derives its price from the several quantities of labour that have successively been employed upon it. As different forms of the same proposition, he assumes, that all property consists in so much accumulated labour; and that the exchangeable value of every portion of property consists in the labour which it will purchase or command. What other writers, accordingly, have called accumulated stock or capital, he denominates *travail exigible*; and as every addition to this accumulated stock is derived from the produce of what he has styled superfluous labour, he introduces another epithet into this phrase, denominating accumulated stock *travail superflu exigible*. Proceeding in the application of these terms, he asserts, that all wealth, property, and riches, consist only of *travail superflu exigible*; and that necessary labour, being absorbed either in necessary consumption, or in the replacement of capital, can never form a part of the actual mass of riches. In the same style, he lays it down as a principle, that it is the accumulation of unconsumed superfluous labour, which creates all the sources of revenue; from which it follows, that all revenue consists in the profit of this accumulated stock.

In all this, M. Canard appears to us to display very little sagacity. He has, without any necessity, affected to change the established forms of expression; and has confounded principles which are very carefully distinguished in the works from which he evidently derived his information. In asserting that exchangeable value consists of labour stored up, he appears to have preferred the errors of our English writers to the accurate and precise notions of exchangeable value which he might have found in various excellent works, published in his own language; particularly those of M. Turgot and of the Abbé Morellet. But we shall, in another part of this article, enter into a more detailed explanation of the fallacies involved in this supposition. It appears quite a puerile mistake to say, that accumulated stock alone is wealth; and that the produce, reserved for immediate consumption, forms no portion of the mass of riches. Surely, it is the capability of being consumed, that renders any produce a part of

wealth; and if it were necessary to make a distinction, in this respect, between stock already in consumption, and stock accumulated into capital, it would be more natural and more just to say, that the latter indirectly aids the production of riches, while the former itself is wealth. It suggests also a very imperfect view of the subject to say, that accumulated wealth is the *source* of all revenue. It is unquestionably a necessary condition for the reproduction of revenue; but it is only one of several conditions, all of which are necessary. In the theory of national wealth, the natural fertility of the soil, the natural powers of human labour, and the accumulation of capital for the requisite advances, are all of them conditions of which the existence is indispensable to reproduction. It gives but a partial view of the actual arrangements of nature, to fix upon any one of them, singly, as the source of revenue: yet such is the propensity of speculative men to simplify, that each of the three conditions has been separated from the rest for that purpose. The economists selected the first; some other French writers, who have not risen to such reputation, insist upon the second; and M. Canard, with less plausibility than either, has affirmed that the source of revenue is accumulated stock. It was an unavoidable corollary from that proposition, to infer, as he has done, that all revenue consists in the profit of stock. But he loses, in this manner, the advantages of that very useful and accurate classification, which distinguishes revenue, according to the three great orders of the people among whom it is distributed, into rent, profit, and wages.

The *second* chapter, on *Money*, is a very trivial one. It contains nothing but what the author might have assumed as familiar to all his readers. The work is certainly not suited to those to whom the subject is entirely new. But this chapter does not even enumerate one half of the propositions, with regard to money, which may now be considered as perfectly well ascertained.

The subject of the *third* chapter is the *determination of the price of commodities*. It opens with a very formal and distinct enunciation of the principle, which we have already noticed in our account of the first, and which assigns the quantity of labour employed on a commodity, as the essential constituent and measure of its exchangeable value. This notion, which is certainly incorrect, is far from being peculiar to M. Canard: it is much employed in the treatise of Smith on the Wealth of Nations, and has the effect of involving, in very great obscurity, all the observations which that profound author has delivered on the analysis of price. An ingenious and very learned economist * appears to have sup-

* Plan for altering the manner of collecting a large portion of the public revenue, &c. By the Earl of Lauderdale.

posed, that this principle originated with Mr Rice Vaughan, whose excellent discourse on coinage was composed during the reign of Charles I.; but it may be found in writers of a much earlier date, and, to omit the intermediate authorities, is expressly stated and illustrated in a passage of Aristotle's Ethics.* There is, indeed, no necessity of supposing, that any one of these writers borrowed the idea from his predecessors: it is one of those errors which are obviously suggested by our uncorrected notions of natural equity. As it has been admitted without suspicion, into some systematical works which deservedly possess a high reputation, and still continue to infect the reasonings of many politicians, our readers, we hope, will not be displeased that we take this opportunity of explaining our reasons for rejecting it. It is proper that we should transcribe M. Canard's statement in his own language.

'Il s'agit maintenant de déterminer ce qui fixe le prix de ce qui a de la valeur parmi les hommes. D'abord, le prix n'est autre chose que le rapport de valeur d'une chose à une autre; et comme on compare tout à la valeur de l'or ou de l'argent, le prix est le rapport de la valeur de chaque chose à celle d'une quantité déterminée de l'un ou de l'autre de ces métaux. Or, maintenant, quelle est la cause que peuvent déterminer ces différens rapports; ou, ce qui revient au même, quel est le pincipe qui assigne à chaque chose sa valeur? Il est certain d'abord que, puisque tout ce qui a du prix est le résultat du travail, la valeur d'un objet quelconque doit être en raison du travail qu'il a coûté. Il est certain, en second lieu, que, si tous les hommes étaient bornés aux besoins absolus de leur conservation, si tout leur travail était naturel, et qu'il ne différât que par le temps, ce serait la durée seule du travail qui en mesurerait la valeur: ainsi les jours et les heures seraient les unités et les fractions d'unités nominales qui détermineraient les valeurs de toutes choses. C'est probablement à de semblables divisions de temps que doivent leur première origine les unités nominales adoptées chez les différens peuples, telles que le franc, la livre sterling, le florin, etc. Mais les différentes espèces de travail appris présentent une si grande variété dans la valeur du travail, que le temps ne peut lui servir de mesure.' p. 26, 27.

When labour is said to be a measure of exchangeable value, there are two senses in which this proposition may be understood; two ways in which the labour, that is to form this measure, may be estimated. The exchangeable value of a commodity may either be measured by the quantity of labour that had been employed in its own production, or by the labour that had been employed on the commodity for which it is exchanged. According to the doctrine which we are about to examine, these two quantities of labour must have been equal. Those author-

* Ethic. Nichom. V. c. 8. Edit. Duval.

accordingly, who urge this doctrine most confidently, use, as their measure of value, sometimes the one quantity, and sometimes the other. That the value or price of an article depends on the labour that has been employed in producing it, and that the value or price of an article consists in the labour which it will purchase or command, are stated by them as the same proposition in two forms.

Though it were true, in point of fact, that what is given in exchange for a commodity is just so much labour as was employed in producing the other commodity for which it is exchanged, it would be a nugatory inference, that that labour measures the exchangeable value of the first commodity. The conclusion would reach no farther than this, that, in the exchange of two subjects, each measures the exchangeable value of the other; or that the exchangeable value of a certain quantity of any one article, may be measured by the quantity of another for which it is actually exchanged. But, in point of fact, it is not true that the thing purchased in every bargain is merely so much labour; for the value of the raw material, on which that has been employed, can neither, to use the language of mathematicians, be rejected as nothing, nor estimated as a constant quantity. The value of raw materials, like that of manufactured articles, and of labour itself, varies with the proportion of supply and demand. In some manufactures, indeed, the price of the raw material is, in proportion to the labour employed, almost infinitely small: for example, the value of the flax in a pair of lace ruffles, that of the kelp and sand in a vessel of cut glass, that of the iron and charcoal in a steel watch-spring. But, in all these instances, the supply of the raw material is abundant. There are other manufactures, in which the value of the raw material is, in proportion to that of the labour employed, by no means so small. In a shawl of Cashmere, for example, the value of the wool, which is of a very rare kind, greatly exceeds the value of all the labour bestowed in weaving and embroidering it. In the price of a diamond, the whole value of the labour employed by the miner, the lapidary, and the jeweller, may be considered as almost infinitely small in comparison of the value of that labour, if we may use the expression, which Nature has bestowed in effecting such a beautiful and rare crystallization of one of her most ordinary substances.

It is equally incorrect to say, that the exchangeable value of a commodity may be measured, or is determined, by the labour that has been employed in its production. That the wages of the whole labour, employed in production or in manufacture, form a component part of price, is an undeniable principle; in other words, that the quantity of the commodity bought must

be adequate to replace, by a circuit of other exchanges, the whole commodities advanced or consumed in the manufacture of the commodity sold. But the proper mode of introducing this principle into the theory of exchangeable value, is, not to state the value of labour as constituting the whole price, or forming an adequate measure of it, but to view it as a condition which limits the eventual supply of each commodity. If the whole quantity of commodities, advanced or consumed in the production of an article, be not replaced by its exchangeable value in the market, the supply of that particular commodity will certainly be so far lessened, until, by the influence of this diminution upon its value, that replacement is complete. But, in the actual exchange of any one commodity for any other, no regard is paid to the quantity of labour employed in producing either; the quantities, reciprocally exchanged, are proportioned by the competition between the supply and demand of both. These are subject to continual fluctuation. If of two commodities, the demand of the one is increasing at a particular time while the supply remains unaugmented, and the demand of the other is diminishing while the supply remains undiminished, it is manifest, that, at that particular time, the respective quantities of the two commodities exchanged for each other may have cost, in their production, very unequal quantities of labour. Quantities of labour, it is probable, very nearly equal, are expended, in order to send to the London market the finest black and the finest blue cloths. But a sudden death in the royal family will raise the price of black cloth to the height of twice or thrice that of blue; one yard of the former will be considered as exchanging for two or three yards of the latter; that is, in the language of which we dispute the propriety, a certain quantity of labour is given on the one side, for twice or thrice that quantity of labour on the other.

It is evident, that all the errors on which we have animadverted, originate in an imperfect view of the real nature of exchangeable value, and of the principle by which it is at all times regulated. We shall therefore take this opportunity of stating and explaining its definition.

The value of any commodity is the assignable quantity of any other commodity, for which an assigned quantity of the former may be exchanged. In this respect, every commodity may be considered as exchangeable for every other; and what we call the value of any one, may be expressed by assigning a quantity of any other. Under the name of commodities, in this general definition, we comprehend not only rude produce, and manufactured articles of every kind, but money, likewise, or the coined metals of every denomination, and labour of every description.

The reciprocal value of any two commodities, that is, the respective portions of each, which are exchanged for one another, is determined in every instance of exchange by competition; or by the proportion between the supply and the demand of each of the two commodities. The exchangeable value, therefore, of any two commodities is liable to vary with the variation of four circumstances, and will depend upon the result of the combined variations of all. These four circumstances are, the demand and the supply of the one commodity, and the demand and supply of the other. Whoever attempts to ascertain the variation of prices from one age to another, must, with respect to every two commodities compared together, take into consideration all of these four circumstances. There can be no doubt, that the exchangeable value of labour, that is, the quantity of corn or of cloth, for example, which is given in exchange for a certain quantity of labour, is regulated at all times by the result of the same four circumstances: the supply of that particular species of labour which is in question,—the demand for that particular labour,—the supply of the particular kind of grain or cloth in question,—and the demand for that grain, or that cloth. All of these circumstances severally affect the reciprocal value of any one kind of labour as exchanged for any one kind of grain, or for any one kind of cloth. Let us take for an example, the labour of a common ploughman, and estimate the exchangeable value of that quantity which is understood to be included in a day's work, in terms of one particular species of grain, such as oats. It is evident that the quantity of oats given in exchange for a day's labour at the plough, will become greater, if there is either a diminished supply of ploughmen, or an increased demand for them,—or an increased supply of oats, or a diminished demand for that sort of grain. On the other hand, the quantity of oats, given in exchange for a day's labour at the plough, will become less, if there is either an increased supply of ploughmen, or a diminished demand for them,—or a diminished supply of oats, or an increased demand for that sort of grain. In each of these single changes, while the three other circumstances remain permanent, the change of relative price will take place as already described. But two, or more, or all, of the four circumstances may be fluctuating at one time; and the final result of value will depend upon the degree in which the several variations cooperate, or counteract the effect of each other.

Though M. Canard has adopted, in its most unqualified form, the error which we have thus endeavoured to expose, it has not led him to any false conclusions in his account of the manner in which prices are determined. He appears to have contented himself with establishing it absolutely, as an important and fun-

damental truth in political economy; and, with an inconsistency, of which he seems unaware, proceeds to derive from the principle of mutual competition the various conclusions which he has arranged, in this fifth chapter, on the subject of prices. It may be inferred, from the details into which we have found it necessary to enter, that he has not stated that principle in the most explicit manner, nor developed all the consequences, with respect to the theory of exchange, which it involves. The style, likewise, in which he has presented the subject, is liable to great objection. He has thought proper to adopt the language and forms of algebra; and several pages, and even folded sheets, are crowded with characters and symbols. It is right that our readers should have a specimen of this, as well as of the other parts of the work. Let the difference between the highest price demanded by the sellers, and the lowest price offered by the buyers, be called L; and let x represent that part of this difference which the sellers are finally content to take in addition to the lowest price; $L - x$ will be that other portion of the difference, which the buyers finally suceeed in retrenching from the highest price. Call the desire of the buyers to purchase B, and their competition N; call the desire of the sellers to dispose of their goods b, and their competition n. It is evident that x, the portion of the difference that is paid by the buyers, will increase in proportion to their desire and their competition; x will therefore be in the ratio compounded of B and of N, or will increase as $B\,N$. For the same reason, the other portion $L - x$ will increase as $b\,n$. We have thus the following proportion, $x : B\,N :: L - x : b\,n$, which gives the equation, $b\,n\,x = B\,N\,(L - x)$, from which we get $x = \frac{B\,N}{B\,N + b\,n} L$. He proceeds through twenty pages with this calculation, into which a great many more terms, as well as new symbols, are introduced: But our readers, we conceive, have already had enough of it.

In its own province, the peculiar language of algebra will never fail to gratify those who can appreciate the admirable structure of the most perfect instrument that has yet been invented by man. But that injudicious and unskilful pedantry ought most severely to be censured, which diverts an instrument from its proper use, and attempts to remove those landmarks by which the sciences are bounded from each other. The peculiar forms of expression, which have been introduced into the modern analysis, are sanctioned by the facilities which they afford, both of perspicuous abridgement, and of prosecuting a train of investigation to new and remote results. But M. Canard has only translated, into a language less readily understood, truths, of which the ordinary enunciation is intelligible and familiar to all. We will not deny

that some branches of political economy, especially those which relate to circulation, money, and the analysis of price, admit of being treated with a precision, which almost approaches to mathematical exactness. But a subject may possess this precision, without requiring, or even admitting, the symbolic representations of algebra. We would not even exclude altogether the use of analogies borrowed from mathematical learning: they afford much delight to those minds which are habituated to pass occasionally from the vague conclusions of moral induction to the full assurance of knowledge in the stricter sciences. Both as illustrations, and as ornaments, such analogies may be introduced with the happiest effect. But the frugal and classic taste, with which Beccaria has interspersed allusions of this nature, forms a contrast to the pedantry and profusion with which M. Canard has overloaded his composition.

The *fourth* chapter treats *of the circulation of money and of credit.* It contains a tolerably correct view of the leading propositions upon that subject; but none of them are presented in a new light, or traced to any new consequences.

In the *fifth* chapter, which is entitled, *on the causes of the increase and the decline of wealth*, he professes to demonstrate, that the prosperity of states has a necessary limit; that industry and economy must ultimately give place to luxurious and wasteful expense; and that nations are destined, by a law of nature, to fluctuate in a series of changes. The opinion is far from being new; he has placed it, however, in a new aspect. The reverses, which are exhibited by the history of the most celebrated states, have suggested this melancholy idea, and, in so early an age of the world as the present, they still give it too much plausibility: yet, it may be doubted, if it be not more agreeable to the just rules of philosophical anticipation, to flatter ourselves with a prospect of unchecked improvements in opulence as in knowledge, than to acquiesce in that mournful analogy which assimilates the political fortunes of a people to the progress of individual life, and subjects to the same law of necessary alternation, the geological surface of our planet, and the prosperity of its diversified inhabitants. Whichsoever of these conclusions may ultimately be verified, one thing at present seems probable, that a just statement of the moral and political destinies of man will involve a wide range of complicated facts, and a most comprehensive view of the circumstances of his nature and condition. Upon this probability alone, we should have suspected the accuracy of M. Canard's reasonings, who compresses the statement into very great simplicity indeed, and resolves the whole explanation into a sort of arithmetical estimate.

The increase of national wealth is occasioned by the permanent excess of the annual produce above the annual consump-

tion; and this excess is determined by the prevalence of economy above extravagance; of the disposition to save and accumulate, above the passion for expense. When a nation is in this active, healthful, and flourishing condition, it gains from all other nations, according to M. Canard, an annual balance of trade proportioned to the surplus of its produce above its own consumption. This balance must ultimately be paid in the precious metals; and the increase of money, instead of being received into the channels of circulation by an augmentation of prices, is invested as an addition to productive capital or stock. In this, however, there is a natural and necessary limit. In proportion as the balance of trade increases, the competition of capitalists gradually lowers the rate of interest, as well as the profits of stock. But, in proportion as the rate of interest and profit is lowered, there is the less temptation to employ surplus wealth in the shape of capital; and, of course, there is the greater temptation to spend it as revenue. The augmentation of national wealth has a constant tendency, therefore, to discourage the spirit of accumulation, and to encourage the spirit of expense. The latter must ultimately become predominant over the former; the annual consumption will then exceed the annual produce; the balance of trade will be permanently unfavourable; and the nation will be impoverished and ruined, in a progression exactly the converse of that by which it had previously attained to wealth and grandeur. Thus, according to our author, the gradual diminution of profits and interest is at once the effect of increasing riches, and the proximate cause of that growing expenditure which swallows up all riches; and thus nations are represented as if fated to revolve for ever in a circle.

Before pointing out the fallacy of this piece of reasoning, we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise, that an author, who appears conversant with the most recent improvements of political science, should assume the reality of a balance of trade; more especially as the supposition does not form an indispensable part of his argument. That decrease in the interest of money and the rate of profits, which he views in so singular a light, might surely take place in a country which confined itself to its own inland trade, studiously avoiding the relations of foreign commerce. And there is no absurdity in believing that the balance of produce and consumption might lean either to one side or the other, in a kingdom bounded, as Berkeley has supposed, by a brazen wall of a thousand cubits. There is no need of a balance of foreign trade, paid in the precious metals, in order to realize that surplus of the annual produce, which, in a thriving country, is added to the mass of accumulated stock. The addition is made by an actual distribution of this surplus among the industrious

classes of the people: for the only difference between what he now denominates accumulation, and what we strictly call consumption, is, that the consumers are different; being, in the one case, totally unproductive of value, and, in the other, replacing what they consume.

If, in the foregoing argument of M. Canard, it were true, that the lowering of profits operates as a discouragement to the farther investment of capital, it would not be a just inference, that a progressive decline of national wealth must ensue. We should only be warranted to infer this, that the increase of national wealth had a *maximum;* that there was a point, beyond which the amount of capital, productively employed, could receive no augmentation. Every accession of wealth to the nation, over and above that amount, would be spent and consumed as revenue; because there was no temptation of profit to employ it in the form of stock: But that amount of capital would still be maintained, because, up to that point, there was an adequate profit derived from it. There would be no diminution, therefore, of the national capital, and no progressive decline of wealth. The annual produce and annual consumption would be equally balanced; the condition of the people would be stationary.

But it is very far from being true, that the diminution of profits, which originates in an increased competition of capitals, operates as a discouragement to the farther investment of capital. It is in this particular that the author appears to have misled himself through the reasonings of the present chapter. Competition unquestionably regulates profits, as well as the other elements of price. But the only reason why an increased competition lowers the rate of profit, is, that, in consequence of an enlarged capital, the amount of profits, upon the whole, is increased. A greater quantity of stock draws a larger sum of profits; that is, the motive to invest capital increases with the increase of capital. An augmentation of the stock, which is productively invested, is followed by a fall in the rate of profit; only because the actual profits, as now extended, admit of being abridged, without destroying the motive to continue that investment. And this fall of the rate, instead of causing a diminution in the amount of profits, is itself only an effect of these profits having previously been increased, and is, in fact, no more than a return towards their former amount. After a reduction of the rate has taken place, it may be said that the motive to employ a certain specific sum is less than it was. But that forms no objection; because the reduction can only take place, when the circumstances of the country are such, that the stock of all the capitalists has, upon an average, received a proportionate augmentation. That augmentation arises out of an excess of the annual

produce above consumption, which depends upon natural habits of industry and economy, and must, of course, diffuse an increase equably among the various individual capitals, of which the national capital is composed.

The present circumstances of the world, in general, or of any particular nation, do not permit us to anticipate a period at which the enlargement of productive capital can be supposed to attain a *maximum*. Such is the re-action of expense and reproduction upon each other, that, in order to define that *maximum* in general terms, it would previously be necessary to assign the ultimate limit, both of produce and of consumption. But the prolific virtue of the soil, as well as the effective powers of industry, the numbers of the human species, as well as the multiplication of luxurious wants, have each of them a range of possible extension, which, to our apprehension, must be pronounced indefinite.

We cannot pretend to explain the contents of the *sixth* chapter. It is entitled, *General Point of View*, and is occupied with a long suffocating parallel, between the circulation of merchandize and money, in opposite currents or canals, and, what is held to be perfectly similar, the circulations of venous and arterial blood in the vascular system. It is a simile of about twenty pages, and is introduced to the indulgence of the reader, by the following expressions.

'On a vu ci-dessus l'espèce de similitude qu'il y a entre la circulation du sang et celle du travail. *Prolongeons* cet aperçu *autant qu'il peut s'étendre*, et analysons tous les traits de ressemblance qu'il y a entre ces deux espèces de circulation. Il est nécessaire auparavant d'exposer le tableau de la circulation du sang.' p. 107.

An offence of such magnitude, against all the rules both of taste and of scientific method, lies beyond the reach of our animadversion, being quite unprovided for in the criminal code of criticism. We shall therefore content ourselves with remarking, that scarcely any subject has been more unfortunately exposed to injudicious analogy, than that of the circulation of money. This very title, indeed, involves a false metaphor. In an article of our former Number,* we pointed out a singular mistake, into which Dr Smith has been led, by admitting certain figurative expressions into his reasonings, with regard to paper-money. Another proof occurs at present to our recollection, of the folly of indulging in these analogies, however briefly they may be stated. Dr Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, calls money 'the great *wheel* of circulation,' and paper-money 'a new and less expensive wheel.' Mr Hume says, in his Political Discourses, 'money is *none* of the wheels of trade; it is the *oil* which renders the motion of the wheels more smooth and easy.'

* *Vide* p. 179.

The *seventh* chapter treats of *States in their mutual relations.* It contains a tolerably distinct abridgment of those reasonings and illustrations, by which Dr Smith has exposed the errors of the mercantile sytem. We mean to say, that it is immediately abridged from the Wealth of Nations; though M. Canard makes no acknowledgment of this. It was with much pleasure that we found those liberal and enlightened maxims, with respect to the foreign relations of commerce, in a work which has been sanctioned by the approbation of the National Institute. At the present important crisis, the prevalence of such views, among the leading statesmen of France, might prove of permanent and essential benefit to the world.

In the first part of the *eighth* chapter, the title of which is *Taxation*, he professes to resolve very clearly the question proposed by the Institute, to which he gives a decided negative. He endeavours to show, that taxes diffuse themselves equally over all the different branches of revenue, on whatever branch they may nominally be imposed; and whether they are levied at the source of revenue or upon consumption. But, of this proposition, he has not presented any proof which to us appears satisfactory. He explains his argument by stating a case. The rent of land, he assumes, is settled, like the price of any commodity, by the reciprocal competition of the landlord or seller, and of the farmer or buyer. If, at the moment when they are about to conclude a bargain, the state imposes a tax upon rent, their reciprocal competition will still operate in such a manner that this tax will be equally shared between the two. What is true of the landlord and farmer, is true of all persons in the relation of buyer and seller; and every tax, affecting the subject of sale, will be proportioned between them, whether it be nominally imposed on the one or upon the other. But if this holds with regard to a single buyer and a single seller, a little consideration will satisfy us, that it must hold equally with regard to a succession of many buyers and sellers; and whether the tax be imposed upon the original seller, or upon the first consumer, or upon any one of the intermediate purchasers, it will, in all cases, be proportionally paid by all. Now, this argument is certainly erroneous; inasmuch as it proceeds upon the assumption, that the contract between a proprietor of land and his farmer is exactly of the same kind with a bargain about any vendible commodity. The contrary of this is a point very clearly ascertained; and about which even those writers are agreed, who are most hostile to the project of a territorial impost; and who deny, most confidently, the ultimate incidence of taxes upon the neat produce of land. The rent which accrues to the landlord, is all that portion of the produce, however great or however small it may be, which remains

after the whole stock or expenses of the farmer are replaced, together with their profits at the usual rate. The whole effect of competition on the part of the landlord is, that he shall draw no less than this surplus; the whole effect of competition on the part of the farmer is, that the landlord shall draw no more. But what the amount of that surplus may be, depends neither upon the landlord nor the farmer, but upon the fertility of the earth and the bounty of nature. When a tax, therefore, is imposed, which directly affects the bargain between these two parties, it never can be shared between them; because the farmer already derives no more from the land than the replacement of his stock, with its necessary profits: any part of the tax that he might be supposed to pay would, in truth, form an additional advance, for which it would be necessary that he should be reimbursed. The whole tax is a certain annual expense, a certain portion of capital annually advanced, the whole of which must be replaced out of the annual reproduction, before the surplus or neat produce can be set aside for the landlord. Instead of being shared between him and the farmer, it is wholly deducted from that surplus which constitutes the rent.

We are rather inclined to believe, that the same train of reasoning, which thus proves that all taxes on land are paid by the proprietor alone, requires very little extension, in order to lead us to a more general conclusion, that all taxes whatever ultimately fall on the neat surplus of the annual reproduction. The argument, perhaps, has not yet been stated in such a form as to leave no room for objection; but this proposition appears to us the nearest approximation to truth, that has yet been offered upon the subject. It forms a necessary part, as most of our readers must be aware, of the system maintained by the followers of Quesnai; but, in the examination of that system by its antagonists, and even in the illustration of it by its most intelligent admirers, a line of distinction has not always been sufficiently marked between the theoretical conclusion, or general fact, of the ultimate incidence of taxes, and the practical scheme of a direct territorial tax. For ourselves, we will confess, that, while we entertain more than doubts with respect to the expediency of the latter, we have very little hesitation as to the truth of the former. At any rate the one is not a necessary inference from the other; for, in proceeding to discuss the practicability of that project, other principles and views of political economy must be brought into consideration. Though taxes are finally paid out of the neat produce, it may perhaps be more expedient that they should be drawn from it circuitously than directly: because the productiveness of a tax is not the only circumstance to which a wise states-

man will attend; and because it is not quite demonstrated, that a circuitous tax must be less productive than a direct one.

But although the territorial incidence of all taxes does not appear to suggest necessarily a direct impost upon land, which is the great practical tenet of the economists, it is intimately and necessarily connected with their great theoretical tenet, as to the source of national riches. These two positions, indeed, are involved in each other; or rather they may be said to form two views of the same general fact, one of which presents it indirectly. Reflecting upon this circumstance, of the logical relation that apparently subsists between these two assertions, it has sometimes struck us as a sort of presumptive evidence in favour of the economical theory, that each of them had separately presented itself to reflecting minds, long before the French philosophers had incorporated them together in a systematic demonstration. It may be said of all great and permanent discoveries, which have unfolded the operations of nature, that some occasional gleams of light broke out from time to time, before the full truth was revealed. The whole history of the mathematical and physical sciences forms a continued illustration of this remark. Nor does it fail to be true in those branches of knowledge which are supposed to present a less appropriate field of discovery. In the philosophy of mind, for example, the great fact of association was obscurely perceived by Hobbes, and even by Aristotle; the true theory of abstract signs was almost in possession of the schoolmen: Some of the French grammarians had nearly approached that interesting fact in the history of language which Mr Horne Tooke has the full merit of having ascertained: And, not to multiply instances too much, the two great discoveries by which Mr Hume and Bishop Berkeley have effected such a memorable revolution in metaphysics, the correct analysis of our ideas of cause, and the precise limitation of our knowledge of external substances, may be traced, the former in the writings of Barrow and Aquinas, the latter in the sceptical system of Democritus. The political economist might adduce similar instances from the history of his science. That doctrine of commercial freedom, the rapid progress of which sheds so much lustre on the enlightened practice of the present age, presented itself to the mind of Fenelon, secluded, at a vast distance from the vulgar details of business, in the retreats of literature and religion. By a still more remarkable coincidence, the same truth was distinctly apprehended and zealously maintained by Sir Dudley North, * who had passed his life in the practical occupations of trade, at a time when the commercial system was

* We allude to a very remarkable passage in the life of Lord Keeper Guildford, by Roger North, p. 167.

loudly and successfully recommended to all the legislatures of Europe, both by merchants and by speculative economists. That principle, with regard to the primary and essential source of wealth, the elucidation of which has given political economy a new form, or rather first gave a strict scientific form to that subject, has been detected in some obscure authors, whose names and writings are now only sought after on account of this casual anticipation: It is likewise stated in a much more remarkable manner by a philosopher of antiquity, whose name once exercised a despotic authority, and whose writings have for some time sunk into unmerited neglect. * The curious fact also which suggested these reflections, that of the ultimate incidence of all taxes upon the neat produce of land, was very distinctly perceived by Mr Locke. It may be considered, we have already said, as a sort of presumption for the truth of the economical theory, that the two propositions of which it consists, and which are intimately connected with each other, had thus separately and independently occurred to the most cultivated understandings, by which, in former times, the relations of political economy were examined.

The most correct and regular demonstration, therefore, of the territorial incidence of taxes, would consist in a deduction of that evidence on which the fundamental principle of Quesnai's system exists. As the full development of this analysis, however, would occupy a larger space than is consistent with the plan of the present article, we shall present the subject in an indirect form, which, within the limits to which we are confined, may be better adapted to the majority of our readers. We intend to show, that, in the celebrated treatise of Dr Smith, though that author denies the ultimate incidence of taxes upon land, the principles which he has established involve this conclusion. That Smith did not precisely distinguish the real import of the economical system, is now confessed, we believe, even by those who agree with him in rejecting it. We are further satisfied that he derived a much larger portion of his reasonings from them, than he himself perhaps recollected; that his principles on the formation and distribution of national riches approached more nearly to those of Quesnai, than he was himself aware; and that, to have recognised an entire coincidence, it was only necessary for him to have followed out his analysis a few steps farther.

In that amusing, but not very instructive part of the Wealth of Nations, which treats of taxation, it is admitted, in the first place, that no tax can fall upon the wages of labour; though even advanced by the labourer, it must be replaced to him by his employer, and is therefore finally paid either out of the pro-

* *Vid.* Arist. de Repub. I. 8.—12.

fits of stock, or out of the rent of land. It is farther admitted, that no tax can fall upon the profits of stock: Though advanced by the employer of stock, it must be replaced to him, either by the consumers in an augmented price, or by the landlord in a diminished rent, or by the monied capitalist in a diminished rate of interest. But the interest of money differs in no respect from the immediate profits of stock; it is precisely of the same nature; and, in the operations of national wealth, is governed by the same rules. All taxes, therefore, whether imposed upon the wages of labour, or upon the profits of stock, are finally paid, either by the consumers in an increase of price, or by the landlord in a diminution of rent. Now, the consumers compose the whole population of the state; they can only pay taxes, as they pay all the other parts of price, out of their respective revenues; and these revenues must be derived from wages, from profit, or from rent. But no taxes can ultimately fall, either on profit or on wages; wherefore those, which are levied on consumers, are all ultimately paid from rent. We are thus led, from the admissions of Dr Smith, to conclude, that all taxes, however levied, are finally incident upon the neat produce, and are ultimately paid by the landlord either in a diminution of his rent, or in an increase of the wages and prices which, out of his actual rent, he distributes among the other classes of the community.

The remainder of M. Canard's eighth chapter is occupied with a disquisition on the best form of taxation, and on the effects with which every new tax is accompanied upon the general system of circulation. The observations which compose this disquisition, though in our opinion fundamentally erroneous, will be useful in suggesting to the reader several points of view, from which the theory of finance may, with advantage, be considered. The author's conclusions, however, are all derived from that principle of the equal diffusion of taxes, on which we have already stated our opinion. It has conducted him to several results, which, though by no means new, are very different from the ideas in which the most judicious writers on finance appear at present to acquiesce: such as, that the most expedient taxes are those which are imposed upon the necessaries of the poor; that in whatever manner a tax be placed, its effects upon the various branches of industry, and employments of stock, will ultimately adjust themselves in a perfect equilibrium; that, until this equilibrium is restored, every tax must be attended with the various inconveniences that result from an artificial derangement in the system of competition and exchanges; and that, therefore, every old tax is good, and every new tax pernicious. Some of these positions appear inconsistent with each other; and all of them might be shown, from various considerations, to be full of error. But it

is unnecessary, we hope, to enter into a more formal confutation of them, than that which is implied in the remarks we have already made on the principles from which they have been derived by our author.

The *last* chapter treats of the *Funding System*, and presents a mixture of judicious observations, with some very unsound maxims of policy. The practice of loans, or anticipations of the public revenue, is justified by the expediency of distributing unusual advances over a succession of years, both in order to equalize the annual expenditure, and to secure a prompt supply upon occasions of emergency. With reference to the practicability of the funding system, M. Canard considers nations under several different points of view,—as territorial, and as commercial states; and, under each of these two aspects, as in a stationary, advancing, or declining condition. For the remarks which he has brought together in this discussion, we must refer our readers to the original work, in which they will derive some instruction, and some amusement, from the geometrical precision with which he successively considers the several cases in this series of suppositions. The most prominent and the most objectionable of his positions is deduced from those reasonings, contained in the fifth chapter, of which we have already endeavoured to expose the fallacy. As nations, according to him, may acquire a surplus of wealth above what can possibly be employed as capital, and as it is this surplus which destroys the national spirit of accumulation, and undermines the national prosperity, the funding system, or the art of loans, presents itself as a most salutary expedient for absorbing the superfluity, and, by consequence, for retarding the commencement of national decline. Every loan, therefore, (for M. Canard cannot refuse a metaphor), is a wholesome bleeding, which relieves the political body from a plethoric malady. And he does not scruple to deliver it as his opinion, that if it had not been for those financial operations, by which England has accumulated her immeasureable debt, the superabundance of wealth would long ago have plunged her into that course of decline, from which, even in spite of her funding system, she cannot long be preserved. After the strictures which we formerly made on the principle from which these conclusions are derived, we deem it unnecessary to offer any further repetition of them. They appear a match to any of the speculative follies to which the national debt has given birth. When we consider at once M. Canard's attachment to professional forms, and his unquestionable knowledge of the principles of political economy, we may reasonably be surprised that these consequences, on the subject of the funding sys-

tem, did not strike him as a *reductio ad absurdum* of his theory, with regard to the necessary decline of national wealth.

Upon the whole, if we leave this work with a favourable impression, it is less from any permanent utility which we conceive it to possess, than from the specimen it affords of the talents of the author. He shows a more extensive acquaintance with economical speculations, than has always appeared in the books that have recently been brought to this country from France,—though we have found it necessary, on several occasions, to point out errors which more accurate reading would have enabled him to avoid. There is also a considerable degree of ingenuity in the turn which he has given to certain discussions; but we do not find that his peculiar mode of considering them has conducted him to any new results, or has enabled him to make any addition to our stock of political truths. Some advantage, however, is gained by a careful and even minute examination of such publications; because we are forced to recur to our first principles, and to undertake a scrutiny of the propositions in which we have formerly acquiesced. By frequent retrospects of this kind, we are placed in firmer possession of the discoveries that have been made; and the boundary of our real acquisitions is more accurately delineated. It has been the aim of the foregoing criticism to assist such of our readers as may be disposed to examine, in this strict manner, the memoir of M. Canard.

ART. XVI. *The Bakerian Lecture on the Theory of Light and Colours.* By Thomas Young, M.D. F.R.S. Professor of Natural Philosophy of the Royal Institution. (From Philosophical Transactions for 1802, Part I.)

As this paper contains nothing which deserves the name, either of experiment or discovery, and as it is in fact destitute of every species of merit, we should have allowed it to pass among the multitude of those articles which must always find admittance into the collections of a Society, which is pledged to publish two or three volumes every year. The dignities of the author, and the title of Bakerian Lecture which is prefixed to these lucubrations, should not have saved them from a place in the ignoble crowd. But we have of late observed in the physical world a most unaccountable predilection for vague hypothesis daily gaining ground; and we are mortified to see that the Royal Society, forgetful of those improvements in science to which it owes its origin, and neglecting the precepts of its most illustrious members, is now, by the publication of such

papers, giving the countenance of its high authority to dangerous relaxations in the principles of physical logic. We wish to raise our feeble voice against innovations, that can have no other effect than to check the progress of science, and renew all those wild phantoms of the imagination, which Bacon and Newton put to flight from her temple. We wish to recal philosophers to the strict and severe methods of investigation pointed out by the transcendent talents of those illustrious men, and consecrated by their astonishing success; and, for this purpose, we take the first opportunity that has been presented to us, of calling our readers' attention to this mode of philosophizing, which seems, by the title of the paper now before us, to have been honoured with more than the ordinary approbation of the Council.

The author of this paper introduced himself to the literary world, by a few desultory remarks upon a theory which he appeared to think new, but which had been previously exposed and refuted—the muscularity of the crystalline lens. Soon after this, he retracted his opinion; and a year or two ago he again brought it forward. We do not know whether or not he has once more abandoned it; but we seriously recommend to him a due reflection upon the fact, in the history of his opinions which we have just now stated. Let it teach him a becoming caution in the *publication* of his theories. A discovery in mathematics, or a successful induction of facts, when once completed, cannot be too soon given to the world. But as an hypothesis is a work of fancy, useless in science, and fit only for the amusement of a vacant hour; as its excellence depends upon its simplification and agreement with every fact that can occur; as it requires continual polishing, touching and retouching, in order to adapt it to the phenomena, the inventor comes precisely under that description of persons to whom the Roman satirist uttered those memorable injunctions, '*Sæpe vertas stylum*'—and '*Nonum prematur in annum.*' To justify the apparent severity of these strictures, we quote, in the author's own words, a few specimens of his vibratory and undulatory mode of reasoning.

In the present paper, page 43, we meet with the following sentence.

'I am sorry to be obliged to recal here the assent which I was induced to give, at first sight, to a late author.' Vide *Phil. Trans. for* 1800, p. 28.

And, in another paper of Dr Young in this very volume, we meet with the following passage, page 393.

'The colours of mixed plates suggested to me an idea, which, it appears, leads to an explanation of the dispersion of colours by refraction, more simple and satisfactory than that which I advanced in the last Bakerian lecture.'

And again, in page 395, there is another correction or modification, as our author is pleased to call it, of another supposition in the same paper. It is difficult to argue with an author whose mind is filled with a medium of so fickle and vibratory a nature. Were we to take the trouble of refuting him, he might tell us, '*My opinion is changed, and I have abandoned that hypothesis: but here it another for you.*' We demand, if the world of science, which Newton once illuminated, is to be as changeable in its modes as the world of taste, which is directed by the nod of a silly woman, or a pampered fop? Has the Royal Society degraded its publications into bulletins of new and fashionable theories for the ladies who attend the Royal Institution? *Proh pudor!* Let the Professor continue to amuse his audience with an endless variety of such harmless trifles; but, in the name of Science, let them not find admittance into that venerable repository which contains the works of Newton, and Boyle, and Cavendish, and Maskelyne and Herschell.

These remarks lead us to observe, that perpetual fluctuation and change of ground is the common lot of theorists. An hypothesis which is assumed from a fanciful analogy, or adopted from its apparent capacity of explaining certain appearances, must always be varied as new facts occur, and must be kept alive by a repetition of the same process of touching and retouching, of successive accommodation and adaptation, to which it originally owed its puny and contemptible existence. But the making of an hypothesis is not the discovery of a truth. It is a mere sporting with the subject; it is a sham fight, which may amuse in the moment of idleness and relaxation, but will neither gain victories over prejudice and error, nor extend the empire of Science. A mere theory is in truth destitute of all pretensions to merit of every kind, except that of a warm and misguided imagination. It demonstrates neither patience of investigation, nor rich resources of skill, nor vigorous habits of attention, nor powers of abstracting and comparing, nor extensive acquaintance with nature. It is the unmanly and unfruitful pleasure of a boyish and prurient imagination, or the gratification of a corrupted and depraved appetite.

If, however, we condescend to amuse ourselves in this manner, we have a right to demand, that the entertainment shall at least be of the right sort—that the hypothesis shall be so consistent with itself, and so applicable to the facts, as not to require perpetual mending and patching—that the child which we stoop to play with shall be tolerably healthy, and not of the puny, sickly nature of Dr Young's productions, which have scarcely *stamina* to subsist until the fruitful parent has furnished us with a new litter; to make way for which, he knocks on the head, or more barbarously exposes the first.

Our readers are well acquainted with the name of Euler. They probably know also how inadequate his success as a natural philosopher was to sustain the high fame which his mathematical achievements had gained to him. His optical hypothesis of vibrations has been universally rejected since the moment it was first published. But, in an evil hour, it fell in Dr Young's way, some time during the year 1800; and, that it did not light in a barren place, we are entitled to conclude, from the Doctor having already produced no less than three huge papers upon it. The object of the one now before us, as well as the author's notions of philosophizing, may be conveniently gathered from the following passage.

'The object of the present dissertation is not so much to propose any opinions which are absolutely new, as to refer some theories which have been already advanced, to their original inventors, to support them by additional evidence, and to apply them to a great number of diversified facts, which have hitherto been buried in obscurity. Nor is it absolutely necessary, in this instance, to produce a single new experiment; for of experiments there is already an ample store, which are so much the more unexceptionable, as they must have been conducted without the least partiality for the system by which they will be explained. Yet some facts, hitherto unobserved, will be brought forward, in order to show the perfect agreement of that system with the multifarious phenomena of nature.'

We read this passage without much emotion, unless perhaps we might be inclined to pity the misguided pursuits of an ingenious man, who seems to have systematized into a sort of theory the method of wasting time. The following passage, however, excited somewhat of a livelier interest.

'A more extensive examination of Newton's various writings has shown me that he was in reality the first that suggested such a theory as I shall endeavour to maintain; but his own opinions varied less from his theory, than is almost universally supposed; and that a variety of arguments have been advanced, as if to confute him, which may be found, nearly in a similar form, in his own works, and this by no less a mathematician than Leonard Euler, whose system of light, as far as it is worthy of notice, was either, or might have been, wholly borrowed from Newton, Hooke, Huygens, and Malebranche.'

Those who are attached, as all may be with the greatest justice, to every doctrine which is stamped with Newtonian approbation, will probably be disposed to bestow on these considerations so much the more of their attention, as they appear to coincide more nearly with Newton's own opinions.

A little farther acquaintance, however, with the Doctor's paper has convinced us, that he is as little scrupulous in his quotations, as in his theories; that he delights as much to twist an

authority, as to torture a fact; and, according to his usual vibratory method, after a second examination of the Newtonian writings, has changed the opinion which his first perusal gave him of their signification. A still farther examination of those difficult and sublime speculations of a real philosopher, will make the Doctor acquainted with the nature of his theory, and induce him to abandon the Eulerian hypothesis, if he continues to admit it on the supposition of its being stamped with Newton's authority. Whilst we state this, we are far from meaning to admit the criterion of authority appealed to by our author. We hold the highest authority to be of no weight whatever in the court of Reason; and we view the attempt to shelter this puny theory under the sanction of great names, as a desperate effort in its defence, and a most unwarrantable appeal to popular prejudice. But nothing can be more manifest, than that Dr Young grossly mistakes the opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, in order to obtain the apparent sanction of his authority for his theory. In what light that modest and cautious philosopher viewed the hypothesis of an ether, we have had an opportunity of showing in our last Number. * It is evident from his own words, which we have there quoted, that the existence of this medium is only stated by him as a vague hypothesis, which deserved no credit, unless for its applicability to a few facts. If the most elaborate theory had been detailed by Newton upon this subject, still it would have become Dr Young to have considered, whether Newton ranked it among his propositions or his queries; whether he placed it among those things which he gave as proof, or amongst the hints which he threw out for further investigation. Now, it will be observed, that almost all the quotations made by Dr Young are from the queries subjoined to the 3d book of the Optics: A few only are taken from his earlier papers in the Philosophical Transactions; none are to be found in the Principia; and the only mention of such a thing, which we meet with in the Optics, is accompanied with an express caution against believing that this is given as any thing but a mere hypothesis, intended to assist the imagination of those who, as Newton observes, can conceive nothing without such suppositions.

Let us attend to the concluding words of the Principia, where, talking of this hypothesis, he says, '*Neque adest sufficiens copia experimentorum, quibus leges actionum hujus spiritus accuratè determinari et demonstrari debent.*' Lib 3. Schol. Gen. In the same memorable passage he tells us, *hypotheses non fingo; seu metaphysicæ seu physicæ, seu qualitatum occultarum, seu mechanicæ in philosophia experimentali, locum non habent.* And in the Introduc-

* P. 163.

tion to the Queries in the third book of the Optics, he tells us, that *he leaves them as materials for further search to others.* It is scarcely possible to conceive a wider difference than that which subsists between the philosophy of Newton and the philosophy of Dr Young. While the former utterly rejects hypotheses, and asserts that our stock of facts upon the subject of the ether is insufficient; the latter says that we have enow of experiments, and that we only require to have a stock of hypotheses. Newton proposes queries for the investigation of his successors. Dr Young claims the inheritance, and vainly imagines that he fulfils this destination, by ringing changes on these hypotheses; arguing from them, as if they were experiments or demonstrations; twisting them into a partial coincidence with the clumsy imaginations of his own brain; and pompously parading, what Newton left as hints, in a series of propositions, with all the affectation of system. After all, it may be said, Newton amused himself with hypotheses, and so may Dr Young. Admitting that the Doctor's relaxations were the same with his predecessor's, it must be remembered, that the Queries of Newton were given to the world at the close of the most brilliant career of solid discovery, that any mortal was ever permitted to run. The sports in which such a veteran might well be allowed to relax his mind, are mere idleness in the raw soldier who has never fleshed his sword; and though the world would gaze with interest upon every such occupation in the former, they would turn with disgust from the forward and idle attempts of the latter to obtrude upon them his awkward gambols.

We shall add but one remark upon the absurdity of supposing that the idea of an ether, thrown out at random by Sir Isaac Newton, has the smallest affinity with the clumsy theory of Euler, and of his commentator Dr Young. After demonstrating the properties of the rays of light considered as hard and minute bodies, in order to explain the theory of vision, and the colours of thick and thin plates, or to show how the law of the *fits* discovered by induction, might be fancifully resolved into a still more general law without any induction—he amuses himself by conjecturing how the rays of light would act upon, and be affected by, an etherial, subtile medium, were the existence of such a fluid ascertained. That the concession of such an existence would enable us to resolve a variety of facts, apparently anomalous, into one general, and uniform, and sufficiently simple law, no one can entertain any doubt, who has read the passages in which this fanciful supposition is pursued by that great genius—great even in his most playful relaxations. But the clumsy hypothesis of Euler and Dr Young is, that the ether itself constitutes light; and their object is to twist the facts into some sort of an

agreement with what they conceive might be the laws of this fluid. From such a dull invention, nothing can be expected. It only removes all the difficulties under which the theory of light laboured, to the theory of this new medium, which assumes its place. It is a change of name; it teaches no truth, reconciles no contradictions, arranges no anomalous facts, suggests no new experiments, and leads to no new inquiries. It has not even the pitiful merit of affording an agreeable play to the fancy. It is infinitely more useless, and less ingenious, than the Indian theory of the Elephant and Tortoise. It may be ranked in the same class with that stupid invention of metaphysical theology, which, in order to account for the existence of evil, supposed the independent existence of an evil spirit; or that other notable contrivance, which, to explain the power of the Deity over matter, ingeniously supposed that all matter was the Deity.

Having, in general, stated our opinion of the merit which the theory may be allowed to possess, and endeavoured to show that it finds no support whatever from the Newtonian writings, we shall not detain our readers with entering into any further argument upon the paper now before us. The Doctor supports what he is pleased to call his propositions, partly by loose and strained reasoning, partly by reference to the demonstrations to be found in other authors. By a singular figure of speech—a sort of license which we presume is peculiar to the dealers in hypotheses, the Doctor refers to an unpublished work of his own, under the title of '*Young's Syllabus.*' By a still more singular condescension, he tells us, in p. 48, that it would be invidious, without necessity, to enumerate all the unsurmountable objections to the Newtonian theory of light; and although he insinuates that Sir Isaac Newton was but a sorry philosopher, and that he, Dr Young, has suddenly otherthrown his system, he candidly admits that Sir Isaac was a tolerably good maker of experiments.

We take our leave of this paper, with recommending it to the Doctor to do that which he himself says would be very easy; namely, to invent various experiments upon this subject. As, however, the season is not favourable for optical observation, we recommend him to employ his winter months in reading the *Optics*, and some of the plainer parts of the *Principia*, and then to begin his experiments by repeating those which are to be found in the former of these works. If, after that, the making of discoveries and building of systems should appear as easy as he seems at present to think it, he may proceed to apply the skill which he has learned, with that caution which becomes a true philosopher; and give the results to the world with a no less becoming modesty, of which the Newtonian writings may have afforded him the most signal examples.

ART. XVIII. *An Account of some Cases of the Production of Colours not hitherto described.* By Thomas Young, M. D. &c. (From Philosophical Transactions for 1802. Part II.)

WE are sorry to find that Dr Young is by no means more successful in making observations and experiments, than in forming systems. The new case of colours, which he affects to have discovered, has been observed a thousand times; and he has only the merit of giving an absurd and contradictory explanation of it. They are the coloured images which appear to surround a luminous body, when a hair is interposed near the eye. The Doctor says, that they arise from the interference of two portions of light, the one reflected from the fibre, the other bending round its opposite side. How this could ever produce colour, we have not sufficient fancy to discover; but this we know, that it is mathematically impossible for any portion of light to bend round one side of a hair, so far as to cross the shadow, and interfere with, or come near the light reflected from the other side. Indeed, it is absurd to talk of reflection in this case. For any reflection would manifestly carry away the light to a very different quarter. It is equally ridiculous to talk of flexion; for how should it happen that, according to the Doctor's own account (page 388.), a black hair did not produce the appearance? The Doctor's singular explanation should apply to this, as well as any other hair. In fact, these images are produced by refraction; and, accordingly, any opaque body is incapable of forming them. The observation in page 389, we have reason to think accurate, that the fringes or images extend across the image of the hair, dilated by indistinct vision. This is manifestly inconsistent with any idea of reflection or flexion; it will apply to refraction only. Now, Dr Young seems altogether to have forgot that there is such an operation as refraction: for he ascribes the halos in the atmosphere to inflection among the particles of water. It is evident that the light must be refracted in passing through these particles; nor has this ever been doubted since the days of the famous Archbishop of Spalatro.

We are next presented with some observations upon what the Doctor calls the colours of mixed plates. These are certain fringes produced by the interposition of air or water between plates of glass. Why this should be reckoned a new case, and dignified with a peculiar name, when it is only an inelegant form of the Newtonian experiment, we are utterly at a loss to comprehend. It is referred, however, to what the Doctor calls his '*general law of interference;*' a part, he says, of the undulatory system. He tells us, page 393, that he predicted the appearance of a white, instead of a black spot, if a medium of a middle

density between that of the true surrounding *media* were used by reflected light. He adds, that he verified this prediction in a manner which he announces with no small pomp.

'And I have,' says he, 'now the pleasure of stating that I have fully verified this prediction, by interposing a drop of oil of sassafras between a prism of flint glass and a lens of crown glass: the central spot seen by reflected light was white, and surrounded by a dark ring. It is, however, necessary to use some force, in order to produce a contact sufficiently intimate; and the white spot differed, even at last, in the same degree from perfect whiteness, as the black spot usually does from perfect blackness.'

Can any thing be more evident than that this appearance is precisely the one described, at least a dozen of times, in the Optics? When two optic glasses are gently pressed upon one another, we are told by Newton that the point of contact is white, surrounded with a dark ring; the same appearance happens, when a thin plate of water is viewed by reflected light. In such cases, a greater pressure makes the rings of colours emerge, by altering the thickness of the plate; and a still greater degree of pressure, by rendering the plate thinner and thinner, produces blackness: *Vide* Optics, B. ii. part 1. Obs. 1. & 4.—Indeed, the first words that strike our eye, upon turning to this celebrated induction of facts, are, '*Next to the pellucid central spot, succeeded*,' &c. Obs. 4. parag. 2. That it should not be perfectly white, we may easily expect, when we consider that some of the light is transmitted by a thin plate, in the same manner as total blackness is prevented by the partial reflection which takes place from the thinnest sort of plate. The two appearances are, in fact, precisely the same. For the same spot which appears blackish by reflected, is found to be whitish by transmitted light, and *vice versa*.

From what he calls the *prismatic analysis*, the Doctor explains the blue colour of the lower part of a candle flame. The following sentence contains a singular specimen of confusion, and of vague reasoning.

'We have only,' says he, 'to suppose each particle of tallow to be, at its first evaporation, of such dimensions as to produce the same effect as the thin plate of air, at this point, where it is about one ten-thousandth of an inch in thickness, and to reflect, or perhaps rather transmit, the mixed light produced by the incipient combustion around it; and we shall have a light completely resembling,' &c. p. 396.

The colours of flame are, it appears to us, susceptible of the most satisfactory explanation, from the doctrine of the different flexibility of light now universally admitted. The least refrangible rays being the most flexible, are most strongly attracted, and adhere with greatest force to those of the inflammable body, or of

the oxygen, whichever we suppose to be the origin of the light given out during combustion. When the application of heat, and the union of the oxygen, precipitates the light, it is obvious that those particles will be first given out, which adhered with the least force: therefore the colour of the flame will first be violet or blue. A greater force will drive off the yellow and green also, and the flame will then assume a colour composed of a mixture of these five, violet, indigo, blue, green, and yellow. Last of all, by a still greater heat, those particles will be disengaged which adhere the most strongly, namely, the orange and red; and the flame will now assume a colour which is composed of a mixture of all the seven, that is to say, white, in which the yellow predominates. Such appears to us to be the simple explanation of this interesting phenomenon, of which the colours of the candle-flame form a particular case. We have no objection to submit to the judgment of our readers, whether Dr Young's solution or ours, is the most entitled to their favour; and shall at present conclude with remarking, that our explanation will apply to the different colours of flame produced by different mixtures, as, the barytic salts, which tinge flame red—cupreous salts, which give it a green and blue colour—nitrates, which tinge it yellow and red; and also to the predominance of particular permanent tinges in the flames of certain combustible bodies. As bodies of different colours always reflect and transmit, most copiously, the rays that produce these colours; so, it may perhaps be found, that the general law of relative flexibility receives modifications from the particular affinities between the particles of light, and those of inflammable bodies, as the powers of gravitation and adhesion are affected by the force of elective attraction. A wide field of discovery may thus be opened, and our knowledge infinitely extended, of the nature of the minute particles of bodies, and the chemical properties of light.

We cannot conclude our review of these articles, without entreating, for a moment, the attention of that Illustrious Body, which has admitted, of late years, so many paltry and unsubstantial papers into its Transactions. Great as the services are which the Royal Society has rendered to the world, and valuable as the papers have been in every volume, (not less valuable, surely, since the accession of the present excellent President), we think on the benefits which it has conferred, with feelings of the warmest gratitude. We only wish that those feelings should be unmingled by any ideas of regret, from the want of selection, to which we are adverting; and that it should cease to give its countenance to such vain theories as those which we find mingled, in this volume, with a vast body of important informa-

tion. The Society has, indeed, been in the habit of stating, that the truth and other merits of the speculations which it publishes must rest with their respective authors; but we are afraid this is not sufficient.' The Society publishes these papers,—meets for the purpose of reading them,—calls them its Transactions; and, in fact, exercises, in many cases, the power of rejecting the papers which are offered. It is in vain, therefore, to disavow a responsibility which so many circumstances concur in fixing. The public will always look upon the Society as immediately responsible for the papers which compose its Transactions, unless, indeed, it shall wish to be degraded into the rank of a mere mechanical contrivance for the printing of miscellanies. We implore the Council, therefore, if they will deign to cast their eyes upon our humble page, to prevent a degradation of the Institution which has so long held the first rank among scientific bodies. Let them reflect on the mighty name which has been transmitted to them—

——'*Clarum et venerabile nomen*
Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod proderat urbi.'

Such a name may indeed shelter them in their weakness, and make us venerate, even in the frailty of old age, an Institution illustrious for its ancient virtue. But it is impossible to ward off the encroachments of time, and to renovate, in new achievements, the vigour of former years? It is more honourable to support an illustrious character, than to appeal to it for shelter and protection.

ART. XIX. *Petri Camperi Icones Herniarum.* Editæ à Sam. Thom. Sæmmering, Francofurti ad Mænum, apud Varrentrapp è Denner. 1800. 14 Plates, Royal folio. 3*l.* 3*s.*

PROFESSOR Camper was one of the few anatomists who seem to have perceived distinctly the very intimate relation which subsists between a minute knowledge of Anatomy, and the Pathology and Practice of Surgery. Of this he has given numerous proofs in his valuable writings. His plates of the human *pelvis*, published in 1760, still remain the most perfect specimen of surgical anatomy which has yet been given to the world. The reputation which this author had so justly acquired during his lifetime, by the bold, accurate, and scientific delineations of his pencil, will not suffer any injury from the appearance of this posthumous publication.

In commencing the present work, it seems to have been originally the intention of Camper, to have given the pathology and chirurgical treatment, as well as the anatomical history of *Herniæ*. His attention, however, had been diverted from that object; for

he appears to have proceeded but a little way, even in the anatomical description.

The only species of *Hernia*, delineated in these plates, is the *Inguinal*, or Bubonocele; and of this disease, besides the more usual appearances, Camper has exhibited some very curious, and, it would seem, by no means uncommon varieties. As the merit of the present work rests chiefly, if not solely, on the fidelity, accuracy and judgment, with which the parts concerned in Bubonocele are represented, it becomes necessary to enumerate the contents of each particular plate, and to point out whatever appears to be useful or new in this graphical history of the disease.

Plates I. & II. exhibit a view of the abdomen of an ape (*cynocephalus*) laid open, to show the entrance of the spermatic vessels into the upper and internal aperture of the abdominal ring.

Plate III. A view of the origin of the cremaster muscles in the same animal, and of their distribution on the outside of the *tunica vaginalis*, with the cavity of the *tunica vaginalis* laid open, to show the manner in which this membrane is reflected over the *testes*.

To a student of human anatomy, those three plates are very uninteresting. They increase greatly the expense, while they add little, if any thing, to the value of the present work. Plates of this kind would more properly have had a place in a work on comparative anatomy; and we regret much, that, instead of these plates, Camper had not given similar views of the parts concerned in Bubonocele in the human subject; as such a representation would have formed a more natural, and, at the same time, much more useful introduction to the morbid appearances delineated in the present work. The passage of the spermatic vessels through the abdominal ring, and their relative connexion with the surrounding parts, have never been well delineated; and plates, exhibiting the distribution and attachments of the different parts of the tendon of the external oblique muscle, still remain a *desideratum* of no small importance in the anatomy and pathology of femoral *hernia*. Camper, indeed, has given a view, somewhat of the kind we require, in his *Demonstrationes Pathologicæ*, plate I. fig. 1. of the *Pelvis*; but it seems to have been his intention, in that plate, to represent the course of the blood-vessels and nerves in the cavity of the *Pelvis*, rather than to trace the spermatic vessels along their course out of the abdomen, or to mark the more common outlets of the intestines or omentum in *Herniæ*.

Plate IV. exhibits a view of a *Hernia* of the right side, complicated with Hydrocele. The skin of the groin and scrotum is dissected off, and turned aside, to show the dilatation of the abdominal ring, and the membrane into which the cremaster muscle is inserted. A portion of this membrane is removed at the lower

part, to bring the hernial sac into view, where it rests on the *tunica vaginalis.*

Plate V. fig. 1. The same *Hernia* as in Plate IV. with the parts dissected, so as to show the mouth of the hernial sac, and the situation of the spermatic and epigastric vessels. It is by marking precisely the situation of these vessels with regard to the mouth of the sac, that Camper has given to this plate no common degree of value. The epigastric vessels are seen passing along the posterior part to the internal angle of the sac, where they are reflected upwards, to be distributed on the *Rectus* muscle.—This view of the neck of the sac would have pleased us still more, had it been entirely from within, and had it exhibited the parts surrounding the neck of the sac in their connexion and relative situation. Fig. 2. of this plate, a very useful little diagram, to show still more distinctly the course of the epigastric arteries behind the mouth of the Hernial sac, and at the same time behind the spermatic vessels. This situation, Camper remarks, occurred in all the subjects he dissected.

Plates VI. and VII. The *Parietes* of the abdomen, cut and turned downwards on the right side, so as to bring into view the course of the epigastric vessels on the *Rectus* muscle, and the entrance of the spermatic vessels into the upper and internal aperture of the abdominal ring. On the left side, a scrotal *hernia* is shown, with the integuments removed, so as to bring the sac into view, over which, at the upper part, the external pudical artery is seen passing. The distribution of the aponeurotic fibres, covering the tendon of the external oblique muscle, is extremely well represented in this plate, together with the share which these fibres have in forming the upper and outer part of the external aperture of the ring, and in producing the stricture in cases of strangulated *hernia.*

Plate VIII. fig. 1. The same *Hernia* as in the former plate, but with the parts more dissected. In the subject from which this plate is taken, a variety occurs in the situation of the spermatic vessels, with regard to the Hernial sac. While the *vas deferens* runs, as usual, at the back and inner part of the sac, the spermatic vessels are seen separated from this vessel, and running on the fore and outer part of the sac. Fig. 2. a similar view, from a different subject; in which the situation of the spermatic vessels and *vas deferens* is reversed; the *vas deferens*, in this case, lying before, and the spermatic vessels behind, the hernial sac. From the appearances in these two figures, Camper very justly infers that the incision in operating for Bubonocele should not be carried down to the bottom of the sac; otherwise, when this distribution of vessels occurs, the spermatics, or *vas deferens*, or both, may be wounded by the knife.

Plate IX. contains two figures, exhibiting a view of the distribution of the cremaster muscles upon the cellular membrane covering a Hernial sac of the right side. The formation of the stricture at the ring, from the decussation of the fibres of the *aponeurosis*, becomes still more evident from this, than from any of the former plates.

Plates X. and XI. The oblique and transversalis muscles, with their tendons, removed from the fore part of the abdomen, to show that the Hernial sac is a process of the *peritoneum*. The epigastric artery and vein are seen coming from the back part of the neck of the sac to its internal angle. Camper remarks, that he had often observed the peritoneum thickened and contracted in the part forming the neck of the sac; so that the strangulation seemed, in those cases, to have been occasioned, partly by the stricture in the ring, and partly also by that in the neck of the sac. It is obvious, from the inspection of the first figure in plate XI. that the stricture at the ring may be removed, by cutting in one of three directions; namely, by carrying the knife upwards, in a direction parallel to the *linea alba*, inclining outwards to the spine of the *ilium*, or inwards to the *linea alba*; and it is equally obvious, from the inspection of the same figure, that if the surgeon, in dilating the ring, carries his incision towards the *linea alba*, that the epigastric vessels would be in hazard of being cut; but that, if the incision be directed upwards, or outwards, these vessels are, by their local situation, secure from danger.

Plate XII. exhibits a view of the same *Hernia* with the two former plates; but, in this view, the sac is raised and turned outwards, to show that the spermatic vessels lye before the epigastric, at the back part of the neck of the sac.

Plate XIII. contains two figures; the first, representing a Hernia of the right side, complicated with Sarcocele, in which the blood-vessels of the groin, and the origin and course of the external pudicals, are more fully traced than in any former plate. The pudicals are seen coming off about two inches below the epigastrics; the artery from the trunk of the femoral artery, and the vein from the saphena. Camper imagined, that the division of these vessels had often been mistaken by surgeons for a wound of the epigastric artery. Fig. 2. of this plate exhibits a sketch of the relative situation of the crural vessels, and of the external aperture of the abdominal ring. One can scarcely view this sketch, without regretting that Camper had no opportunity, as he himself acknowledges, of making a careful dissection of a case of femoral *Hernia*. The situation of the crural ring below the pillar of the tendon of the external oblique muscle, and on the inside of the crural vessels, is most accurately represented in

this diagram. We were much pleased to observe exhibited in this sketch also a peculiarity in the distribution of some of the tendinous fibres of the inferior pillar, which we imagined had escaped the notice of former anatomists. Camper has represented these fibres as crossing the back part of the external aperture of the ring. In the subjects we have examined, this appearance is more evident in females than in males; and the peculiarity of this structure serves obviously to strengthen the parietes of the abdomen, and to prevent the occurrence of *Hernia* at this part.

Camper has thrown into the 10th and 11th plates four small figures which illustrate some collateral points relative to Congenital Hernia and Hydrocele of the *tunica vaginalis;* but as these figures appeared during his lifetime, in an Essay which he published on the causes of rupture in new-born children, it becomes unnecessary to give any particular account of them in this place.

Plate XIV. contains figures of different kinds of pads for herniary bandages. There are none of the contrivances in this plate either very new or very useful. It seems, however, but just to add, that the proper construction of herniary bandages, and the mode of applying them, so as to produce the greatest possible effect in preventing the descent of *Herniæ*, were points upon which Camper had at different times bestowed much time, reflection and labour.

From the very full enumeration which we have given of the contents of the *Icones Herniarum*, it must be apparent to every one acquainted with the history of Bubonocele, that the most important practical conclusion, or rule of conduct, with regard to operating in this disease, to which these plates lead, relates to the direction in which the surgeon is to make his incision in dilating the abdominal ring. The uncertainty which has prevailed among operators with regard to the relative situation of the Epigastric artery, and the neck of the Hernial sac in Bubonocele, and the very contradictory directions which have been given, down to the present day, by authors and by public teachers, as to the course in which the incision ought to be made, in order to avoid this artery, render these posthumous plates of Camper extremely valuable and interesting. In his *Demonstrationes Pathologicæ*, published in 1760, Camper had indeed described, in the most accurate manner, the situation of these vessels with regard to the neck of the sac; and this discovery has been claimed, so late as 1799, by an author, under a borrowed name, whom it would be unjust to suppose ignorant of what Camper had written: but still the point was not made so obvious to our senses, as it is in the present plates.

We cannot omit to mention, that Camper has been led into a singular inconsistency, by denying, in that work, the possibility of wounding the Epigastric artery in dividing the neck of the sac, though some surgeons of great eminence had been candid enough to acknowledge, that this very fatal accident had actually happened in their practice. How the possibility of wounding the Epigastric artery should have been questioned by Camper in his *Demonstrationes Pathologicæ*, seems very unaccountable; since it is not only apparent, from the inspection of the present plates, and which, it may be remarked, were engraved before the publication of that work, that this artery comes round from the back part to the inner side of the neck of the sac; but Camper has even given a plate, to show, that if the incision be directed towards the *linea alba*, the Epigastric artery must of necessity be divided. It is also not a little singular, that, in this mistake, Camper should have been copied by the author to whom we formerly alluded, who seems not to have been satisfied with having taken from him the merit of a more valuable observation.

Of the division of the Epigastric artery in the operation for Bubonocele, there are, as has been already remarked, several well authenticated instances upon record; and it may be presumed, that, for one instance which has been acknowledged, many have occurred that have been altogether overlooked, if not carefully concealed. Rougemont, the learned translator into French of Richter's very valuable treatise on Hernia, very justly remarks upon this subject, that the cases of divided Epigastric artery, of which we have an account, occurred to those surgeons who, in dilating the neck of the sac, were in the practice of directing their incision towards the *linea alba*.

Before concluding our account of Camper's most valuable work, we think it right to observe, that though the relative situation of the Hernial sac, and of the Epigastric artery, be, in general, such as is represented in his plates, yet cases sometimes occur, in which this situation is reversed, and in which the Epigastric artery is placed on the outside, instead of the inside of the neck of the sac. This situation, which has been repeatedly noticed, occurs in a variety of Bubonocele, that has not, so far as we know, been accurately described by any author; a variety, in which the intestine included in its Hernial sac, does not enter into the upper and internal aperture, nor pass along the canal of the abdominal ring, but where it appears to come directly out of the abdomen, at the lower and external aperture of the ring. This case, which has been much oftener observed than properly understood, occurs, it is true, but seldom. Camper, in the essay to which we formerly alluded, mentions, that in opening, in 1759, the body of a person who had been murdered, he perceived a *Hernia*, which

passed out of the abdomen, between the upper and internal aperture of the ring and the *linea alba*, but which seemed to him to proceed externally from the ring. Michaelis, in the sixth volume of Richter's *Chirurgische Bibliothek*, mentions, that he had seen in London, a preparation of Inguinal *Hernia*, in which the Epigastric artery was situated on the outside of the neck of the sac. And Erlich, in his *Beobachtungen*, also mentions, that he had seen a similar preparation in the possession of Mr Cline. This situation of the artery had so often occurred to Dessault, that he actually gives marks by which to ascertain its existence. It is almost superfluous to remark, that, in this variety of Bubonocele, the Epigastric artery must necessarily be divided, when the incision is directed towards the spine of the *ilium*. If we are not mistaken in our conjecture, it was this deviation from the usual course of nature, and the casual division of this artery, which has occasioned all that diversity, and even contrariety of opinion, which has hitherto prevailed among surgical writers, with regard to the real situation of the Epigastric artery in Bubonocele; and, of course, with regard to the direction in which the incision should be made in dilating the abdominal ring.

ART. XX. *Gulielmi Heberden, Commentarii de Morborum Historia & Curatione.* Commentaries on the History and Cure of Diseases. 8vo. Payne. London, 1802.

IT may be ranked among the distinguishing characteristics of the present age, that the authority of prescription is openly disavowed, and that inquiry is carried on without any regard to great names, or established reputation. That the *practice of medicine* should partake of this liberal spirit of investigation, cannot surprise any one acquainted with its history; and it ought not to be regretted by any; since the abilities displayed, and the discoveries which are made, must ultimately tend to its improvement. Physicians no longer perplex themselves in fruitless attempts to reconcile the inconsistencies of systematics and sectarists, but each one is content to read with his own eyes in the book of Nature, which lies open before him. It seems now beginning to be understood, what indeed reason and example might have taught us long ago, that the science of medicine can only be improved by observation and experience, by attending to the particular phenomena in the animal body, both in health and disease, and tracing their general laws. Systems are easily framed, and quickly multiply: hence, in every age, the number of theorists has been great, while that of accurate observers has been very small. Hence, we have had innumerable theories of dis-

eases, of the action of remedies, of digestion, secretion, and other functions in the body, without their authors being acquainted with the connexion, or successive series of changes in any one instance, all of which they pretended to explain. The new hypotheses which have been proposed, and the old and forgotten, which have been revived at different periods, have all been found inadequate to explain these phenomena; and they have all had the common characteristics of being unfounded, or unintelligible.

In opposition to theoretical speculations, much has been said on the value of *experience;* but this term has been frequently misapplied. The name of experience is commonly given to that knowledge which is acquired by frequent intuition of the same object. If this principle in the practice of medicine were well-founded, it would only be necessary to visit all the hospitals in Europe, to become a good practitioner; and an old nurse would be preferable to an intelligent physician. But a distinction has properly been made between what is called *true* and *false* experience. The former supposes, for its attainment, an historical knowledge of its object, a capacity for observation, and a genius to draw proper conclusions; whilst the latter consists only in following a blind routine, without reason, and without reflection: In this respect, the enlightened physician is distinguished from the ignorant pretender; and the rational empiric from the mischief-working, contemptible quack. Partial as we are to facts and observations, yet there appears to be some danger in the present fashionable doctrine of inculcating an exclusive attention to them, by which means we lose the advantages of a regular induction and legitimate theory: and the practice of physic, instead of being studied as a science, will be considered only as a mechanical art; and perhaps only followed as a trade.

These reflections were suggested by the perusal of the work now before us, in which the venerable and learned author has given us many valuable and useful observations, both general and particular. Yet the utility of these would have been increased, if they had been more systematically arranged, by the execution of that comprehensive and regular design, which the author mentions in his preface. It is much to be regretted, that this part of the work has been left unfinished: But observations recorded with such accuracy and precision, as those now under our consideration, are so rare and important, that we are highly indebted to those who collect them, and can only lament that the number of these collectors is so small.

'*Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca*
Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta.'

These commentaries are published in Latin and in English,

each apparently written by the original author. In the Latin copy, some account is given of Dr Heberden's life, and also a dedication; both of which are omitted in the English copy, and this omission is supplied by a preface.

Most of Dr Heberden's remarks on the history of diseases, are such as are to be found in the writings of our best practical authors; but they are nowhere more plainly stated, or more free from useless and irrelative matter. The remedies which he mentions are few; and he bestows very slight commendations upon any. His practice, for the most part, seems to have been feeble and inert, or what is usually called *palliative*. His confidence in the powers of medicine was limited, whilst he relied much on the powers of nature. When we consider the situation in which Dr Heberden was placed, and notice the class of patients among whom he practised, perhaps we may be able to account for the origin of his opinions. For the diseases among the higher orders of society are less frequent and less violent, than amidst the lower ranks; and, in the former, a dietetic plan of treatment will often effect what must be attempted, and is often produced by the powers of medicine among the latter. As the plan of this work is so general, it is impossible to abridge it, or give a connected view of all its contents. A few specimens of the author's style and reasoning will therefore be selected, and some remarks offered upon those points, where there is room left for a difference of sentiment.

In the *first* article, Dr Heberden has given some remarks on '*Diet*,' and the regimen to be attended to in most diseases. His observations appear judicious and valuable, and form a striking contrast to the absurd rules and hurtful restrictions formerly laid down by medical writers, who seem to have endeavoured to pervert Nature by their misapplied attention to those circumstances, which they characterized by the perverted appellation of *Non-naturals*.

Under the title of '*Ratio Medendi*,' we find some observations on the employment of Peruvian bark in inflammatory diseases, which, being somewhat peculiar, deserve to be quoted.

'The Peruvian bark has been more objected to than any other of thoſe medicines in caſes of conſiderable inflammation, or where a free expectoration is of importance; for it is ſuppoſed to have, beyond any other ſtomach medicine, ſuch a ſtrong bracing quality, as to tighten the fibres ſtill more, which were already too much upon the ſtretch in an inflammation; and its aſtringency has been judged to be the likely means of checking or putting a ſtop to expectoration. All this appeared much more plauſible when taught in the ſchools of phyſic, than probable, when I attended to fact and experience. The unqueſtionable

safety and acknowledged use of the bark in the worst stage of an inflammation, when it is tending to mortification, affords a sufficient answer to the first of these objections; and I have several times seen it given in the confluent small-pox, without lessening, in any degree, the expectoration.' p. 11.

This opinion is contrary to the general sentiments and experience of our best practitioners, whose concurrent testimony on the bad effects of bark in inflammatory complaints has led them to relinquish altogether its exhibition in such cases. To say that bark is serviceable in the worst stage of inflammation when it is tending to mortification, is no argument in favour of its utility in the earlier stages of inflammatory diseases. Such are the changes and endless variations in the human body, that a remedy which is dangerous one day, may be the most proper to be administered the next. If we adopted our author's mode of reasoning, we might condemn bleeding, as hurtful in *pneumonia*, because it hastens the death of the patient when employed in the advanced stage of the disease; and we might condemn the employment of cold water in fevers, because it is injurious when applied during the cold fit. The controversy respecting the identity of *Scarlatina* and *Cynanche Maligna*, seems now nearly decided. The most general opinion is, that these two states are only modifications of the same disease; and our author's testimony must be considered as no small corroboration of the truth of that idea.

'From the foregoing description of the scarlet fever and malignant sore-throat, it seems highly probable that they are both names of the same distemper, with some little variety in a few of the symptoms: and this opinion is confirmed, by our finding that they are both epidemical at the same time. Even in the same family, where a number of children have been ill, either together, or immediately after one another, some have had the distinguishing symptoms of the scarlet fever, and others of the malignant sore-throat.' p. 28.

On the subject of '*Gout*,' there are many remarks particularly interesting and important. Dr Heberden had numerous opportunities of marking the varieties of this singular affection; and he has opened some new views which well deserve attention. The following observations, though inculcating a doctrine which is somewhat unpopular, appear just and well founded, and will be deemed important by all unprejudiced physicians and patients.

'Strong wines, and in no small quantity, have the reputation of being highly beneficial to gouty persons; which notion they have very readily and generally received, not so much perhaps from a reasonable persuasion of its truth, as from a desire that it should be true, because they love wine. Let them consider that a free use of vinous and spirituous liquors peculiarly hurts the stomach and organs

of digestion, and that gout is bred and fostered by those who indulge themselves in drinking much wine; while the poorer part of mankind, who can get very little stronger than water to drink, have better appetites than wine drinkers, and better digestions, and are far less subject to arthritic complaints. The most perfect cures, of which I have been a witness, have been effected by a total abstinence from spirits, and wine and flesh; which, in two or three instances, have restored the helpless and miserable patients, from a state worse than death, to active and comfortable life; but I have seen too few examples of the success of this method, to be confident or satisfied of its general utility.' p. 47.

In the method of cure, our author thinks that gout ought to be treated more as an inflammatory complaint; that evacuations may sometimes be employed with advantage; and that it is unnecessary to cover the limbs so closely with flannel as is usually done.

Of the medicinal virtues of the 'Bath and Bristol waters,' Dr Heberden speaks with an academical kind of faith; he considers the former as useful in some cases of *Dyspepsia*, &c.; but thinks their powers have been much overrated. In treating of '*Calculus Vesicæ*,' some rules are given for forming a diagnosis between a stone in the bladder and a diseased state of the prostate gland. The best criterion between these two maladies, our author thinks, is the effect which a schirrus of the prostate has upon the general health. Those afflicted with it have many constitutional symptoms, such as, loss of strength, want of appetite, quick pulse, &c.; whereas stone patients have frequent remissions of pain, and show no signs of their general health being affected when the paroxysm is off. Another diagnostic mark is mentioned, p. 391, that, in a diseased prostate, the pain precedes, and in the stone it follows the making water. In page 86, our author remarks, that the pain arising from a stone, depends more upon its figure and position, than upon its size. From what we have observed, we are inclined to think, that the degree of pain felt depends not so much upon the figure or position of the stone, (the latter of which will probably in most cases be the same), but upon some peculiarity in the constitution of the patient, and upon the chemical composition of the *calculus* itself. In some patients who have suffered excessive pain, the stone has been found, on operating, to be very small and smooth; while in others, who have not suffered so much uneasiness, the stone has been large and uneven, or several stones have been extracted. The *calculi*, consisting of earthy phosphates, are observed to occasion less pain than others; and it is those which are generally very large, and have been known to remain many years in the bladder, that produce little or no uneasiness. Dr He-

berden does not seem to have been acquainted with the late successful chemical investigations into the nature and composition of urinary *calculi*. His commentaries were probably finished before the discoveries of Dr Wollaston, Vauquelin, and Fourcroy, were made public. Although no *specific* has been discovered against this formidable complaint, yet our lately acquired knowledge will be sufficient to guard us against the deceptions of ignorant quacks, and to point out at least a rational mode of attempting the cure. It is obvious, that the solvent power of alkalies is not to be depended on in all cases, but can only be successful when the stone consists of *uric* acid, while the acids are to be employed to dissolve the earthy phosphates. It may be necessary, also, to vary the exhibition of both acids and alkalies in different stages of the same complaint, since the several ingredients which these substances can dissolve, enter into the composition of the same stone.

We cannot allow ourselves to pass over the article '*Carbuncle*,' without offering a few remarks; because we conceive that the nature and treatment of this disease is not well understood; and because our author's opinion seems liable to several objections.

'Carbuncle is a large, red tumour, usually appearing in the back, with a spongy base, loaded with a purulent liquor, oozing out plentifully at any cracks or openings which it finds. Soon after the tumour begins, there comes on a considerable degree of fever, with great inquietude and loss of strength, of appetite, sleep, and flesh: so that it has many marks of being the cause or effect of some extraordinary derangement of the health. Old persons, and shattered constitutions, are the usual subjects of this malady..... As much bark should be given as the patient can take without loathing, and as much of an opiate as the inquietude and want of sleep may require.'

That carbuncle is either the *cause* or the *effect* of some derangement in the system, no one can deny, because it is always accompanied by some such derangement. But the question is, whether we are to consider the constitutional symptoms as producing, or produced by, the local affection? and upon this determination our method of treatment must depend. In most cases, the disease is certainly, in its early stage, entirely local, and to be treated by topical remedies and the antiphlogistic plan. The practice of making patients swallow large quantities of bark and wine, from the idea that carbuncle is always a malignant disease, has often proved prejudicial, especially in full and plethoric habits, in which this complaint frequently occurs; whilst the opposite plan of treatment has been attended with complete success. But perhaps it is impossible, on this, as well as upon many other diseases, to lay down any general rule of conduct, applicable to all cases.

Dr Heberden considers '*Diabetes*' as a complaint which seldom occurs; but the melancholy experience of late years has shown that it is by no means so rare as was formerly supposed. His remarks refer chiefly to *diabetes insipidus;* and his conjecture appears well founded, that the peculiar state of the urine is only a symptom of some other distemper; because this state may be absent or entirely removed, and yet the other symptoms continue; and the patient falls a victim to the disease. In the method of cure, there is little novelty of remark. We find no mention made of animal diet, which has lately been so triumphantly recommended. The success of this plan, however, has not been confirmed by more ample experience; and a rational theory of *diabetes*, and a successful mode of curing it, must still be reckoned among the *desiderata* in medicine.

'*Erysipelas*,' our author considers as partaking more of a malignant than inflammatory nature, and as not requiring evacuation. His opinion, no doubt, was formed by long and extensive practice; but it must be received with some limitation. The history of *erysipelas* affords a striking instance of the contradictory opinions of medical writers, occasioned by their observations being confined to the places where they practise. Diseases are influenced and modified by a variety of circumstances; by local situation, by the habits and condition of patients, &c. which ought always to be considered when judging of the proper mode of cure. Thus, to give an example in the present instance. *Erysipelas*, in Edinburgh, is almost constantly attended with strong inflammatory symptoms, and is cured by bleeding, purging, and the antiphlogistic remedies; whilst, in London, the fever which attends it, is of the low typhoid nature, and requires the most powerful tonics and stimulants to prevent the accession of gangrene.

In treating of the method of cure in Fevers, particular stress is laid upon the advantages of blisters.

'A headach is a very distressing symptom in the beginning of fevers; for which a blister between the shoulders is an almost certain specific. In the inflamed sore-throat, pleurisies, and peripneumonies, blisters are likewise of great use in abating (perhaps by diverting) the inflammation; and in all stages of low fevers, where they act as cordials, and stimulate the powers of life to exert themselves, and to shake off the languor by which they are oppressed.' p. 176.

With respect to the use of bark, our author seems to have formed his opinion many years ago, when the minds of practitioners were strongly prejudiced in favour of the febrifuge qualities of this valuable medicine; but which have since diminished. The free admission of cool air is strongly recommended; but no notice is taken of the employing cold water, as an external or in

ternal remedy. It was left to the boldness and judicious experience of modern times, to adduce the affusion of cold water in continued fevers:—a remedy, which may fairly be put in competition with all the febrifuge compounds in our pharmacopœias; and only requires to be more generally employed, to have its value and importance more highly appreciated.

Under the article '*Ileus*,' are some remarks on hernia, which we apprehend are no less false in theory, than unfounded in fact, and appear deduced from very limited observation. We shall quote our author's words.

'When the inflammatory colic is joined with a rupture, it is right to reduce the rupture, if it can be easily done; but it is doubtful whether much pains should be taken about it; for it is uncertain, that the rupture is the seat or the cause of the inflammation. An ileus is often seen without a rupture, and a rupture without an ileus; and, consequently, the symptoms may go off, though the rupture continue; just as, without this, they often come on: and the symptoms have continued and ended in death, notwithstanding the reduction of the rupture. Be the case as it will, all violent means to reduce the hernia will be more likely to aggravate than to relieve the disease. We know that a hernia does not necessarily hinder the operation of purges; and if their effect be but copious, the patient may be secure of his recovery. The operation of dilating the ring with a knife, and by that means freeing the gut from the stricture by which it is supposed to be strangled, is, as far as I have observed, very rarely, if ever, adviseable, as well upon other accounts, as for all the reasons which have been just mentioned.' p. 273.

This opinion is not merely a matter of speculation, as it leads to important practical conclusions; and the adoption of it may prevent recourse being had to those means of relief, so necessary in a disease, where assistance by art is so much and so often required. Can any one read the cases recorded by Pott, by Arnaud, and by Richter, and say that the greatest attention ought not to be paid to the reduction of hernia, in the cases of ileus with which it exists? Strangulation of some part of the intestines is one of the most general causes of inflammation of the bowels, and ought always to be suspected, as, from a species of false delicacy, it is often concealed. To the reduction of this, all our efforts should be assiduously and strenuously directed. The operation by the knife is not so hazardous or painful as supposed; and the only reason to be assigned for the ill success which so frequently attends it is, that it is usually had recourse to, only when all other means, after repeated trials, have failed, and too often, probably, when symptoms have arisen, which the reduction of the intestine is not able to remove.

There are some valuable facts stated under the article '*Phthisis Pulmonum*,' which well deserve the attention of those who are

daily publishing their premature triumphs, of having discovered the grand arcanum for curing consumption. It would be well, if those authors paid more attention to the diagnostic marks of tubercular phthisis, and not flatter us with the hopes of removing the disease by those remedies which they employed to cure another.

Many other passages might be selected; but enow, we trust, have already been quoted, to show that these commentaries contain a rich fund of curious and valuable facts, and must be considered as a very acceptable legacy to every tyro and every student of practical medicine. Before, however, concluding this article (already protracted to a great length), we must observe, that some traces of a peculiar phraseology are to be discovered in the course of Dr Heberden's work, which the improved state of our knowledge might have been supposed to have removed. The following passage, which forms the author's last reflection in his conclusion, appears so singular, that it deserves to be transcribed.

'The art of healing, therefore, has scarcely hitherto had any guide, but the slow one of experience, and has yet made no illustrious advances by the help of reason: nor will it probably make any, till Providence think fit to bless mankind, by sending into the world some superior genius, capable of contemplating the animated world with the sagacity shown by Newton in the inanimate; and of discovering that great principle of life upon which its existence depends, and by which all its functions are governed and directed.' p. 483.

If no progress can be made in the art of healing, till another Newton arises to proclaim that *great principle of life*, and determine its laws, our expectations of improvement must surely be very hopeless. The discovery of Newton was not the discovery of a cause, but the generalization of a particular fact; and the term *gravity* is employed to express that law by which the planets are regulated and bodies fall to the ground, in the same manner as the word *life* or *vitality*, is employed as a general expression for the phenomena observed in certain bodies which we call *organized*. The laws which regulate these bodies are equally fixed, and some of them equally well known as those of the motions of the solar system: and the causes of the changes which take place in the one, are not more inexplicable than the motions observed in the other. The questions concerning vitality, bear the same relation to the study of physiology, and the practice of medicine, as the metaphysical discussions concerning the materiality, or immateriality of the soul, to the phenomena of mind; and as speculations have been wisely abandoned in the latter case, we may readily relinquish them in the former, and confine ourselves to the humbler and more useful province of investigating particular phenomena.

ART. XXI. *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind, and of Moral Philosophy.* By Thomas Belsham. One large volume 8vo. Johnson. London.

IN the preface to this work, it is said to contain 'the substance of a course of lectures, which the author delivered to his pupils, upon some of the most interesting subjects which can occupy the attention of the human mind.' It is, however, from the preface only, that we receive this information; for the most interesting subjects which can occupy the human mind, are afterwards treated with the same drowsy mediocrity and tameness of sentiment, as if they had related to a fly or a fungus, or to any thing but the great interests of man. A *compendium*, like that of Mr Belsham, is not addressed to the profound metaphysician, who, possessing already the zeal which rewards itself, needs no other incitement to the investigation of truth, than the knowledge that truth is to be discovered; but to the diffident, though aspiring student, whose eagerness is checked by every unexpected obstacle, and who requires to be often warmed by new prospects, before he can feel that ardour of persevering pursuit, which afterwards finds a species of pleasure in the very restraints and difficulties of the course. We know that, in many sciences, it is impossible to furnish such incitements; and we own, that, in that which Mr Belsham professes to illustrate, they have usually been furnished so very sparingly, that the term by which it is denoted is to many a name of terror or disgust. But, in that great and comprehensive philosophy, which leads us to the source of all our *knowledge*,—of all the *relations* which bind us to our fellow men, or to a superior Being,—and of all the *emotions* which arise, in those various relationships, from the circumstances of every hour, there is surely no want of subjects, to add interest and animation to the truths it unfolds. Were it necessary to give an instance of the *effect*, which, when thus happily delivered, the philosophy of mind is capable of producing, we could name a work, which scarcely differs, in title, from the volume before us. But it is in the title only that any resemblance is to be found; for, in the composition of the volume itself, Mr Belsham has studiously imitated the syllogistic minuteness of an old logical treatise, and, by dealing out his brief paragraphs, without one episodic reflection, and talking of crimes and virtues, as if they were properties of a triangle, has sacrificed all the interest of which, independently of its truth, a metaphysical work is susceptible. In an elementary work on the physics of external matter, the tedious minuteness of the composition is in a great measure compensated by the no-

velty of the experiments. But, in *mind*, there are few *experiments* which can have the charm of novelty even to the most unacquainted student; and hence, whatever sparingness of ornament may be allowed, and even be requisite, in *dissertations* that are addressed to the practised inquirer, the ardour of interest, excited by any '*elements* of the philosophy of mind,' must depend chiefly on the skill of the writer, in connecting the known phenomena with the objects of our habitual emotion, and thus rendering even our gentlest feelings of taste, or of social regard, auxiliary to the progress of the severest science.

The work of Mr Belsham may be considered as an apology for three great doctrines, Materialism, Necessity, and the selfish system of Morals.

'The author flatters himself, that he has stated the evidence for the doctrines of Necessity and Materialism, in a form so obvious and succinct, and that he has suggested such answers to the popular objections, as, if they fail to convince, will at least abate the clamour of ignorance and prejudice against these principles, as if they were unfavourable to virtue, and subversive of religion.' p. iv.

As we cannot therefore examine minutely the separate doctrines of a general compilation, our attention shall be chiefly directed to that which the author professes to have been a principal object of his work, and which would have given it the merit of originality, had the object been attained.

We own that it was to us no favourable omen of the acuteness of the compiler, to find that in adopting the system of materialism, he had involved it in all the unnecessary complication of the Hartleyan theory. The existence of vibrations and vibratiuncles is so completely hypothetical, and even in apparent opposition to so many circumstances of the nervous system, and would prove so little, were it admitted, that we did not expect it to be adopted by an author, who, from the nature of his work, must have studied at least, with some degree of attention, the chief systems of sceptical as well as of dogmatical philosophy. To the truth of the doctrine itself, however, though our opposite faith be completely unshaken, it is not our intention to object: it is its moral tendency only that we wish to consider.

For this, indeed, Mr Belsham has one short argument, that whatever is true cannot be hurtful. It is the motto of his title-page, * and is afterwards repeated, with equal emphasis, at every time of need. 'If the doctrine be true,' he contends, 'the diffusion of it can do no harm. It is an established and undeniable principle, that truth must be favourable to virtue.' p. 312. To us, however, this principle, instead of being undeniable, has always

* Αληθειαν ζητω υφ' ης ουδεις πωποτε εβλαβη. Marcus Antoninus.

appeared the most questionable of postulates. In the declamation of Plato, or the poetry of Akenside, we admit it with little scruple; because we do not read Plato or Akenside for the truths they may chance to contain; but we always feel more than scepticism, when we are assailed by it in a treatise of pure philosophy: nor can we account for an almost universal assent it has received, from any other circumstance, than the profession and habits of the first teachers of morals in our schools, and of the greater number of their successors. It was a maxim of religion, before it became a maxim of philosophy; though, even as a religious maxim, it formed a very inconsistent part of the optimism in which it was combined. The Deity wills happiness; he loves truth: truth therefore must be productive of good. Such is the reasoning of the optimist. But he forgets, that, in his system, error too must have been *beneficial*, because error *has been*; and that the employment of falsehood, for the production of good, cannot be more unworthy of the Divine Being, than the acknowledged employment of rapine and murder for the same purpose. There is, therefore, nothing in the abstract consideration of truth and Deity, which justifies the adoption of such a maxim; and as little is it justified by our practical experience. In the small events of that familiar and hourly intercourse, which forms almost the whole of human life, how much is happiness increased by the general adoption of a system of concerted and limited deceit! for it is either in that actual falsehood, which must, as falsehood, be productive of evil, or in the suppression of that truth, which, as truth, must have been productive of good, that the chief happiness of civilized *manners* consists; and he from whose doctrine it flows, that we are to be in no case hypocrites, would, in mere manners, reduce us to a degree of barbarism, beyond that of the rudest savage, who, in the simple hospitalities of his hut, or the ceremonial of the public assemblies of his tribe, has still some courtesies, which he fulfils with all the exactness of polite dissimulation. In the greater events of life, how often might the advantage of erroneous belief be felt! If, for example, it were a superstition of every mind, that the murderer, immediately on the perpetration of his guilt, must himself expire by sympathy, a new motive would be added to the side of virtue; and the only circumstance to be regretted would be, not that the falsehood would produce effect, since that effect could be only serviceable, but that perhaps the good effect would not be of long duration, as it would be destroyed for ever by the rashness of the first daring experimenter. The visitation of the murderer by the nightly ghost, which exists in the superstition of so many countries, and which forms a great part of that complex and unanalyzed horror, with which the crime continues to be considered, after the belief of the superstition itself has ceased, has pro-

bably been of more service to mankind than the truths of all the sermons that have been preached on the corresponding prohibition in the Decalogue. It is unfortunate, that, with this beneficial awe, unnecessary horrors have been connected; for the *place* continues to be haunted, as well as the *person*; and the dread of our infancy is thus directed, rather to the supernatural appearance, than to the crime. But if superstition could exist, and be modified, at the will of an enlightened legislator, so as to be deprived of its terrors to the innocent, and turned wholly against the guilty, we know no principle of our nature on which it would be so much for the interest of mankind to operate. It would be a species of prohibitive religion, more impressive, at the moment of beginning crime, than religion itself; because its penalties would be more conceivable and immediate. Innumerable cases may be imagined, in which other errors of belief would be of moral advantage; and we may therefore assume, as *established and undeniable*, that there is nothing in the nature of truth which makes it *necessarily* good; that, in the greater number of instances, truth is beneficial; but that, of the whole number of truths and falsehoods, a certain number are productive of good, and others of evil. To which number any particular truth or falsehood belongs, must be shown, in the usual way, by reasonings of direct experience or analogy; and hence, *in a question of utility*, the demonstration of mere logical truth cannot justly be adduced as superseding the necessity of other inquiries. Even though the contrary of that postulate which Mr Belsham has assumed, could not have been shown from *other* cases, it would not *therefore* have been applicable, without proof, to the great questions which he discusses; for these questions comprehend all the truths that are of most importance in human life, which are thus the very truths from which the justness of the assumed principle is most fully to be demonstrated or denied.

In conformity, then, with the preceding reasoning, the doctrines of *materialism*, *necessity*, and *the selfish obligation to virtue*, may be true, and the general belief of these doctrines be yet of important detriment to the interests of our race.

The effect of the belief of *materialism* is undoubtedly, as far as it operates, to weaken our confidence in a state of future being. When the whole material frame is evidently disorganized, the thinking being is to the perception of the materialist annihilated; and, by the frequent view of this temporary annihilation, the idea of *annihilation* is so closely connected with that of mind, that the belief of the immortality of the soul requires, in the materialist, as great an effort of faith, as would be necessary in the immaterialist, to the belief of its possible annihilation. We are told, indeed, that to say 'that immateriality necessarily implies

indecerptibility, incorruptibility, and natural immortality, is an assertion perfectly gratuitous.' p. 346. The justness of this remark we will not stop to examine. Let the opinion be, as Mr Belsham terms it, a *fancy*. It is enough for us, that it is the fancy of every one who believes the absolute simplicity of the percipient being, and cannot therefore apply to it in his conception those changes of decay, which necessarily imply composition of parts. He may have no foundation for his belief of its incorruptibility; but that belief is necessarily connected with his immaterialism: and hence, as he has no difficulty, in this respect, to be overcome, the *religion of immortality* is more readily received by him, and the idea of continued existence, with all its responsibilities, is more constantly present to his mind. In no circumstance does materialism aid this belief: we must therefore hold it, as far as it operates, to be a weakener of our confidence in a future state, and to be thus, as far as the motive of a future state has influence, prejudicial to the cause of virtue.

But there is another view of this doctrine, in which its influence, though more secret and refined, is perhaps of equal effect. It is not by precepts, delivered with the force of authority or of reason, that moral character is chiefly formed. It is by a multitude of emotions, slight in their separate effect, but powerful when combined, which give a general elevation or sordidness of sentiment, while they seem to act more upon our taste than on our morals. A taste for the fine arts, and a taste for virtue, have thus been considered by some philosophers as modes of the same internal sense; and, though the *direct connexion* is too strongly urged, we must allow, at least, the force of the *analogy*. The habits of polished life, and the elegance of a cultivated understanding, where they are not counteracted by other circumstances, are, in like manner, favourable to benevolence; not by informing us of new duties, but by acting through our taste, and softening rather than instructing us. It is thus, when moral sentiments have been delivered in all the sublimity of poetry, we feel their influence remain, for a time, beyond the conviction of mere logical reason; as if the dignity and majesty of the verse had transfused themselves, with their whole power, into the truth and persuasion of the maxims it delivered. Whatever, therefore, gives ideas of general elevation, though it may not directly suggest any moral motives, is favourable to virtue; whatever gives sentiments more abject, though its practical influence may not be immediate, is favourable to vice: and Mr Belsham will surely allow, that there is more sublimity in the conception of mind, as raised by its own principle of immortality above the changes of material being, than in the belief, that the most heroic virtue we admire is but a certain aggregation of particles, which one

other particle, by the new affinities it introduces, may wholly disarrange, and which must rot in the grave, with the other parts of the withered or ulcerated body. The contemplation of a putrefying soul does not make the living man, who is to be the object of our sympathies of regard and veneration, a more interesting spectacle. We may still feel compassion for his miseries, as we feel it for those of the lowest animal that suffers; we may even be capable of much of the esteem, and of many of the sacrifices of friendship: but it will have less of that generous devotion, the spirit of which requires to be nourished by higher thoughts. Mr Belsham will perhaps say, that the difference we have imagined belongs to poetry, rather than to philosophy. He will tell us *with truth*, that the actual misery relieved, and happiness conferred, are precisely the same on either hypothesis. But poetry has the same effect as philosophy, when it is the poetry of every heart: and in the whole scale of life, when other circumstances are the same, we know that our sympathies are raised or depressed, according to the *sentiments* which have been associated with the object: to these, in their relation to man, materialism adds no sublimity; and its influence, therefore, as far as it acts through our feelings, is detrimental to virtue.

The unfavourable influence of the doctrine of *necessity* is still more evident. Mr Belsham indeed affirms, that it has *beneficial consequences;* that it leads us to be cautious of trusting ourselves to situations of temptation,—as if the Necessarian, to whom every past repentance is an increase of power, and who relies on his calculations of greater good, would not be more confident of escaping, than he who believes that an accidental temptation, in opposition even to his long established views of the greater advantage of virtue, may seduce his will to too easy obedience. He affirms, that it leads us to lay a greater stress on the formation of moral habits;—as if it did not lead us rather to acquiesce in that degree of virtue which has, in one instance, prevailed, from the full conviction that it must ever after prevail. He tells us, that 'it supplies the most powerful motives to virtue, by exhibiting the inseparable connexion between natural and moral good and evil;'—as if a headach did not follow the nocturnal debauch of the drunkard, as readily, on one hypothesis, as on the other. It is beneficial also, he contends, as being 'inseparably connected with optimism, and teaching us to see God in every thing, and every thing in God;'—as if optimism were not itself most fatal to morality. There needs no cautious dread of future action, where the event, whatever it be, must be the best of possible events: and hence, instead of producing that 'self-annihilation or complete and habitual conformity of the will of man to the will of God,' which is stated as another consequence of the be-

lief of this doctrine, it must produce a complete carelessness as to the expressed will of God, by convincing us, that it is impossible to disobey, by any caprice or apparent rebellion, that secret but supreme will, which contradicts its own precepts; conformity to the expression of which would be therefore, if we may be allowed to suppose an impossibility, the greater disobedience. The guilt, which we abhor as destructive of happiness, is, in this system, as productive of it, as the most heroic virtue; and a Borgia and a Catiline are instruments as beneficial as a Titus or a Trajan. To see God in all, is to see him in the workings of every bad passion, in the private assassination, and the public conspiracy: and our devotion and gratitude owe much to him, who, even though he should violate a few forms of reasoning, is successful in placing to our view the will of man, between the crime which we detest, and the Creator whom we adore.

But the doctrine is not merely without beneficial consequences. In equalizing the virtues and vices of all men, as parts of one immense machine, it leaves no virtuous emotion unimpaired.—The bread which nourishes the mendicant becomes as much an object of his gratitude, as the benefactor who bestowed it; and the oppressor of an empire is to be looked on, with no other loathings, than the sword or the bowstring, which has ministered to his will. This very indifference is by Mr Belsham considered as an advantage, because 'it conciliates good-will' even to the most detestable of our race.

'By teaching us to look up to God as the prime agent, and the proper cause of every thing that happens, and to regard men as nothing more than instruments which he employs for accomplishing his good pleasure, it tends to suppress all resentment, malice, and revenge.' p. 316.

If, indeed, it tended to suppress that resentment only, which, in injuries to ourselves, exceeds too often the slightness of the offence, its influence would be beneficial. But to suppress all resentment, is, in education, at least, to suppress virtue itself. There is a virtuous *wrath*; we could almost say, a virtuous *malice* and *revenge*; which, we trust, will ever be excited by the tale of successful oppression: for though they may spring indeed without philosophy, they grow and blossom into all the virtuous resolutions of maturer character. If we must not feel resentment to man, because 'God is the prime agent,' there is as little *reason*, in gratitude, or esteem. When every emotion, then, of the infant mind has been checked by a syllogism as it arose; when it has been taught, with complete precision of proof, that every one is irresistibly impelled to what he does, and that merit and demerit are either words without meaning, or appli-

eable to human beings, only as they are applicable to the rod and the sweatmeat; from a child thus educated without love or indignation, what early resolutions of excellence, and what virtues of maturity may we reasonably hope? It is not enough to appeal to the conduct of Necessarians in general, since, fortunately for the world, the doctrine has not yet established itself in our nurseries, or in the hearts of our mothers; and there is therefore no one, who, in the most important period of his life, has not been taught, rather than forbidden, to revere and to despise. It is still more fortunate, that, by the associations of pleasures and sympathies, which are formed without will or precept, a provision is made by nature against the chilling influence of future systems of philosophy; and that, hence, though these systems may diminish our virtuous emotion, they cannot wholly destroy it. The influence, however, though limited, is in every respect unfavourable to morality. We own, indeed, that the *actual existence* of necessity is of much importance, as being the only source of the power of motives, and, consequently, of all moral education. But truth, and the belief of truth, are different; and it is of much more importance, that men should not be vicious, than that they should, in every instance, reason with exact consistency.

In saying of the system of ethics which Mr Belsham recommends, that it is in the highest degree 'unfavourable to virtue,' we do not think that we are joining in 'the clamour of ignorance and prejudice.' To *virtue*, indeed, in the sense in which he uses the term, it is not unfavourable; because, in that sense, as far as motives are concerned, it is impossible for any one not to be *perfectly* virtuous. But of the more generous morality, to which we have been accustomed to look with reverence, his system is destructive. The relations of *virtue* to others are, according to him, *accidental*. It is *valuable*, and indeed *exists*, only in relation to the agent: for the happiness of others is not necessarily our own; and 'the only valuable end of existence is happiness.' Virtue, then, he defines, 'the tendency of an action, or affection, habit or character, to the ultimate happiness of *the agent*.' There is an ambiguity in the word *ultimate*, which Mr Belsham might easily have avoided, as, in conformity with his reasoning, it can have no reference to *time*, but to *degree*; and should therefore be exchanged for *greatest*. He, then, is *virtuous*, who seeks his own greatest happiness; and as this is, at no moment of existence, precisely the same in all individuals, and no one is entitled to substitute his own judgment to that of the agent, every one must be allowed, by the Necessarian at least, to be perfectly virtuous, because every one, at the moment of volition, constantly prefers that which

appears to him the greatest good. The possibility of vice is thus a contradiction; because it supposes the agent to have desired that which appeared to him less desirable. He may indeed be mistaken in his choice; but in his unremitting search of the greatest good, he is always moved by that preponderance of motives which is relative to him alone; and, even if the choice were possible, Mr Belsham would surely call him mad, rather than virtuous, if he willed that which really tended to his greatest happiness, when, in his own opinion, it tended to his misery. Such a choice would, according to the definition, be actual vice; and it is only in such imagined impossibilities, that vice can be found. If, then, he alone be vicious, who prefers a *less* good, the distinction which Mr Belsham has attempted to make is nugatory, and guilt is a just object of moral approbation.

In this strict sense, the selfish system *must* be unfavourable to virtue; because it is, in truth, a general license to vice. But we will forget the inconsistency, and allow that, where the perceived happiness of the agent is the sole standard of morals, there may yet be a distinction of actions, as morally *right* or *wrong*.—How much, however, must our better emotions be deadened, by that reference to self, which *ought* continually to be made! for, if selfish happiness be the essence of virtue, it is the *duty* of every individual to have that happiness constantly in view; and he is least virtuous, as to *motive*, who forgets it most. Is it by such a reference, made with cautious deductions, in every situation of public feeling, that generosity, patriotism, and all the devotions of benevolence, are to be fostered into habits? We blame the system of those calculators of the general good, who prohibit the indulgence of any sentiment of affection, till we have compared it, as to its result, with every other feeling. But even these, though they deprive us of many pleasures, still leave us something, beyond ourselves, to which our hearts may turn. If we blame then, as diminishing our moral sympathy, those estimates, in which our own happiness is sacrificed to that of others, with an extravagance of generosity, what shall we say of the moral influence of a system, in which self is the sole standard; which calculates with equal caution, but which, in its calculation, lays out of account, as things of no essential moment, the happiness and the misery of every other being; and allows us to relieve the most pressing wants of him who has wasted his fortune or his health in our service, only when we have found that, by the casual connexion of things, his misery cannot continue a moment longer, without some evil to ourselves? The word *selfish* has, we know, two very different meanings, in the philosophic and the vulgar acceptation. But we fear, that the state of mind which

in the one case it denotes, will, in many instances, very speedily follow, when the other has become the standard of our moral regard.

In our examination of the moral tendency of these doctrines, as asserted by Mr Belsham, it is not our wish to turn against him his own *undeniable principle*; and to say, that, because their influence is pernicious, they are necessarily false. But we will say, that, on the *supposition* of their truth, their tendency is not *therefore* beneficial. We love truth much, but we love virtue more; and there is no degree of knowledge, which would not, in our opinion, be too dearly purchased, if, to obtain it, we were to sacrifice all the purest pleasures, and best affections of the uncorrupted heart.

The Scotch philosophy, as it is termed by Mr Belsham, is treated with very little favour. He disdains to make use of its support; and is content, in preference, to step boldly into any difficulty. Thus, after stating the doubt as to the existence of external things, he says, 'The Scotch philosophy again refers us to instinctive conviction, a doctrine already sufficiently exploded.' What then is the more convincing argument, which he opposes to Berkeley? He allows the hypothesis to be *possible*.

'But if it be admitted,' he continues, 'we have no evidence of the existence of any beings in the universe but the Deity and ourselves. All that we see, or perceive by the senses, and every person with whom we converse, are mere *entia rationis*, having no real existence; and, for the loss of these, it is a poor compensation, that we may infer from the benevolence of God, that there are in the universe other solitary individuals like ourselves, subject to the same illusive impressions.

'The existence of an external world is not often made the subject of inquiry, and cannot therefore be called the proper object of belief or disbelief. To those who speculate upon the subject, the supposition of the real existence of external objects commonly appears more pleasing in itself, and therefore more agreeable to divine benevolence, than to suppose that we are subjected to a perpetual illusion; and no case has ever occurred, which can lay a foundation for doubting the truth of this conclusion.' p. 131, 132.

The chief part of this objection to Berkeley is the mere statement of consequences which Berkeley himself had drawn, and which are, in truth, essential to the theory; and of the rest, we scarcely can persuade ourselves, that Mr Belsham seriously proposes it as the ground of our belief in an external world. Did man believe in that world, only after he had found out, that a society of *substances* would be more pleasing, than the existence of mere *entia rationis*, and therefore more suitable to the benevolence of Deity? Did the idea of an all perfect Creator precede our first idea of an external creation? Is a metaphysical truth to be computed from tables of profit and loss? Does the poor man

believe himself rich and healthy, because poverty and sickness are evils; and do the compassionate deny the existence of murder and misery, because the production of virtue and happiness appears to them more agreeable to divine goodness? We are convinced, that Mr Belsham himself believed in an external world, as strongly, before he felt the force of the ratiocination he has given us, as he did afterwards; and we fear, that, when he questions again his own belief, he must trace it to that very instinctive conviction, which it is his boast that he has himself exploded. To say of an opinion, that, because it has not often been made a subject of inquiry, it is not a proper object of disbelief, is either without meaning, or expresses still more strongly that *faith* for which the Scotch philosophers contend. To them universal assent is necessary; but to Mr Belsham it is sufficient that inquiry *has not often been made.* His argument, from the circumstance that no case has ever occurred in opposition to our conclusion, is a truly happy instance of a *question assumed.* The *real succession of our ideas* is not affected by the controversies of philosophers. Unless, therefore, we have previously believed in an external world, no *case can* occur to disprove it; and if we have previously believed in it, the same *cases* which seem to the idealist to justify his faith, *must* seem to us to justify our own.

In the general execution of the work, there are many traces of that hastiness of compilation, by which expressions and opinions vary in force, according to the author last read. Of this a striking example occurs, in the System of Ethics before examined; in which, though virtue be the willing of our own good, and self-interest its sole obligation, it is afterwards conceded to the advocates of benevolence, that 'self-annihilation is essential to perfect virtue,' and that even that 'most refined self-interest, by which we practise virtue and piety with a view to ultimate reward, is inconsistent with the perfection of virtue;' so that we cease to have any virtue, the moment we feel its *obligation;* and are then most virtuous, when the very essence of virtue is wholly disregarded or despised. For this want of correctness and of interest, we may, as critics, blame the work; but we confess that we do not regret it. We know what fascination it is in the power of eloquence to give to errors the most dangerous; and it is therefore better, when such evils are to be shed abroad, that they should not come from the hand of a master.

to inspire towards perjured women. Guilt appears more heinous, from the dread with which it is regarded; and remorse is, in their tragedies, the excess of desolation.' p. 59.

Madame Necker's infallible mode of judging has not been very successful on this occasion. She concludes, because some of the events related in the Greek poets and tragedians, turn upon adultery or incest, without any divorces being mentioned, that no divorces were permitted. It happens, however, unfortunately for her argument, that, in most parts of Greece, divorce appears to have been permitted by the laws. In Crete, any person might dismiss his wife, who was afraid of having too many children.* At Athens, divorce was sanctioned by the chief magistrate, under the authority of the laws, upon very trifling grounds. And in Sparta, the Lacedæmonians appear to have considered adultery as rather laudable. Madame Necker must at least have read through a French translation of Plutarch; and if she did, she must have seen in the life of Pericles, that a divorce took place between him and his wife, who was his near relation, by mutual consent, upon which he married Aspasia. And as for the purity of Grecian morals, the great moral philosopher Socrates is said to have accommodated his pupil Alcibiades with the use of his wife Xantippe; and, notwithstanding the very refractory temper which that lady is said to have possessed, she is believed to have been obedient to her husband, at least in that instance.

Although our authoress appears to have been rather better acquainted with Roman history and manners, she is not very fortunate in her remarks. She observes—

'Can we believe that Cornelia or Veturia would have formed new engagements—I do not say during the life of their first husbands (for that supposition alone would outrage their memory)—but, even after their death, would they have driven from their *penates* the noble and cherished shades which they continually held out as examples to their children? Would Coriolanus have yielded to the tears of Veturia, if he had not been brought up by her in the sanctuary of conjugal love, in the presence of the manes of his father? And could Rome have filled the universe with the noise of her exploits, without the influence of filial respect? Such are the important consequences of the sanctity of marriage. What dangerous consequences must arise to the children, from the separation of the authors of their existence! What destructive discord must not the strange combinations attending divorce produce upon their opening understandings!' p. 48.

We are not to suppose, that the idea of divorce was altogether unknown in the time of Veturia, as Dionysius of Helicarnassus

* Archbishop Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 296.

has preserved a speech made by herself, in which she mentions, that her son Coriolanus, before he left Rome, told his wife Volumnia that he was no longer to be her husband, and wished her better luck in marrying another more fortunate than himself. * Veturia is far from annexing any blame to her son on this account; so there is no reason for supposing, that she regarded divorce with any great degree of horror: and Coriolanus, according to the same historian, expresses particular gratitude to his wife for not leaving his mother, which she must have done, if she had followed his advice. This is altogether inconsistent with the idea of divorce having been unusual at that period. Rome is not the best instance for proving that filial respect or duty is inconsistent with the separation of the parents. Plutarch tells us, in his comparison of Numa and Lycurgus, † that according to the institutions of the former, after a Roman husband had a sufficient number of children, he might either make over his wife to any person who wished to have a family, or lend her out for a certain time. On the other hand, the Lacedemonian retained his wife in the house; but, during the subsistence of the marriage, he allowed any person she chose, to participate in her favours. Plutarch adds, that these delicate Spartan husbands even gave invitations to handsome men, whom they thought most likely to improve the breed. Honest Plutarch, however, appears at a loss which of the two legislators he shall admire most; and observes, that the only difference between them is, that the one introduced a total indifference on those subjects which usually excited jealousy and heartburnings, while the Roman institution showed a sense of shame, by imposing the veil of a new agreement, and confessed the difficulty of arranging such a communion. This practice appears to have been generally adopted by the old Romans. Strabo mentions, that the younger Cato accommodated his friend Hortensius with his wife Marcia, ‡ in imitation of the customs of the old Romans. A full account of the transaction is given by Plutarch, in his life of Cato. ‖ Hortensius, in order to cement the intimacy and friendship which already subsisted between him and Cato, applied, in the first place, to have the use of his daughter Porcia, who was already married to Bibulus. Cato, considering this as her husband's affair, declined any interference. Hortensius was not however discouraged, but made the same proposal for Cato's own wife Marcia, who happened at that time to be

* Dion. Halic. L. 18. c. 41. Vol. ii. p. 1602. Edit. Reiske.
† Edit. Reiske, Vol. i. p. 305.
‡ Strabo, Vol. i. p. 505. Amst. 1707.
‖ Edit. Reiske, Vol. iv. p. 408.

actually pregnant. Cato had no objection to this; and Hortensius obtained possession of the person of Marcia, by a regular and formal transaction made with the consent of her father Philippus. It also appears, that, among other legal modes of acquiring wives, prescription or use was recognized by the customs of Rome. But as, in this way, a matron, who only meant to be a wife for a certain time, might be acquired by her temporary husband, it was provided, by the laws of the Twelve Tables, that unless there was an interruption of three nights, a year's matrimonial connexion would constitute prescription.* From another fragment of the Twelve Tables, it is proved, that, even so early as the time of the Decemvirs, unlimited freedom of divorce was permitted. It was only necessary for either of the parties to send a messenger to the other, desiring them to manage their own concerns; and this constituted a divorce.† Facts, such as these, give a much more intelligible idea of the so much vaunted purity of manners among the ancient Romans. They may not have been so dissolute or corrupt as their posterity during the time of Augustus: but although, in these rude ages, they do not appear to have been much influenced by personal charms, neither delicacy nor morality was much regarded in their matrimonial arrangements. Madame Necker, however, after mentioning the bad effects that divorce would produce in France, above any other country, observes—

'These observations on Protestant countries would equally suit the different epochs of the Roman Republic. It is, however, useless to apply them: for it *was not divorce* that was permitted at Rome, but only repudiation. In ages approaching to the state of nature, the rights of the sexes were not equal. The empire, of course, was established; and a law establishing reciprocal divorce would have been considered as madness.' p. 86.

A few lines afterwards, Madame Necker observes, that

—'divorce among the Romans, was a punishment, and not a matter of agreement. They avenged themselves upon their guilty wives, in two ways equally dreaded—by real death, or by repudiation; which was a kind of death, both in its civil effects, and in public opinion. Thus, women were subjected, at the same time, both to the punish-

* Ut quæ mulier, cum juris esset, annum unum apud virum matrimonii causa fuisset, ea mulier ni trinoctium usurpatum esset pro usucapta haberetur: xxi. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. p. 696. *de leg. Duod. Tab.*—Rosinus states, on the authority of Aulus Gellius, that the word 'matron,' which has so respectable a sound to modern ears, was originally applied to wives of that description.

† Ut si è conjugibus alter alteri nuncium mitteret, eumque res suas sibi habere juberet, divortium esset.

ment of death, in which view they were considered as slaves, and to the suffering of shame, or rather disgrace, which could only be felt by those who were free; and this combination is perhaps peculiar in social order. The Roman ladies, who were subjected to so severe laws, gave few subjects of complaint to their husbands; and there is no reason for being surprised, that centuries should elapse, without producing one instance of repudiation. But what connexion can be found between divorce, as established among the Romans, and that which is now adopted? The one was at once a law of slavery and modesty; the other, a law of liberty and audacity. At Rome, divorce was the guardian of decency; in France, it will be the corrupter of decency: and if repudiation had been introduced among us, as it was among the Romans, women would always be the victims. The only object of affection would be charms, which so soon pass away; and, amidst the depravity of our manners, the first trait of old age would have been the signal of separation. The duration of marriages would have been limited to the spring-time of life; and the faded rose would be cruelly separated from its prop, and delivered up to all the storms of life. Notwithstanding, however, the partiality of the law, which only gave men the freedom of divorce, this form will be less injurious to the purity of manners, which, in unison with nature, afford women an opportunity of exercising one additional virtue.'

The knowledge which Madame Necker here displays of Roman customs, is not very profound. She does not appear even to have understood what they meant by *repudiation*; * and, if she did, it is perfectly clear, from the law of the Twelve Tables, already referred to, that both sexes had the power of dissolving the marriage, even at that period of the Roman commonwealth. The eulogiums, therefore, which some very respectable historians have passed upon the purity and sanctity of the ancient Roman marriages, must be received, subject to many limitations. A great mistake, into which they appear to have fallen, has already been pointed out by Montesquieu; † and it cannot be supposed, that divorces by mutual consent were unknown, when, in their very limited code of laws, there was one which allowed it to either party. There is, however, no reason to suppose that

* *Repudium*, in its appropriate meaning, applied to the case of *sponsalia*; *divortium*, to marriage. The words of form were different, from that circumstance. *Vide* Heinec. Antiq. Rom. vol. i. p. 311. Rosin. Antiq. p. 458.

† Esprit des Loix, L. 16. c. 16. That profound and acute writer explains the reason why Carvilius Ruga, divorcing his wife at the desire of the Censors, on account of sterility, although he loved her himself, might make him odious to his countrymen, who dreaded such interference: but it cannot be believed that that was the first instance of divorce among the Romans.

husbands would be very apt to dismiss wives who were entirely subject to their authority, at a time when their personal labour was of some value. The husband, after consulting with his friends, might put his wife to death, if he chose, for an act of drunkenness; and if he was tired of her, he might oblige any of his friends, by making her over to him. Where a husband had all this power, it could hardly be his interest to dissolve the marriage. If he did so, it might, perhaps, even among the virtuous Romans, be regarded as an act of folly, if not of cruelty. We must therefore regret very much, that Madame Necker has so much weakened her argument, by constant reference to manners and laws with which she was altogether unacquainted, and which certainly cannot be held out as models for reforming the corruption of modern marriages. No species of adultery can appear more offensive than the transaction of the virtuous Cato with his friend Hortensius; and we are most decidedly of opinion, that if Madame Necker had employed the talents she appears to possess, in delivering her sentiments without all that parade of learning, her work would have been much better calculated to promote the cause, which she seems to have espoused from the most amiable and virtuous motives.

After the observations we have already made, it is hardly necessary to give a minute analysis of the arguments used by Madame Necker. She considers the question in four points of view. 1. The individual happiness of married persons in their youth: 2. The bad effects of divorce with regard to children: 3. The effect of divorce upon manners: and, *lastly*, the comfort and consolation which old age derives from the married state. All those objects of marriage are defeated, according to our author, by the law permitting divorces. She views the reproduction of the species as a very secondary object in marriage; and that the primary object is the union of affections, sentiments, and interest, which ought to take place; and which marriage, according to Scripture, was instituted to promote. It is rather singular that Milton, arguing in favour of the liberty of divorce, rests his argument on precisely the same foundation as Madame Necker opposing it.—'For although God, in the first ordain-'ing of marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in the words 'expresly implying the apt and cheerful conversation of man 'with woman, to comfort and refresh him of the evil and soli-'tary life, not mentioning the purpose of generation till after-'wards, as being but a secondary end in dignity, tho not in ne-'cessity; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the church, 'and have tasted in any sort the nuptial bed, let them find them-'selves never so mistak'n in their dispositions through any er-'ror, concealment, or misadventure, that through their different

'tempers, thoughts, and constitutions, they can neither be to 'one another a remedy against loneliness, nor live in any union 'or contentment all their dayes, yet they shall, so they be but 'found suitably weapon'd to the least possibility of sensual en-'joyment, be made, spight of *antipathy*, to fadge together, and 'combine as they may to their unspeakable wearisomeness, and 'despair of all sociable delight in the ordinance which God esta-'blisht to that very end.'* Milton's great object is to show, that, according both to the Mosaic code and the Christian dispensation, divorce was permitted for other causes besides adultery, particularly 'indisposition, unfitness, and contrariety of mind.' The motive which urged him to compose these treatises is well known. With all their paradoxes they abound in eloquent passages; but neither these, nor the great name of their author, have preserved them from almost total oblivion. Even at the time they were published, they do not appear to have made any great impression upon his countrymen. No Legislature, however rash and inconsiderate, will venture to make such a change on the laws of a country, unless some preparation has been made for it in the customs and manners of the people in France. Long before the Revolution, the marriages of persons of a certain rank were little better than nominal. This fact is acknowledged by Madame Necker. The mere formal dissolution of marriages, which, in point of fact, no longer existed, is not perhaps to be much regretted. But this is no vindication of the law permitting divorce. Its influence might not be material, either on marriages which were supported by the firm bond of mutual affection, or on those already dissolved by the profligacy of the husband, or the infidelity of the wife. Such laws have little effect on either extremes; but, in every nation, there is a large class of persons who are neither determined in vice, nor resolute in virtue. A sudden innovation on the laws of a country, opens a career to their wavering dispositions, and is likely to produce the worst effects. Milton appears to have been sensible, that, in his time, the opposition he had chiefly to dread, was that arising from the influence of habit and custom. After entreating Parliament to adopt, without delay, the reformation he proposes,† 'lest some other people, more devout and wise 'than we, bereave us this offer'd immortal glory, or wonted 'prerogative, of being the first assertors in every great vindica-'tion,' he says, 'For me, as far as my part leads me, I have 'already my greatest gain, assurance, and inward satisfaction 'to have done in this nothing unworthy of an honest life, and

*Milton's Works, vol. i. p. 280. † Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.

'studies well employ'd. With what event, among the wise and 'right understanding handful of men, I am secure. But how 'among the drove of custom and prejudice this will be relisht 'by such whose capacity since their youth run ahead into the 'easy creek of a system or a medulla, sails there at will under 'the blown physiognomy of their unlabour'd audiments; for 'them, what their taste will be, I have also surety sufficient, 'from the entire league that hath been ever between formal 'ignorance and grave obstinacy.'* With whatever contempt even Milton may attempt to treat custom: in matters of this kind, it must ever be considered as the sovereign authority. The relation which laws bear to the customs and manners of a nation, is the real security for their endurance. Where there is this double security, the rashest innovators will hesitate. But where, as in France, establishments of every kind have been long undermined, by changes in manners and customs, to which they were not accommodated, the first shock destroys the crazy superstructure, and, in the general ruin, the morality of the country is destroyed, along with the fantastic decorations which formerly concealed its imperfections, without affording it any real support. The arguments on which this question must turn, have long ago been brought forward by Hume, Essay 19. Part 1.; and Madame Necker does not appear to have made any addition to them.

We have already pointed out the most striking defects in this work, which are of a nature that we should be sorry to see imitated. We have no doubt, that if Madame Necker had resisted her fondness for learned names, her love of similes, and the admiration she appears to have felt for Rousseau's writings, to which she frequently refers, she would have been a very pleasing writer. Almost every page reminds us of these defects; and the reputation of the author makes it more necessary to point them out. In the last part of the work there are some pleasing passages on the consolation which conjugal affection and happiness affords to old age. Another part of it contains an address to Madame Custine, which would be entitled to the praise of eloquence, if it were not overloaded with rhetorical and poetical ornament. It is introduced, after mentioning the example of Ruth and Naomi; and we quote it in the original, as a translation might give but a very imperfect idea of the merits or defects of Madame Necker's style.

'Dans un temps où les mœurs étoient si simples et si pures, les femmes même dont les vertus avoient le plus d'éclat, suivoient cependant la pente naturelle de leur siècle sans y faire époque. Mais vous, gloire de votre sexe, charmante et sublime exception à tous ses désordres, à toutes

* Milton's Works, vol. i. p. 280.

ses inconséquences, à toutes ses indépendances, à toutes ses fausses exaltations pour de faux devoirs, je baise les traces de vos pas; je les couvre de fleurs jusqu'à la porte de cette prison que vos larmes vous font ouvrir chaque jour: puisse le charme de vos vertus, pareil à celui de la lyre d'Orphée, fléchir les arbitres de la mort, et présenter un nouvel argument, plus touchant que tous les autres, en faveur de l'identité des époux et de l'indissolubilité du marriage!' p. 44, 45.

We have not observed that the defects we complain of in Madame Necker's style have prevailed to any extent in the writings of our fair countrywomen: the example is, however, dangerous. Though we are not disposed to assign any limits to female acquisitions in literature or erudition, the display of them ought to be attended with some degree of caution. A woman may have read some translations of the classics, with the profound notes of Madame Dacier, or even construed part of Virgil in the original, without being able to afford much instruction to the world. She may be a sort of prodigy in her own circle, without having acquisitions beyond those of a boy of sixteen. Both will be ready, upon all occasions, to name every Roman or Greek they ever heard any thing about; but in their blind and mistaken zeal they will be apt to praise them for those very virtues to which they have least pretensions.

ART. XXIII. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.* Vol. V. Part II. 1802.

THE first paper in this volume is entitled—

'*Remarks on a Mixed Species of Evidence in Matters of History: With an Examination of a New Historical Hypothesis, in the* Mémoires pour la Vie de Petrarque, *by the Abbé de Sade.* By Alexander Frazer Tytler Esq., F. R. S. Edin. Judge-Advocate of North Britain.

THE discovery of a new species of evidence is not one of those every-day occurrences in the literary world, which pass before us with a slight notice, or without any observation. In fact, we scarcely remember any such discovery in the history of human science, unless, perhaps, the philosophy of Bacon may be ranked under this head. The most important inventions of art—the most brilliant improvements of science—the achievements of Archimedes and of Newton themselves—were only successful applications of kinds of evidence formerly used, or happy generalisations of principles previously known in detail. So much has been done, too, with the old sorts of evidence, and so great advances have been made since the logic of Bacon succeeded that of

the schools, that, upon opening this volume, and casting our eyes on the first article, our expectations were raised to the highest pitch. We glanced a delighted eye over the vast space of enlarged science, which we conceived was now to be opened. We beheld all obscurity cleared up, and all doubt removed. We saw, or fancied we saw, new regions of discovery laid open to every industrious adept in this new art; and never doubted, that Mr Tytler had fallen upon some commodious method for elucidating the Chinese and Egyptian chronologies; or, at least, for ascertaining the guilt and the hunchback of Richard, or the innocence of Mary. Amidst the vast choice of objects to which we conceived our newly acquired lantern might be directed, we were only at a loss to which it should first be turned. It is true, we were soon awakened from this revery, by the candour and fairness of our author, who, it must be confessed, does not indulge his reader with a long dream: For, in the first twelve lines, we were mortified to find, that the '*mixed evidence*' is only what we have hitherto been accustomed to call presumptive or circumstantial proof; and that the canons, in which the description is paraded with no common pomp, amount only to an indistinct and imperfect statement of those ordinary and obvious principles, which regulate the admission of that most common species of evidence. The mixture of fact and criticism is so far from being an original compound, that no modern historian can proceed a single page without it; it is merely arguing by conjecture, from a scanty store of facts, and settling by criticism the admissibility of those facts.

After we had, for a moment, given way to those emotions of disappointment, that so commonly fall to the lot of such reviewers as read further than the title-pages of books, we began to derive consolation, from the hopes that a common tool, in the hands of a skilful workman, might produce a masterpiece; and that much remained yet to be discovered, accessible to the kinds of evidence in general use. Again we were somewhat disappointed: the use to which the '*mixed evidence*' has been applied is, the ascertaining that the Laura of Petrarch was a modest maid. While we thought little of such matters, and were expecting the entrance of a grave inquirer into important affairs, there appears upon the stage a courteous knight * (we use the language of his own challenge) clad in *new* armour, tossing down the gauntlet for the sainted Laura; and, muttering a few short sentences as to the rules of the joust, and the greatness of the occasion, he gallantly advances, and, lifting up his beaver, bespeaks attention, by exhibiting a *miniature* of his fair (but departed) mistress. He singles out a certain,

* P. 125.

discourteous knight, clad in old clerical armour—points his spear against him—arraigns him of blasphemy for having injured the fame of Laura—and dares him to try the proof of that new armour in which our last knight is attired. In humbler phrase, the new evidence is circumstantial evidence; and the new use that is made of it, is to prove that Laura was not a coquette, and Petrarch not a seducer.

We will not dissemble the disappointment which we experienced, upon coming all at once to the full discovery of this circumstance. But, resigning ourselves to our fate, we slowly proceeded in our melancholy vocation; and began to wade through nearly 90 quarto pages of critical disquisition, dictated by the most enthusiastic admiration of the subject, both male and female indicative of the same chivalrous soul which induced the enterprize, and symptomatic of rather a rancorous spirit of controversy displayed in obstinate attacks upon the particular principles and morals of the poor Abbé de Sade. *

We acknowledge, however, that we have found the labour lighter as we proceeded. We have been much pleased with the acuteness with which our author refutes the Abbé's fanciful hypothesis. We have experienced much relaxation from the agreeable variety afforded by his elegant and accomplished talents: we soon recognized an old friend, from whose classical acquirements we had frequently before received pleasure; and we approve the virtuous principles which he every where displays, although we cannot sympathize in his zeal for Laura's honour, and Petrarch's piety.

Various opinions have divided the learned world upon the subject of Laura. Some have begun at the root of the matter, and questioned her existence altogether. Among those who have most stoutly asserted her reality, some have contended that she was the Virgin Mary; while others have insisted, with equal confidence, that she was not only a mere woman, but a strumpet. The Abbé de Sade, again, in later times, has maintained, that she was not exactly a strumpet, but something between a coquette and an adulteress; and Mr Tytler will have her to have been a most pure and unblemished, though a clay-built virgin. For our parts, we are little interested in the controversy, and shall not presume to decide upon it. We have derived much pleasure from reading the delightful sonnets of Petrarch. If they were addressed to an image of his own brain, fairer than any actual Laura in nature, we should only the more warmly admire the poetical spirit of that extraordinary personage, and the wonderful command of imagery and fiction which could give such an air of reality and ardour to the expression of a fictitious passion. If Laura was a strumpet, or an adulteress, we should blame both

* *Vide* p. 154, 155, and 156.

her and Petrarch, as moralists; yet, though we should call down on our heads all the remnant in the vials of Mr Tytler's wrath (if any remains unexhausted on the Abbé), we must acknowledge, that we have received pleasure from the Lydia of Horace, and even from the Alexis of Virgil. Provided an ancient poem contain no apparent violation of propriety in morals, we care very little about the character of its author, and still less about the chastity of the fair one to whom it was addressed: and of Laura, there does not now remain a vestige on earth beyond the verses themselves. The honour of an obscure girl, long forgotten, and, if a real person, many ages ago dead, rotten, and annihilated, appears to us one of the least interesting subjects upon which a learned Society could possibly bestow its attention.—*De gustibus*, &c.

The next article in the collection is—

'*A Description of an Extra-Uterine Fœtus.* By Mr Thomas Blizzard, F. R. S. Edinburgh, Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery, and Surgeon to the London Hospital.'

THIS contains a very concise and clear description (with two most excellent plates) of a singular case of conception. The subject was, a woman of 28 years old, who had had some full births, and several miscarriages, particularly one about five weeks before her death. The disease which carried her off, was an uncommon pain and swelling of the abdomen, accompanied by sensations so extraordinary, that she desired her friends to have her body opened after her death. In compliance with this wish, Mr Blizzard dissected her, and observed particularly that there had been, in the fallopian tubes, a small pouch formed, and with a rupture and hemorrhage from it. The uterus was enlarged, and a quantity of jelly was found extending from the os uteri. The embryo had apparently rested on the fallopian tube, instead of passing into the uterus; and an extra-uterine gestation had there taken place, in consequence of which that tube had burst. Our author, after remarking the singularly small portion of time which had intervened between the last miscarriage, and the new conception of this industrious propagatrix of the species, accounts for the stoppage of the fœtus, by supposing that some irregular and casual contraction of the fallopian tube had taken place, as all the vessels, and the tube itself, were in their natural state.

This interesting article is followed by a *Meteorological Abstract* for the years 1797, 1798, 1799, by Professor Playfair, a gentleman fully known to our readers in various branches of abstruse science. These tables are constructed on a very excellent plan; and we recommend the improvement to all our readers who may

have an opportunity of doing—what so many persons do ill—keeping a register of the weather, in different parts of the country.

We are next presented with a very valuable paper—

A New and Universal Solution of Kepler's Problem.
By James Ivory *Esq.*

Our scientific readers are well acquainted with the celebrated inquiry to which Kepler was led, after the discovery of the law which bears his name. Having proved that the squares of the periodic times are as the cubes of the distances, he wished to discover a method of finding the true place of a planet at a given time—one of the most important and general problems in Astronomy. By a short and easy process of reasoning, he reduced this question to the solution of a transcendental problem;—to draw from a given eccentric point, in the transverse of an ellipse (or the diameter of a circle) a straight line, which shall cut the area of the curve in a given ratio; or, in the language of astronomers, 'from the given mean anomaly, to find the anomaly of the eccentric.'

This most important problem is evidently transcendental; for, in the first place, the curve in question is not quadrable; and, in the next place, admitting that it were, the solution cannot be obtained in finite terms. As the general question, for all trajectories, is of vast importance; and as this paper contains a most successful application of the utmost resources of algebraic skill to the most important case of it, we shall premise a few remarks upon the problem, when enunciated in different cases.

Let d^2 be the given area of any curve, which is the trajectory of a planet or other body, or which is to be cut in the given ratio of m to n. Let x and y, as usual, be the abscissa and ordinate, and c the eccentricity of the given point, through which the *radius vector* is to be drawn, if the equation is taken from the centre; or, if it is taken from the vertex, let c be the distance of the given point from that vertex, as the focal distance in the case of the planets or comets, (supposing the comets to revolve round the sun in parabolas or eccentric ellipses, having the sun in the focus), then, it may easily be found, that the following fluxional equation $2\int y\dot{x} + y(c-x) = \frac{2md^2}{m+n}$ if resolved for the case of any given curve, gives a solution of the problem for that curve. Instead of $\int y\dot{x}$, there must be substituted the general expression for the area found by integration; and y must then be expressed through the whole equation in terms of x, or x in terms of y: There will result an equation to x, or to y, which, when resolved, gives a solution of the problem.

Now, it is manifest, that one or both of two difficulties or impossibilities may occur in this investigation of the value of x. It may be impossible to exhibit $\int y\,x$ in finite terms; and it may be impossible, even after finding $\int y\,x$, to resolve the equation that results from substituting the value of $\int y\,x$ in the general equation above given. Thus, if the given curve is not quadrable, the equation can never be resolved; but, although the curve is quadrable, it does not follow that the equation can be resolved.

In the case of the *circle* and *ellipse*, both these difficulties must of course concur. The value of $\int y\,x$ in the circle being $\int x\sqrt{ax - x^2}$, and in the ellipse $\int \frac{b}{d}\,x\sqrt{ax - x^2}$ (where a and b are the transverse and conjugate), neither of which fluents can be integrated in finite terms, the general equations become indefinite or unintegrable.

The *lemniscata* (a curve of the fourth order) is quadrable; but the resolution of our general equation cannot, in this case, be performed in finite terms; it leads to an equation of the sixth order, very complicated and difficult. * But, if the given point is in the centre or *punctum duplex* of the curve, the equation is a cubic one, wanting the second term, and, of course, easily resolved.

It often happens, too, that the problem may be resolved, in general, for a curve; but that, in one particular part of the axis,

* The equation is of the following form, a being the lemniscata's semidiameter.

$$\left.\begin{aligned} &+ x^6 \\ &+ 6c\,(1-a)\,x^5 \\ &+ \left(9c^2\,(1+a^2-2a) - a^2\right)x^4 \\ &- 6c\,a^2\,(1-a^2)\,x^3 \\ &+ \left(3a^4 - 9c^2a^2\,(1+a^2-2a)\right)x^2 \\ &+ 6c\,a^4\,(1-a)\,x \end{aligned}\right\} = \frac{12m}{m+n}\,a^2d^2\left(a^2 - \frac{3md^2}{m+n}\right)$$

a cubocubic having all its terms ($x^6 + A\,x^5 + B\,x^4 + C\,x^3 + D\,x^2 + E\,x + F = 0$) in which A, C, and E vanish when the centre of motion (or of the *radii vectores*) is in the *punctum duplex*, and then the equation to x is $x^6 + B\,x^4 + D\,x^2 + F = 0$, reducible to the cubic $z^3 + \Delta\,z + \varphi = \varphi$. So that the problem is soluble, except when the eccentricity is such that $\left(\frac{\Delta}{3}\right)^3$ is less than $\left(\frac{\varphi}{2}\right)^2$ the irreducible case of Cardan's rule.

the solution becomes impossible. As this is rather a singular circumstance, we shall attend a little more minutely to it.

Let it be required to resolve the problem for the case of comets, supposing those bodies to move in parabolic orbits. The general equation for x becomes $x\sqrt{x} + 3c\sqrt{x} = \frac{6}{\sqrt{a}} \times \frac{m d^2}{m+n}$; a cubic wanting the second term, and easily resolved. But, in certain cases, viz. when c, the distance of the given point from the vertex, is less than $3d \times \sqrt[3]{\frac{m^2 d^2}{4a(m+n)^2}}$ the problem cannot be resolved; for, in this case, the cube of one third of the coefficient of x is less than the square of half the last term, which is the well known irreducible case of Cardan's rule. In this case, therefore, the problem of the comet is reduced to infinite series, or to the arithmetic of sines. If the given point is in the vertex of the curve, that is, in the perihelion, the problem is always resolvable, being reduced to the simple extraction of a cube root; and this is the case of comets which fall into the sun.

The resolvable case of the *lemniscata* is in the same circumstances, as may easily be seen by inspecting its equation.

In substituting for $\int y\,x$ its value in our general equation, we may either give it in terms of x, that is, of the abscissa; or in terms of $x\,y$, that is, of the circumscribing rectangle; and neglect any farther substitution. Thence arises a different and more elegant solution of the problem, by the intersection of curve lines; for we obtain an equation to a new curve, which cuts the former in the point required. Thus, by such a process in the case of the comet, we obtain the equation $y = \frac{6\,m\,d^2}{(m+n)(x+3c)}$ to a conic hyperbola. For brevity's sake, put $\frac{2\,m\,d^2}{m+n} = \varphi^2$, the equation becomes $y = \frac{3\varphi^2}{x+3c}$: Therefore, taking a point on the axis at the distance of $3c$ beyond the given vertex (or perihelion), erect a perpendicular, and, between the two lines, as assymptotes, describe the hyperbola $x\,y = 3\varphi^2$, it will cut the given trajectory in the point required: If the given point is in the perihelion, then the perpendicular must be raised at the vertex of the parabola.

The solution here given by a *locus*, is evidently general, and has no impossible case. But there are some instances, in which such solutions, although perhaps the only practicable ones, are nevertheless attended with an impossible case. Let us take that of the *lemniscata*. Instead of the irresoluble equation of the sixth

order, we obtain, by the last mentioned method, a cubic equation of this form, $y = \frac{(3\phi^2 - 2a^2)x}{3cx - x^2 - 2a^2}$; to a curve of the third order, called, if we rightly remember, by Sir Isaac Newton, in his '*Enumeratio Linearum Tertii Ordinis*,' a *parabolism of the hyperbola*. Now, although this is extremely simple, in comparison of the complex equation given by the direct method first mentioned, it has manifestly one impossible case, viz. when ϕ is equal to $a \times \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$, or when the given area is to two thirds of the square of the diameter of the curve, as $m + n$ to m. In this case, no parabolism of the hyperbola can be drawn, which will intersect the given curve in the point required; and this is an impossibility affecting every possible value of c; that is, every position of the given point, in this particular magnitude of the given area. But this circumstance makes no difference on the resolution of the problem by the direct method. Thus, when the eccentricity vanishes, or the given point is in the *punctum duplex*, the solution is derived from a cubic equation equally resolvable when $\phi = a\sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$ as when ϕ is either $< a \times \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$ or $> a \times \sqrt{\frac{2}{3}}$.

The method of resolving this interesting problem by *loci*, is the source of an immense variety of the most curious propositions concerning the properties and mutual relations of curve lines; and, more especially, leads us to the discovery of various porisms, which we otherwise should never have found out. In order to generalize and extend these, it is necessary, that, instead of considering merely the case of Kepler's problem, where an area is cut by a straight line, we should consider also the far more difficult problem of cutting the area of one curve by another curve, in a given ratio; and then the problem may be extended to the section, not of one curvilinear area, but of an infinite number of areas, contained between two given lines, or of the areas of all the curves of a particular kind which can be drawn between those given lines. It is easy to perceive, that the same resolution before adverted to, will not apply to those more complicated problems. But our readers will find a variety of examples of this species of proposition in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London for 1798, which were investigated chiefly in the manner above described. It is evident, that the application of such problems to physics, does not proceed so far; for we have never yet discovered an example of a central force acting in a curvilinear direction.

The solutions which we have now described, of Kepler's problem, and of several problems of a more general sort, are of a theoretical nature. They exhibit the mode of expressing by curve lines, or imaginary relations of known quantities, the relation required of the quantities given; they rather vary the difficulty, or simplify the relation, than remove the impediments to practical measurement. If it be required to exhibit the anomaly of the eccentric, we may indeed adopt the solution given by Sir Isaac Newton (*Principia, lib.* i. *prop.* 31. *& Schol.*) or that hinted at by Kepler himself. The Newtonian solution proceeds upon the description of a cycloid, and an easy construction, by which the point required is found in the intersection of a straight line with the given trajectory. In the volume of the Philosophical Transactions for 1798, a solution is given more directly, by the intersection of a species of a cycloid of easy description, with the given curves without any subsequent construction. But these solutions, though more pleasing and beautiful in theory, are useless, when it is required to exhibit a value of the *abscissa* corresponding to the anomaly of the eccentric, or its supplement, in such a manner that a comparison may be made of this line with some known measure of length. It becomes necessary, in this case, to find a numerical value of the quantity in question. Now, this can only be done by a series; and the two great objects in finding such a series, are, first, to give one which may be regulated by a simple law; and, secondly, to give one which may converge rapidly: so that its denominators rapidly increasing, the quantities may soon become so small, as not to deserve attention in our computations.

The approximation given by Mr Ivory, in the paper now before us, deserves the first place among those of which we are in possession, whether we consider its simplicity, universality, or accuracy. The series is of easy management, applies to the most eccentric orbits, as well as to those approaching nearer to the circle, and to all degrees of eccentricity in the given point, the centre of forces. It has the benefit, too, of a most rapid convergence.

He first gives a very simple and elegant geometrical method of approximation, by an application of the rectangular case of the general problem *de inclinationibus* of the ancient geometers. But as this is by no means satisfactory to the practical calculator (for reasons before assigned), he proceeds next to the algebraic solution.

He begins with investigating the series for the eccentric anomaly when the mean anomaly is a right angle. It converges quickly; and the terms err alternately, by defect and excess, the difference growing continually less and less.

Our author then proceeds to the investigation of a similar series, found in the same manner, for the other cases of the mean

anomaly. We should in vain attempt to give our readers a more minute idea of this solution, without a detail as full as the paper now before us. We shall only note an *erratum* that has crept into the twelfth article. After putting $tan.\ A = e \times \frac{sin.\ \varphi}{cos.\ \varphi - m} \times sec.\ 45°$, he infers that $sin.\ \frac{\psi}{2} = tan.\ \frac{A}{2} \times 45°$; it should be $sin.\ \frac{\psi}{2} = tan.\ \frac{A}{2} \times sin.\ 45°$.

Our author next gives two examples of the application of his method to geometric problems, concerning the circle. The one, is to bisect a given semicircular area by a chord from a given point in the circumference. The results of the series which he gives for the eccentric anomaly are as follows.

Eccent. Anom. = 47° 4′ (first value, and less than the truth.)
——————— = 47° 40′ 14″ (second value, and greater than the truth.)
——————— = 47° 39′ 12″ (third value, and less than the truth.)

Our readers will, from this example, perceive the excellence of the method: for, whereas the first two terms differ by nearly 36′, the second and third differ only by 1′ 2″. Or, in other words, while, by the two first trials, we come to a space of above half a degree, in some part of which the point required is to be found; by the second and third trials, we obtain a space of about the sixtieth part of a degree, in some part of which lies the result. By the third term of the series, then, we obtain a solution not more than 31″ distant from the truth, and this in circumstances the least favourable.

The other example is a solution of the problem—'to draw from a point in the circumference two chords which shall trisect the circular area.' Here the

Eccent. Anom. = 30° 35′ (first value less.)
——————— = 30° 44′ 11″ (second greater.)

Euler's solution (*Analysis, Inf.* XI. 22.) differs little more than 30″ from this solution given by our author's *second* term.

This specimen will sufficiently show to our readers the superior excellency of Mr Ivory's method. Former analysts have only resolved the case wherein the eccentricity is small: his solution extends to comets as well as planets. For the planets, his rules apply with peculiar accuracy and ease; and his series converges with extreme rapidity; so much so, that we consider the approximation of one term sufficient for practice. He has given a table of the values of the errors (or differences) for the different planets computed in this way. He adds an exemplification for the famous comet of 1682, supposed to be the same which reappeared

in 1759. His first approximation for the anomaly of the eccentric, reckoned from the aphelion (16 days 4 hours and 44′ from its perihelial passage), is 173° 51′, and too small. The second approximation is 173° 54′ 36″, exceeding the real eccentric anomaly from the perihelion by only a few seconds.

Our author concludes with showing how a remedy may be discovered for the difficulties, or rather prolixity, arising to his computation, in the cases where the perihelial distance is very small; that is, where the eccentric anomaly, reckoned from the aphelion, is large; and he finds it, from a comparison of the parabolic and elliptic ones, which coincide so nearly in cases of great eccentricity, like those of the comets. We shall here remark an *erratum* in article 17. which has crept into the left-hand side of the equation: Instead of $y + \frac{y}{3} =$, &c. it should evidently be $y + \frac{y^3}{3} =$ &c. The author will excuse such minute criticism. We address it to our readers, whom we wish to introduce to this admirable tract; and such trifles often discourage young students in the mathematics. For it is scarcely necessary to add, that mathematical reading is no passive exercise of the mind; but requires almost as much labour as mathematical writing.

The application of our author's last correction, deduced from the comparison of the parabolic and elliptic trajectories, to the finding of the heliocentric place, and also the heliocentric distance (or *radius vector* of the cometic orbit), concludes this paper. We have been the more gratified by a perusal of this last branch of Mr Ivory's inquiry, because the speculations have formerly occurred in a similar form to ourselves. The introduction of the parabola, which admits of quadrative, and of definite solution, so far as regards Kepler's problem, has always appeared to us the surest method of rectifying the computations of the heliocentric places and distances of comets, or of their perihelial eccentric anomalies and *radii vectores*, during the small perihelial part of their trajectories which we are permitted to contemplate. In that part, the eccentric ellipse and the parabola nearly coincide; and, after all, we are not perfectly certain that those singular bodies do not move in orbits strictly parabolic.

We cannot sufficiently recommend this profound and excellent paper to our readers' attention. Looking to the *logical formulas* and historical *demonstrations* of Mr Tytler, the *mechanical investigations* and *military problems* of Lord Ancram, we again are stricken with wonder at the singular *melange* which the Royal Society has contrived to bring together. Again, turning to the scientific labours of the mathematician, we cannot avoid exclaiming, '*O si sic omnia!*'

The article which follows these excellent and profound speculations, on a most important subject of abstract science, seems to have been admitted into this volume, partly because it is the production of a noble author, and partly because great variety is pleasing in all works. The following is its title:—

'*Description of some Improvements in the Arms and Accoutrements of Light Cavalry, proposed by the Earl of Ancram, Colonel of the Mid Lothian Regiment of Fencible Cavalry, and F.R.S. Edinburgh, to his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. &c. in a Letter to Captain Taylor, Military Secretary to his Excellency.*

Where, in the name of order, are we got now? Among colonels of horse—lord-lieutenants—military secretaries—light cavalry—arms and accoutrements! We can read no farther. We have nothing to do with the din of arms. We thought of reviewing the speculations of a learned body of peaceful sages: But so dazzling is a title, and a command of horse, that these philosophers, on the noble and gallant inventor presenting his new firelock to them, and demanding admittance for the record of his fame, seem to have answered as the philosopher of old did, upon allowing a great conqueror (a colonel or lord-lieutenant of those days) to beat him in an argument, 'What! shall I dispute the point with an opponent who commands 100,000 soldiers?' We solemnly deny having been accessory, even indirectly, to this singular piece of authorship: we have not so much as read more of the paper than the first sentence, in which, however, we find that the noble mechanic is an inventor of words as well as of fire-arms, and he uses '*arm*' in the singular, to denote a piece of armour. As this comes under our province, we must remind his Lordship, in the words of an old courtier, (a grammarian or reviewer of Rome, we forget which), that he may raise what new recruits he pleases for his regiment, but cannot be permitted to raise a single new word.

We would propose a question, with all possible deference to the Society:—If Mr Twigg, in a fit of disinterested public spirit, had communicated to them his invention of the new breech, instead of going to the patent-office with it, would his paper (even if Lord Ancram had clubbed his share of grammar, orthography, and new words) have been published in this volume?

A New Method, &c. By Mr W. Wallace, *Perth.*

If the present volume of the Edinburgh Transactions contains abundance of matter in which we cannot feel much interested, (perhaps from want of taste and obtuseness of organs), and if it is defiled by some trash that we lament to see admitted among the

speculations of philosophers, it must be acknowledged that the scientific part of the collection is exceedingly rich. The papers of Messrs Wallace and Ivory, in particular, are sufficiently valuable to atone for many 'Lauras' and 'gun breeches.' We observe, with some patriotic feelings of mortification, that those writers who have, we assert it, kept the Society's books in circulation for several years past, are not even members of an Institution to which they contribute so distinguished, nay, so necessary a share of assistance.

The paper of Mr Wallace we earnestly recommend to the attention of every reader. We have received the highest gratification from a careful perusal of it; and acknowledge that we have seen few inventions in this favourite department of study, of which we should so much desire to be the authors. It is impossible to give any satisfactory analysis of this tract. The peculiar conciseness and compactness of the noblest science, to the grasp of which the human powers have aspired, renders all ornament of diction and superfluous reasoning or explanation unknown in its various branches. To enunciate the author's propositions, and to sketch a very general view of the ground over which he carries us, must be the limit of our exertions in a path where all elucidation is rendered unnecessary by its own clearness; all improvement or abridgment impossible, by its own solidity and shortness.

Let a and b denote the heliocentric distances of any two planets from the sun, and φ the angle of commutation. In computing the effects of the reciprocal influence exerted by the reciprocal gravitations of the planets on each other's motions, we are led to an algebraical formula $(a^2 + b^2 - 2\,a\,b\,cos.\,\varphi)^n$; and it is required to develop this expression, by resolving it into a series of the following structure: $A + B\,cos.\,\varphi + C\,cos.\,2\,\varphi$ + &c. proceeding by coefficients D, E, F, &c. which are required, and by cosines of a regularly increasing angle of mutation φ. Now, the determining of those coefficients by circles or logarithms, (or of A and B, after which the rest are easily found), has hitherto defied all the resources of mathematical skill; and the series used for this purpose have been found of the most difficult management and slow convergence. Mr Wallace here presents us with a solution, the result of one of those happy contrivances, which, from their late invention, and admirable simplicity, we might be disposed to ascribe to good fortune, did we not invariably find that they fall to the lot of those only who are possessed of the powers unquestionably required for turning them to good account. Mr Wallace's method consists in resolving the series into a fluxionary form, and comparing the fluxions with the fluxionary expressions of elliptic arches. The calculus is thus reduced to that of the proportions between elliptic arcs, and the corresponding arcs of their circumscribing circles.

Our author first demonstrates, that A and B being found, C, D, E, &c. may be deduced; and he shows how A and B may be so expressed as to bring their evolution home to the rectification of elliptic arches.

He takes the case of $n = -\frac{1}{2}$, the most usual one in physical astronomy (as our readers well know); but n may be any odd number, positive or negative, divided by two, as $-\frac{5}{2}$ (another usual case in astronomy) $+\frac{1}{2}$, &c. Then, let $\pi =$ the semiperimeter of the circle whose radius is unity; $\epsilon = \frac{b}{a}$; $\varphi =$ angle of commutation; a and b the heliocentric distances: he shows that $\pi a A = \int \frac{\dot{\varphi}}{(1 + \epsilon^2 - 2\epsilon \cos.\varphi)^{\frac{1}{2}}}$ and $\pi a B = \int \frac{2\dot{\varphi}\cos.\varphi}{(1 + \epsilon^2 - 2\epsilon\cos.\varphi)^{\frac{1}{2}}}$. The fluents increasing as φ increases from zero to π; and e being put $= \frac{4\epsilon}{(1+\epsilon)^2}$, he deduces the following equation:

$\pi a^3 A = \frac{1}{(1+\epsilon)(1-\epsilon)^2} \int \dot{\varphi} \sqrt{1 - e^2 \cos.^2 \frac{\varphi}{2}}$. A circle is now taken, whose diameter is $= 2$; and upon this, as a transverse axis, an ellipse is described, whose eccentricity is $= e$. Now, at this point of the process is perceived the jet of our author's invention; for the circular arch being put $= \frac{\varphi}{2}$, the fluxion of the corresponding elliptic arch $= \frac{1}{2}\dot{\varphi}\sqrt{1 - e^2 \cos.^2 \frac{\varphi}{2}}$ (which occurs in the value found for A), and when $\varphi = \pi$, that is, when the arch $=$ the semiperimeter, then $\int \dot{\varphi} \sqrt{1 - e^2 \cos.^2 \frac{\varphi}{2}} =$ semiperimeter $= E$, and by resubstitution $A = \frac{1}{(a+b)(a-b)^2} \times \frac{E}{\pi}$; the eccentricity $= \frac{2\sqrt{ab}}{a+b}$, and the semiconjugate $= \frac{a-b}{a+b}$.

In like manner, B is found $= \frac{2a}{b} \times A - \frac{2}{b(a^2 - b^2)} \times \frac{E'}{\pi}$, E' being the semiperimeter of a second ellipse, and its semiconjugate $= \sqrt{\frac{a^2 - b^2}{a}}$.

Our author next shows how the ellipses may be chosen of any convenient eccentricity; since, indeed, it is not on absolute, but relative magnitudes of arcs, that his solution depends.

He now gives the substance of his method in plain and simple practical rules for computation, which our readers will easily deduce from the preceding statement. He then discusses the mode of

finding a convenient rectification of elliptic arches. Euler's series converges by the powers of the semiconjugate, and answers for cases of small eccentricity; Mr Ivory's, by the difference of the axes divided by their sum; and this answers for considerably eccentric curves. Our author adds a new method, of infinite ingenuity, and particularly adapted to his present purpose, from its rapid convergence in every possible case, and from its power of expressing the ratios of the ellipses to their circumscribing circles.

The paper concludes with an Appendix, or rather a separate and valuable tract, containing the investigation of a new formula for the rectification of all elliptic arches. We shall only mention the result of this long and skilfully conducted analysis.

Let the semitranſverſe axis = unity; e = eccentricity; z = any arch reckoned from the extremity of the axis; ϕ = the correſponding arch of the circumſcribing circle; $e' = \frac{1-\sqrt{1-e^2}}{1+\sqrt{1-e^2}}$; $e'' = \frac{1-\sqrt{1-e'^2}}{1+\sqrt{1-e'^2}}$, &c. ſo on for e''' e^{IV}, &c. Alſo $\sin. 2\phi' = \frac{\sin. 2\phi}{(1+e')\sqrt{1-e^2 \sin.^2\phi}}$ $\sin. 4\phi'' = \frac{\sin. 4\phi'}{(1+e')\sqrt{1-e'^2 \sin.^2 2\phi'}}$, &c. ſo on for $\sin. 8\phi'''$, $\sin. 16\phi^{IV}$, &c.; e, e', e'', &c. approach quickly to zero, and ϕ, ϕ', ϕ'', &c. to a certain limit θ.

Let $P = (1+e)(1+e'')(1+e''')+$, &c.; $Q = \frac{e}{2} + \frac{ee'}{4} + \frac{ee'e''}{8} +$, &c. and $R = \frac{e(1+e')}{4} \sin. 2\phi' + \frac{ee'(1+e')(1+e'')}{16} \sin. 4.\phi''$, &c.; then our author's propoſition is, the arch or $Z = \theta P (1-e Q) + e R$. When ϕ = a quadrant, $\theta = \frac{\pi}{2}$, and E being the elliptic quadrant, $E = \frac{\pi}{2} P (1-e Q)$, and $Z = \frac{2\theta}{\pi} E + e R$. Whence our author deduces *Fagnani's theorem* of aſſignable differences, and ſhows the application of his formula to the demonſtration of various important tranſcendental properties of the circle and ellipſe formerly known, and to the diſcovery of new truths of the ſame kind. He concludes with a numerical calculation, which exemplifies his method of rectification, and proves at once its extreme accuracy and ſimplicity.

We cannot conclude, without expreſſing our ſincere admiration of this excellent performance—excellent in every reſpect; and, trifling as it may appear to mathematicians, remarkable for a pure, perſpicuous, and not inelegant ſtyle. It is a paper, equal, in our opinion, to whatever has been moſt admired of the greateſt ana-

lysts. We remember nothing in the works of Euler or La Grange which belong to a higher class of excellence in this science.

Whilst so much remains yet to be done for the Mathematics by all nations, and, to take a more contracted view, while so much is wanting in this country to render us at all fit for competition with the mathematicians of the Continent, any such appearance of high preeminence in this line, as we have now been contemplating, delights us—in a degree, we fear, to which we are not likely to be followed by the sympathy of all our readers.

The last article in this volume is entitled—

'*Chemical Analysis of an uncommon Species of Zeolite. By Robert Kennedy, M.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh.*'

This Zeolite, found in the rocks of Edinburgh castle, was chiefly distinguished by a phosphoric quality, giving light in the dark, when gently struck or heated, like the Tremolite mentioned in the first volume of Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes.* Dr Kennedy examined the composition of it, and found, by various experiments which we shall not attempt to analyze, that 100 parts of the zeolite contain, of silex 51.5; lime 32; argil .5; oxyd of iron .5; soda about 8.5; carbonic acid and other valuable matter 5; with some traces of magnesia and muriatic acid.

This short, but excellent paper, is marked by that perspicuous detail of experiments, and that neat and elegant mode of conducting and devising chemical analysis, which so eminently distinguish all the researches of this very able chemist.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have to return our acknowledgements to a great number of valuable Correspondents, some of whom will perceive, from the present Number, that their hints had been anticipated. The offers of others, we are sorry to say, appear wholly unsuitable to our Plan. We may perhaps take more particular notice of some articles of correspondence in a future Number.

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